Established *as* Outsiders? Figurational 'Binds' and 'Bonds' in a Welsh Working-Class Community.

Steven M. Meredith

Submitted for the degree of PhD, 2017.

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed……………………………………………………(candidate) Date………………

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of ……… (insert MCh, MD, MPhil, PhD etc, as appropriate)

Signed……………………………………………………(candidate) Date……………

STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated, and the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by Cardiff University's Policy on the Use of Third Party Editors by Research Degree Students. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed……………………………………………………(candidate) Date………………

STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed……………………………………………………(candidate) Date………………

STATEMENT 4: PREVIOUSLY APPROVED BAR ON ACCESS

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loans **after expiry of a bar on access previously approved by the Academic Standards & Quality Committee.**

Signed……………………………………………………(candidate) Date………………

Dedication

Dedicated to the memory of my parents; Joan Iris Meredith (1936-2013), and Victor Meredith (1938-2015).

Acknowledgements

The past few years have been some of the toughest of my life. They've been, on one hand the most emotionally taxing, and on the other hand the most intellectually stimulating and rewarding. This thesis would have been impossible to complete without the tremendous support and advice of many people I have had the good fortune know. I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Professor Gordon Hughes and Dr Rachel Swann for giving me a chance, for supporting me, for their guidance and advice, and for introducing me to the work of Norbert Elias. Cardiff School of Social Sciences has been a fantastic intellectual environment in which to become involved. In particular, I would like to thank the Cardiff Centre for Crime, Law and Justice, and the study group for Ethnography, Culture and Interpretive Analysis for the privilege of membership and participation in the most fascinating discussions. I have been fortunate in having regular contact with my progress reviewer, Dr Robin Smith, whose constructive criticism and support, and contributions in the ethnography group, have been invaluable. Thanks also goes to the ESRC for providing the funding to complete this research. My family and friends have put up with me admirably during our journey. My wife, Gerry, has been my rock as she has for the nearly thirty years we've been a team. I owe her more than I can possibly repay. Thanks to Ben and Robyn for their help in taking the load when I needed them to, for making copious quantities of tea, and for telling me when I was getting boring! I'm proud of you. Thanks for their inestimable help to my sister, Hayley, and my brother-in-law, Tony. Thanks to Wacker, for reminding me that a five-hundred-pound squat would keep my feet firmly nailed to the ground! Finally, and crucially, thanks to the folks of 'Ashmill' for letting me in, for trusting me, and for making me feel welcome. I hope I haven't let you down.

Abstract

This thesis is about how people living in a typical urban working-class community located in South Wales get on with each other. Reflecting upon the empirical data collected over three years of ethnographic fieldwork, it tells the story of 'Ashmill' and the relationships which have developed among generations of residents. The focus is on 'Blackacre', a council estate geographically situated at the heart of Ashmill, its residents tending to be regarded as 'rough' and 'antisocial' by residents of the surrounding neighbourhood. The thesis presents an intensive case study of the community figuration of Ashmill, and makes theoretical-empirical contributions which may have resonance with similar communities. Council estates, as a result of deliberate policies and their unplanned consequences, have come to be seen as 'residualised' places for 'problem' people, who are frequently stigmatised as 'chavs': [C]ouncil [H]oused [A]nd [V]iolent. This thesis considers how this came to be, indicating the long-term, processual, relational, and transformational character of the problem which is investigated in this thesis using a figurational-sociological framing, specifically through the analytical lens of Elias and Scotson's (1994) established-outsider model. Analysed figurationally, the stigmatisation of Blackacre and its residents as 'rough' and 'antisocial' can be understood as the outcome of long-term processes in which interdependent residential groups have become trapped in a power dynamic. A double-bind situation develops, involving feelings mutual fear and resentment between some residential groups, whilst also creating affective bonding among others. The established-outsider model is elaborated and adapted using 'relative deprivation theory' as developed by Lea and Young (1984). This more directly connects relational phenomena producing feelings of resentment between working-class residents with the generation of crime and violence. This thesis, therefore, presents an example of 'sociological criminology', synthesising figurational sociology and left realist criminology with the aim of adding to the corpus of reality congruent social scientific knowledge on collective processes of status honour and stigma.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

How Did This Come to Be?[1]

The initial research proposal for this thesis built on my Master's dissertation, focusing on the relationships with violence described by men living on a council estate[2]. The framing of the question indicated the influence of more traditional, primarily 'interactionist' explanations of violence, such as that considered by Collins (2008), which seeks to understand micro-social engagements between individual actors in the here-and-now, focusing primarily on the 'foreground' and largely bracketing-out the 'background' (Katz 1988). In a process of ongoing debates and discussions with my supervisors, I was introduced to a different way of framing the question, using a wider lens to analyse the assumed characteristic association that men living on an estate have with violence. The ensuing engagement with 'figurational' or 'process' sociology has allowed me to understand that what may appear to be individualistic, and possibly 'natural' characteristics when viewed closely, are better viewed as outcomes of long-term processes in which individuals are both 'placed', and find a 'place', with other people 'like' ourselves. The concept of a 'figuration' attempts to overcome the distinction between the 'individual' and 'society' as separate entities. Rather, people should be understood as forming networks of interdependent individuals, which can at various times be accepted and rejected, overlap, and coexist with other figurations. Elias (1984, p.130) elucidates the concept using the example of a 'game', which is the 'outcome of the actions of a group of interdependent individuals'. To separate the individual from the figuration they are situated within is an example of *homo clausus* thinking, 'an image of single human beings each of whom is ultimately absolutely independent of all others –

---

[1] Dunning and Hughes (2013, p.148) state: 'If we were to distil Elias's epistemological position into a single question … it would be this: *how did this come to be?* Such a question immediately facilitates an engagement with processes'.

[2] Council estates are areas of social housing built for working-class residents. Traditionally, they are called 'council estates' due to their management by local councils. Participants in this study still referred to them as 'council estates', although they are now often referred to as 'social housing', especially in academic and policy contexts, following the stock transfer implemented through the Housing and Planning Act 1986. Estates are now managed by Housing Associations (HA) or Registered Social Landlords (RSL), who are now integral actors in regulating conduct in urban spaces (Flint and Pawson 2009).

an individual-in-himself, a *homo clausus*' (Elias 1983, p.143). In the process of this transformation in theoretical perspective within the student researcher-supervisor figuration, the problem that this thesis has come to focus on is: how have estates like Blackacre come to be seen as 'rough' places? An analytical shift has occurred, from an initial concern with researching men living on estates who accept violence in their lives, to understanding the relationships between groups of residents living in Ashmill. What long-term changes in the figuration of Ashmill are evident? Why is it that a minority of people living on Blackacre have come to be seen as intimidating, their reputations representative of the whole estate? Why do these minority of residents seem to reject 'normal' values? How can we explain the localised power of these residents? Is the marginalisation and exclusion of the residents of Blackacre and their friendship networks so entrenched that they may have become established *as* outsiders?

This thesis tells the story of the relationships between residents of the 'Blackacre' estate and the wider community of 'Ashmill' through the lens of Elias and Scotson's (1994) established-outsider theory. It aims to grasp the interdependencies evident between residents, and through the intensive study of this community figuration, to make theoretical-empirical claims which may have resonance with, and implications for, similar figurations. In this chapter, the study is contextualised by briefly discussing the current reputation of estates. The residualisation of British council estates is then considered, from a feature of a progressive social welfare system which improved the quality of life for many working-class people, to places of last resort occupied by a residual 'underclass', seen as 'warehouses of the working class' (Campbell 1993, p.320). The stigmatisation of council estate residents as 'chavs', and the concept of 'estatism' as representing a positive sense of collective belonging, or 'bonding', which counters this stigma[3] are considered. The policy concept of 'troubled families' and their friendship networks, constructed as individually responsible for their situation without adequate consideration of figurational factors is then critically discussed. Finally, I outline the structure of the thesis and the rationale behind this arrangement. However, to begin with, an outline of established-

---

[3] The term 'stigma' is used in this thesis to indicate the feelings of shame, including embarrassment and humiliation, and the sense of rejection experienced by stigmatised people (see Scheff 2014, 2016).

outsider theory is presented in order to introduce the research framework on which this thesis is built.

An Outline of Established-Outsider Theory

Elias and Scotson's (1994) established-outsider theory is proposed, albeit adapted, as an appropriate model to be empirically tested in order to analyse interdependent relationships between residents in Ashmill; it is:

> A model indicating how helplessly people may become trapped in a conflict situation by specific developments … the model may help us to learn gradually, if developed further, how to loosen the teeth of the trap and cope with such problems better (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.23).

Whilst it may be argued that the model is archaic, this is precisely because of its embeddedness in empirical reality (Bucholc 2013). It provides a sociological benchmark through which to measure transformations, and to identify empirically based theoretical consistencies. This act of retrieval, therefore, is not borne out of 'nostalgia', but of its 'lasting empirical and theoretical significance' (Swann and Hughes 2016, p.682). The intensive case study design allows for theoretical-empirical research to be conducted, and comparisons between case studies made, even when case studies have been conducted in different geographical and social locations, perhaps decades or even centuries apart. In addition to the established-outsiders study, Blok's (1974) study of *mafia* in a Sicilian village in the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, and Elias's (1983) study of court society in seventeenth century Versailles, are examples of figurational studies in diverse settings which, nevertheless, highlight empirical, theoretical, and methodological consistencies which help to explain changes in power relationships within figurations of interdependent people.

It is proposed that by employing the established-outsider model as the research framework in this intensive case study a more 'reality congruent' explanation of the problem outlined above may be generated. The concept of 'reality congruence' is discussed in Chapter 3, however, briefly, it involves the shift from a highly emotional and involved form of analysis which reproduces myths and fantasies, to a more detached analysis which replaces myths with facts.

Moreover, findings may have theoretical resonance with similar residential figurations, explaining conflicts and tensions between residents without further stigmatising or idealising residents of estates.

The Established and the Outsiders (1994, originally published in 1965) is the study of a small English community of less than five-thousand inhabitants, given the pseudonym 'Winston Parva'. The definition of a 'community' is set out by Elias and Scotson (1994, p.146):

> People establish relations … when they make their homes in the same locality. The interdependencies which establish themselves between them as makers of homes, where they sleep and eat and rear their families, are the specific community interdependencies. Communities are essentially organisations of home-makers, residential units such as urban neighbourhoods, villages, hamlets, compounds or groups of tents.

The study was conducted by Norbert Elias and John Scotson in the late 1950s and early 1960s, at a time of relative prosperity and high employment in Britain (Mennell 1989, p.116). The study began as an investigation into the difference in 'delinquency' rates between neighbourhoods in Winston Parva, until they realised that one neighbourhood was 'regarded as a delinquency area of low standing' (Elias and Scotson 1964, p.xi). Consequently, the focus of their investigation shifted from 'delinquency', which as Squires (2008, p.34) comments is now 'antisocial', to the differences in status positions and relationships between the neighbourhoods, to explain the interdependencies between residential groups.

Initially, Elias and Scotson considered whether structural factors, such as occupation or income could explain the status differences between the working-class neighbourhoods. However, residents of Zones 2 and 3 represented a fairly homogenous community in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and social class. Residents identified three discrete neighbourhoods in Winston Parva, which

Elias and Scotson divided into three 'Zones'[4]. Zone 1 consisted of larger houses and was occupied by primarily middle-class professional residents as observed in the demographic information they collected. Zone 2, known locally as the 'Village', was occupied by the 'old' (in terms of residence) 'respectable' and overwhelmingly working-class residents. Most of the community facilities and factories were located within Zone 2. Broadly, the residents of Zones 1 and 2 considered themselves as superior to the residents of Zone 3 – the 'Estate'. However, it was the working-class residents of Zone 2, the 'established' group, who most keenly sensed a reputational threat because of their social and geographical proximity with the incomers of Zone 3. In contrast, residents of Zone 1 were less concerned, as their social and geographical distance to the incomers was greater and less threatening.

According to Elias and Scotson's description[5], Zone 3, the Estate, was owned by a private investment company and was separated from the rest of Winston Parva by railway lines. It was built on 'rat infested' land about twenty years before the study. Initially the houses were difficult to let, but were eventually occupied after the commencement of the Second World War when a factory relocated from London to Winston Parva and people from other parts of Britain relocated for work. As such, the Estate was occupied by incomers, or 'outsiders', a conceptualisation of which prioritises the view from 'established' residents, largely overlooking the viewpoint of Estate residents. Winston Parva experienced significant and rapid immigration, however, the case study in this thesis concerns a relatively 'settled' neighbourhood in which some residents of Blackacre may view non-estate residents as 'outsiders'. As Becker (1991, p.2) observes, there is a double use of the term 'outsider' observable, whereby 'the rule-breaker may feel his judges are *outsiders*'.

Residents of Zone 2 tended to describe residents of the Estate as 'rough'; they were stigmatised as dirty, their children delinquent, and residents were inclined

---

[4] As such, emic categories emerging from the residents of Winston Parva were transformed into etic categories by Elias and Scotson in order to produce an empirical-theoretical analysis and synopsis.

[5] Elias and Scotson did not provide a map of the 'Zones' in Winston Parva. Although Goodwin et al. (2016a) report finding a sketched map of Winston Parva which gives an indication of the setting. One of the objectives in this study, and a development of established-outsider theory, is to generate a map indicating the relationship between residential zones in Ashmill. This map is presented in Appendix 4.

to heavy drinking and fighting with each other. However, Elias and Scotson found that this characterisation was only 'true', and then often exaggerated, about a few families living on the Estate. They found that the majority of residents of Zone 3 had 'respectable' values and behaviour in common with most residents of Zone 2. The 'established' families from Zone 2, 'the Village', tended to be 'mother-centred', large and cohesive, consisting of extended kinship groups through which care was provided for the young and the elderly, and which were connected through wider neighbourhood ties. In Zone 1, families were less dependent upon close relationships between extended families, and their relative affluence meant that many of these services could be bought-in. In contrast, incoming families of Zone 3, the 'Estate', were smaller and less cohesive, with neither the help available from a local extended family or friendship network, nor the ability to pay for services. Rather than see the family as the basic unit of society, it is the neighbourhoods of which families are a part which shape these relationships. The tradition of close-knit 'respectability'[6] observed in Zone 2 had developed over about three generations (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.50), whereas newcomers of Zone 3 had not had sufficient time develop these bonds.

Elias and Scotson (1994) argue that the structure of the families observed in each Zone of Winston Parva was principally due to the character of the neighbourhood rather than personal characteristics. However, they observe that whilst the majority of families on the Estate are 'relatively quiet and not very conspicuous' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.84), in the case of the minority of 'problem families':

> Their common characteristic was rather an inability to keep themselves and their affairs in order. Most of them had large families. Some were unable to keep their financial affairs in order. Most of them could not keep their children or their home in order. Personality weaknesses rather than economic distress appeared to be at the root of the trouble. They were essentially disordered families (ibid, p.85).

---

[6] Which as Skeggs (1997, p.1) highlights 'is one of the most ubiquitous signifiers of class'.

The idea that some families may have 'personality weaknesses' which may play a part in causing them to become to be construed as 'disordered' when contrasted with 'well-ordered' families is not entirely rejected. However, disordered families may exist at all levels of society, only tending to become seen as 'problems' when they are perceived as a burden on public finances. It tends to be the poorest families, often resident in social housing, who become the focus of 'respectable' resentment.

Elias and Scotson hypothesised that the superior-inferior status distinctions evident between the working-class residents of Zones 2 and 3 could be explained by the greater sense of 'belonging' that existed between the 'established' residents of the Village, and the relative lack of cohesiveness or bonding between people living on the Estate. They found that the 'established' residents of Zone 2 claimed superior status primarily due to their length of residence and the interdependencies with one another that had formed over three generations[7]. As such, certain standards of behaviour were able to be sociologically inherited according to a 'distinguishing code' among members of a relatively stable neighbourhood (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.151). This reproduced social power which could be used to control the behaviour of members of the established group, and maintain their superior status. This power could also be exercised to stigmatise and exclude the relatively powerless outsiders of Zone 3 from established friendship networks, and access to community facilities. In figurational analysis, power is understood as a polymorphous dynamic structural characteristic, the balance of which is altered by interdependent figurational relationships (Elias 1984, p.93).

Established residents tended to have an idealised image of themselves based on the behaviour of the 'minority of the best' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.7). In contrast, the relatively powerless 'outsiders' of the Estate formed a comparatively anomic section of the community, largely excluded from participation in community activities, and imagined based on the behaviour of the 'minority of the worst' (ibid). They tended to accept that they belonged to a

---

[7] However, as Crow et al. (2001) found, insider/outsider relationships can be more complex and subtle than this single dimension, involving other dimensions such as 'social class and employment status, household type, position in kinship networks, age and gender' (Crow et al. 2001, p.29).

less respectable group, keeping themselves-to-themselves, and having ambitions to move to out of the area (Mennell 1989, p.117). A key question Elias and Scotson (1994, p.2) asked was why the Estate people acquiesced. They found that this was because they lacked the power. Established-outsider theory attempts to make sense of power relationships between interdependent groups of people. In this way, the link between 'established' families and their networks as a means of exercising social power to dominate local clubs and associations, and to exclude the 'outsiders' of the Estate, can be grasped.

Elias (1976) argues that such relationships are universal and persistent features of all human relationships, through which relatively powerful and cohesive established groups exclude and stigmatise relatively powerless outsiders in order to maintain their superior 'we-image'. We-images are 'personal versions of collective fantasies' (Elias 1976, p.xliii), which involve the creation and maintenance of stigmatising images of residents perceived as outsiders, who are seen as threats to the supposed social superiority of the established group. Key to this stigmatisation in Winston Parva was the function of 'gossip'.

Crucial to understanding the operation and function of gossip in maintaining group charisma and attributing group disgrace are the concepts of 'praise gossip' and 'blame gossip'. Praise gossip was used by established residents to support the fantasy of group charisma, imagined to characterise their members. It operated to maintain the simplified charismatic image based on an idealised self-image of the 'minority of the best', deviation from which risked expulsion from the established group. Blame gossip operated to stigmatise the Estate people based on the stereotypical image of the 'minority of the worst'. It was used as a weapon by which the 'superior group defends its charismatic claims and keeps outsiders or outcasts in their place' (Elias, cited in Goudsblom and Mennell 1998, p.107). This reproduced a polarised, oversimplified, and often exaggerated or untrue 'us and them' conflict situation; a 'double-bind', involving relationships of 'mutual fear and distrust' (Mennell 1989, p.89).

The double-bind is a key concept in established-outsider theory and in this thesis. However, the concept is not explicitly mentioned by Elias and Scotson, although it is mentioned in Elias's (1976, p.xxxi) introduction to *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994). Here, Elias explains that where two or more

interdependent groups exist in an established-outsider relationship, and therefore with greater or lesser – but not static – power differences existing between the groups, they become trapped in a double-bind. Elias (1987b) develops the concept of the double-bind explaining that such a situation involves relationships of conflict and tension which groups are unable to control. This lack of control and associated fear results in highly involved responses based on collective-fantasies, and low levels of reality congruence. In this way established-outsider groups can become trapped in a double-bind. Dunning (2016) analyses the established-outsider figuration that exists between 'jihadist' terrorists and Western states, and the double-bind situations that they are trapped within. In this analysis Dunning illustrates how attacks by jihadist terrorists have been perceived as attacks by 'barbaric outsiders' on the 'civilised West'. Dunning shows that rather than emerging within recent history, this double-bind situation involves a long and complex power struggle over centuries in which the 'civilised West' currently dominates relationships which have played a part in the development of jihadism. In the continuum of established-outsider relations, the 'civilised West'-'barbaric jihadi' situation represents an inter-state double-bind which has escalated into violence. Indeed, as Dunning (2016, p.35) highlights, this is more likely at inter-state level where no effective monopoly of physical force exists to prevent groups from attacking one another. What is common in these situations is the emotionally involved responses which tend to generate collective fantasies about 'us' and 'them'. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.23) explain that the established-outsider framework is:

> [A] model indicating how helplessly people may become
> trapped in a conflict situation by specific developments … the
> model may help us to learn gradually, if developed further, how
> to loosen the teeth of the trap and cope with such problems
> better.

Scott et al. (2011) employed established-outsider theory in their study of crime in an Australian mining town. Incoming workers were characterised as uncivilised, dirty and violent, and blamed for disorder in the community. A conflict-based double-bind relationship existed between residents and incoming workers in which worker's exaggerated reputations for crime and delinquency,

in contrast to locals 'respectability', were an important element (Scott et al. 2011, p.152). However, Griffiths (2014) whilst critical of the one-sidedness of much community research, attempts to counter the dominant 'gloomy tale' (Griffiths 2014, p.1109) of conflict relationships in established-outsider theory, providing empirical evidence that relationships between the established community and Polish immigrants in a town in the North West of England was managed through 'civilised relationships'. Griffiths is critical of Elias and Scotson's (1994) focus on conflict, and whilst she is careful to highlight that her case study is not generalisable and that there may be localised explanations for her findings, she argues that emphasising commonality rather than difference is essential (Griffiths 2014, p.1125)[8]. Nevertheless, in both Elias and Scotson (1994), and Elias's (1990) established-outsider analysis of Harper Lee's 1960 novel *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the aim is to understand conflict based double-binds precisely in order to highlight the importance of minor differences, and therefore overwhelming commonalities, between socially proximate interdependent groups. In the latter case, the poor white residents of Maycomb sensed a threat to their identity from the marginally poorer black population, and reacted violently to assert their 'power' against 'Tom Robinson', a black man who has been accused of raping a young white woman.

It is these figurational traps entangling interdependent groups of people that Elias and Scotson investigate in their study of Winston Parva. Where differences in power are greater, such as between residents of Zone 1 and Zone 3, tensions are less intensely experienced. However, where power differences are closer, tensions are more intensely experienced and may escalate into violence. In Winston Parva, this was the situation between the established residents of Zone 2, who feared a reputational threat from the 'rough' incomers to the Estate. Employing this model may help to explain how residents of Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood (essentially Zones 2 and 3) of Ashmill may have become trapped in a double-bind situation. It may help to explain how residential groups living in Ashmill might simultaneously experience both

---

[8] Whilst the probability of civilised relationships existing between Polish immigrants and established residents in Crewe is not doubted, Griffiths' research needs to be contextualised in light of the 2016 'Brexit' vote and the apparent undertones of resentment towards European immigrants among large sections primarily working-class British people. Crewe, like a small majority of the UK public, voted to leave the European Union (Greer 2016).

stigmatisation and exclusion, and shifting feelings of 'belonging' and bonding with their neighbours. It may also explain how some family-based friendship networks have, over about three generations, acquired and maintained an increase in social power based on intimidating reputations, whilst in contrast, some previously 'established' residents might feel increasingly isolated, relatively powerless, and fearful.

There are both similarities and differences in the situation in Winston Parva when compared to those in Ashmill which require adaptations to the model and development of key themes and concepts, and these are discussed in forthcoming chapters. Nevertheless, it is proposed that the established-outsider model represents a robust framework through which to investigate the figurational bonds and double-binds trapping residents of the Blackacre estate and the surrounding neighbourhood of Ashmill. It is proposed that the case study investigated in this thesis, whilst not generalisable in terms of specific empirical findings, may have theoretical resonance with similar community figurations. In order to contextualise the study more broadly, the next section discusses the process of residualisation of British council estates.

The Contemporary Reputation of Estates

The reputation of British council estates and their residents is stained by images of crime and violence. Public disorder on estates in London in the early- and mid-1980s was indicative of a more general national problem, and was followed by disorder on council estates in Oxford, Cardiff and Tyneside in the early 1990s. As Campbell (1993, p.319) comments: 'The word that embraced everything feared and loathed by the new orthodoxy about class and crime was *estate*'. A report into the disorder of the 1990s by Power and Tunstall (1997) concluded that of the thirteen recorded violent disturbances between 1991 and 1992, twelve took place on council estates, frequently following an unusually high level of police intervention. They highlight demographic, economic, and social factors such as a young population, high levels of transience, single-parent families, unemployment and lack of skills, family breakdown, weak social control, acceptance of law-breaking, and poor relations with the police.

About twenty years later, in August 2011, parts of Britain again saw outbreaks of public disorder following the shooting dead of a man by the police in Tottenham. After a gathering organised on the Broadwater Estate, a group assembled at Tottenham Police Station, where violence escalated and spread to Bristol, Birmingham, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, and Nottingham over the next five days (BBC News 2011). Notions of 'Broken Britain' once again emerged, invoking images of a 'moral collapse' in 'problematic' disadvantaged working-class areas (Hancock and Mooney 2012). David Cameron, then Prime Minister, set-out plans to 'regenerate'[9] some of the 'worst sink estates':

> Tomorrow, I will set out our plan to extend life chances across Britain … the blocked opportunity, poor parenting, addiction and mental health problems … There's one issue that brings together many of these social problems … It's our housing estates … Decades of neglect have led to gangs, ghettos and anti-social behaviour. And poverty has become entrenched, because those who could afford to move have understandably done so. One of the most concerning aspects of these estates is just how cut-off, self-governing and divorced from the mainstream these communities can become … The riots of 2011 didn't emerge from within terraced streets or low-rise apartment buildings … the rioters came overwhelmingly from these post-war estates. Almost three quarters of those convicted lived within them. That's not a coincidence (Cameron 2016).

This statement unequivocally locates the blame for the public disorder with the 'antisocial' residents of 'cut-off, self-governing' post-war council estates which are 'divorced from mainstream communities'. And, whilst there is allusion to structural issues, such as 'blocked opportunities' and 'decades of neglect',

---

[9] Urbanik et al. (2017) discuss the impact of neighbourhood redevelopment initiatives observed on an area of deprived social housing in Canada. They investigated the effects that such redevelopment may have on the community structure in relation to perceptions of safety and the fear of crime. They found that redevelopment of Regent social housing development involved the fragmentation of residential networks, and that power vacuums emerged when 'old-heads' from the well-established neighbourhood criminal networks who enforced informal codes were displaced. Younger residents then attempted to fill the vacuum, which involved proving themselves through acts of violence. They found a decrease in the perception of safety, primarily for the 16-30 year-old residents, that they interviewed.

estates are simply depicted as dangerous places outside of 'respectable' society, continuing the historical myth of the increasingly 'uncivilised' and 'dangerous' poor (Pearson 1983). This contrasts sharply with past understandings of estates as socially progressive features of the British welfare state which offered hope and respectability for many working-class families who were 'incorporated' into 'respectable' society. This 'partial' incorporation, in which increasing numbers of working-class people acquired 'respectability' whilst a decreasing number of 'rougher' families were left-behind and residualised, was the unplanned outcome of concurrent socio-economic transformations. It involved home-centred privatisation in better housing; less socialisation of young people in public places and more time spent in education; benefits such as rights of citizenship and suffrage for men and women; and better working conditions including collective representation through trades unions, such that disputes could be settled through 'civilised' formal means, rather than industrial violence (Dunning et al. 1988). In contrast, 'rougher' working-class men may be relatively excluded from the process of 'respectable' incorporation, and socialised into relatively aggressive masculine roles. Dunning et al. (1988) theorise that the experiences of these men may be bound in common experiences of low-value employment and unemployment, living in stigmatised places like estates, with limited geographical and social mobility and relatively short chains of interdependence. Their strongest bonds are with their peers with whom they have grown-up, competing – often violently – for power and status in relatively public contexts. A relatively high value is placed on reputations around a capacity for intimidation and violence, often inherited from older siblings and relatives. As such, comparatively (to 'respectable' residents) little emphasis is put on peaceful negotiation of problems. Violence is more likely to be resorted to, and the legitimacy of the state's monopoly on violence (via the police) is more likely to be rejected. A sociologically inherited system of group values and standards may be cultivated which 'augments their sense of power ... provides an opportunity to hit back at the established order' (Dunning et al. 1988, p.206). The men who adhere to this aggressive masculinity exercise informal social control which when viewed from the outside may appear to represent a form of neighbourliness. Nevertheless, those residents of estates striving for 'respectability', and therefore different values and standards,

have to deal with threats and intimidation from the minority of men adhering to this aggressive masculinity. This tension is compounded by the tendency of 'outsiders ... to tar all people who come from a particular estate with the same brush' (ibid, p.207).

The Residualisation of Estates

Poor working-class housing conditions in the rapid and largely unplanned transformation from the agrarian to the industrial economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been highlighted in some of the earliest 'sociological' work. William Booth (2008 [1890]) identified many social interventions intended to 'improve' the lives of the poor, often unproblematically underpinned by efforts to educate, discipline and moralise. The concern with public health and dangerous places and people in overcrowded inner-city areas underpinned legislation aimed at dealing with emerging 'slums' and 'rookeries' by building working-class housing out-of-town. The Housing for the Working Classes Act 1890 allowed London City Councils to clear slums and build tenements and housing estates, and this was extended to places outside London by the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1900. Over two-hundred thousand council houses were built in three years under the Housing and Town Planning Act 1919 (UK Parliament [no date]). Council house construction resumed in 1945 following the Second World War (Pearce and Milne 2010). In the inter-war period, it was inner-city areas which tended to be associated with crime, disorder and social disorganisation, rather than council estates which tended to be occupied by a better-off working-class (Murie 1997, p.24), often working together locally, the effect of which spilled over into informal control in the community (Farrall et al. 2016, p.1244). Indeed, Elias and Scotson (1994, p.140) observed that police recorded crime reduced when some 'notorious' families moved off the Estate into new, larger council houses with cheaper rent following a legislative change which meant that landlords could increase rent.

The number of council homes built declined from the 1980s (Murie 1997), and the number of tenants buying their homes increased, with council houses sales in England increasing from 7,000 in 1970, to nearly 46,000 in 1972 (Wheeler 2015). The 'right-to-buy' was escalated under the Prime Minister, Margaret

Thatcher, through provisions in the Housing Act 1980 which allowed tenants to buy their homes at discounted prices, and began the process of reducing the social housing stock. Combined with economic restructuring and the decline in manual labour (Jennings et al. 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010) accelerating from the late 1970s, this fragmented relatively cohesive working-class communities into 'renters' and 'owners' (Jones 2011, pp.61-62). The effect of legislation, particularly the Housing Act 1980, on the relatively recent association of council estates with crime (Farrall et al. 2016, p.1244), is key in understanding how largely planned transformations can have unplanned outcomes.

Farrall et al. (2016) highlight the process of residualisation analysing data from the British Crime Survey, the British Social Attitudes Survey, and the General Household Survey. They consider the impact of the Housing Act 1980, and the political (Thatcherite) ideology underpinning it, understanding the 'right-to-buy' policy as key in the planned privatisation of public utilities and services. However, when historical processes are viewed *a posteriori*, it is easy to imagine that a successful long-term plan was simply fulfilled (Mennell 1989, p.71). In his study of court society, Elias (1983, p.164) traces the sociogenisis of the court as transformations from a feudal land based economy to a state money based economy occurred:

> As so often, the words make it appear as if what emerged afterwards was identical to what was actually desired by the people and groups involved. Individual people are seen as the planners, creators and causes of what in reality can only be understood in terms of the total social network of people and their wishes, the constellation of the social field as a whole, and the opportunities it gave individual groups and people.

Outcomes can be seen as the consequence of a complex range of mechanisms operating in an 'open' social system. Purposive social actions are not carried out in a social or psychological vacuum, and therefore affect other spheres of value and interests (Merton 1936). In the context of accelerating globalisation and deindustrialisation in Britain since the late 1970s, the policy effort to encourage people to buy their own homes, with a concomitant reduction in social housing stock, and the increase in private sector renting, has resulted in social housing

becoming a 'tenure of last resort' (Garner 2009; Pearce and Milne 2010; Watt 2006). A process of residualisation is evident, whereby council housing has become disproportionately occupied by the poorest and most marginalised members of the working-class (Murie 1997, p.26). In the process of residualisation, residents of council estates have become stigmatised as rough and disorderly 'residual' tenants: 'chavs'.

'Chavs': The Stigmatisation of Estate Residents

The pejorative acronym 'chav' – [C]ouncil [H]oused [A]nd [V]iolent – highlights the profound stigmatising link entrenched in the national consciousness between residents of council estates and reputations for violence. It is an example of a humiliating and stigmatising term that is often used to classify outsider groups (Elias 1976, p.xxv). It encapsulates the demonisation of the most marginalised sections of the white working-class (Owen 2011) as involving excessive and conspicuous consumption (Hayward and Yar 2006) of clothing, technological devices, and cars, promiscuity (Tyler 2008), and widespread involvement in criminality and 'antisocial' behaviour. It is used by 'respectable' middle-class and working-class people to claim a social and moral distinction (le Grand 2015). The term 'chav' succinctly, albeit denigratingly, captures the stigmatisation of the 'minority of the worst'. It incorporates the features of the white British 'underclass' that Murray (1990, p.4) proposed, based around illegitimacy, involvement in violent crime, and unemployment. The UK coalition government of 2010 employed a divisive rhetoric contrasting 'hard-working families' and benefits-dependent 'troubled families' (Lambert and Crossley 2017). This amplified the popular media notions of 'strivers' and 'skivers' (Coote and Lyall 2013; Valentine and Harris 2014) which distinguish between respectability based around economic worth, and the 'work-shy', which can be traced down to the local level, and historically over at least the past two-hundred years (Monbiot 2015). Such outsider groups are seen as 'undisciplined, untrustworthy and lawless' (Elias 1976, p.xxv), as feckless and criminal scapegoats for society's problems (Young 1999, p.20).

It has also become acceptable from late 1990's onwards to 'use' the demonised sections of the working-class and their assumed deficiencies and proclivities for entertainment. 'Poverty porn' is a genre of 'reality television' shows which

entrenches common-sense understandings about the imagined lower-class British 'skiver' (Jensen, 2014). In this thesis, it is argued that such representations inform a collective fantasy functioning at national and local levels. These television programmes tend to proliferate the myths of the 'benefit scrounger' (McKenzie 2015, p.12), and further entangle the double-bind that many working-class people find themselves trapped within. The reproduction of these stereotypes can be seen as national gossip, demarcating social and psychological boundaries between 'respectable' and 'rough' habituses, which are critical in contexts in which a sense of moral worth, of self-respect and dignity is based on being 'hard-working'.

These representations seep into everyday experiences, confirming the worst fears of the 'respectable', making distinctions between the 'rough' and the 'respectable' more tangible, and intensifying double-binds in the process. In reality, many estate residents have values based around 'respectability' (Skeggs 1997), a strong work ethic, respect, collective values and neighbourliness (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2012, 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010). However, this and other research (Garner 2011; Sveinsson 2009) also demonstrates that many residents of council estates lead complex and difficult lives afflicted by insecurity, poverty, deprivation, poor housing, and constrained opportunities to 'get on' in life, and are more likely to fear and experience crime, violence, and antisocial behaviour, both as victims and perpetrators.

'Estatism'

Living on a council estate can produce a sense of 'otherness' in relation to the constituent neighbourhoods in a community, often based around prejudicial images of 'roughness' in contrast to 'respectability' (Watt 2006). From the 'outside', estates may appear disorganised and 'broken', with weak parental, family, and community social control or collective efficacy (Sutherland et al., 2013, p.1052). Given that many estate residents feel isolated, frightened, and excluded from the broader community, it is unsurprising that some 'choose' not engage in wider community life, becoming inward-looking self-helpers (Pearce and Milne 2010). In turn, this may encourage feelings of neighbourhood bonding, thereby countering the stigma from the wider community through the

development of a we-identity. Key to Pearce and Milne's study is the concept of 'estatism' which they argue captures:

> … the sense among estate residents that there are specific social dynamics of place associated with council estates and that residents experience prejudice based upon where they live. The research demonstrated many positive features and a sense of solidarity against an outside world that ruthlessly labels and categorises them (Pearce and Milne 2010, p.10).

This highlights the process by which some residents may experience feelings of place based outsiderness, and a concurrent process by which residents may be able to convert this stigma into a sense of community pride, developing a we-identity. Some estate residents may also find security in and feel empowered by networks of family and friends who live on 'their' estate, perhaps experiencing a sense of belonging and self-respect among peers whom they can trust. It is this overwhelmingly positive conception of 'estatism' which is emphasised in Hanley's (2012) account of living on estates, and McKenzie's (2015) ethnography of St Ann's estate. McKenzie (2015) provides a rich and often intimate description of life on St Ann's estate, explaining how the impact of 'austerity' affects the lives of residents of 'her' estate, and implicitly, the lives of residents of similar estates. She captures the sense of exclusion, shame, disrespect, and relative powerlessness experienced by some residents of St Ann's. However, McKenzie analyses the situation primarily from an 'insider', and explicitly female, standpoint which tends to overlook the interdependent relationships with other residents in the neighbourhood. The analytic lens is focused on some of the 'inside voices' of the most excluded. What are missing are the voices of the residents of the surrounding community, and those residents of the estate who may not feel a sense of belonging with others on the estate. Representing estates as places where residents overwhelmingly form a close-knit and cooperative community in the face of stigmatisation may be a partial representation. For some residents, the assumed close-knit community may in fact be underpinned by intimidation. The reality may be that some groups of estate residents may be able to acquire reputations and power which allows them to exert informal control over weaker residents who may be doubly

excluded and silenced. On one hand, weaker people may be stereotyped as 'typical' estate residents willingly abiding by the informal rules one 'finds' on estates, that binds 'them' in mutual pride, in apparently close-knit 'cooperative' communities. On the other hand, many may be suffering 'the grinding effects of austerity and the intimidation of individuals by criminals and bullies on sink estates' (Hall and Winlow 2015, p.126), unwilling to risk challenging or reporting harmful behaviour for fear of retribution. Frequently, these relatively small but powerful estate groups are developed around the intimidating reputations of 'troubled' families and their friendship networks.

'Troubled Families'

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider in any great depth the many forms of family structures which have become 'more normal' since Elias and Scotson conducted their study in the late-1950s; single parent families; divorced and 'broken' families; same-sex parents; unmarried parents. This study focuses on how some 'notorious' families have come to characterise the rough reputation of Blackacre, and to identify the social mechanisms which may apply in other similar figurations. Nevertheless, it is important to give some consideration to the ways in which the social institution of the 'family' is transforming. Elias (1994, p.185) highlights that the structure of 'the family' changes with broader social transformations such as urbanisation and industrialisation. Preindustrial families were often occupied in a particular type of work for generations, family surnames often indicating the work carried out, for example the 'Cooper' made barrels, the 'Smith' worked metal, and the 'Miller' ground flour. Since industrialisation, families have become less likely to work with each other from home, leaving the home and home-based work, to work in factories. Elias and Scotson argue that a process of industrialisation has led to a rise in living standards for increasingly large sections of the working-class, however:

> If one considers this long-term development, one will probably
> find that part of the disordered working-class families, of the
> 'problem families' of today, are the diminishing remnants of
> generations of such families – remnants who by a form of
> sociological inheritance of certain tendencies of behaviour

have been unable to escape from the vicious circle which tends
to produce in children of disordered families propensities for
forming in their generation again disordered families (Elias
and Scotson 1994, p.122).

This indicates the process by which 'diminishing remnants' of generations of families may become residualised in 'places of last resort' (Garner 2009; Pearce and Milne 2010; Watt 2006). Such groups tend to be characterised in terms of economic worthlessness and moral delinquency, and as Squires (2008, p.307) notes, income inequality is key, compounded by the concentration of disadvantage in residualised social housing estates. Making the link between contemporary reality and historical processes in explaining how communities can become residualised, Walkerdine (2016) offers the concept of 'affective histories'. This grasps the importance of the generational transmission of responses to experiences of inequality and social injustice in relation to the impact of the ending of two-hundred years of steel production in a Welsh town: 'These included various practices of communal relations, poor toleration of outsiders, strong identification with place, unwillingness to move for work because of feelings of lack of safety' (Walkerdine 2016, p.701).

In Winston Parva, as in other areas of the UK at that time, factories were often located within communities where neighbouring families would work together. Since the 1980s, deindustrialisation has meant the loss of heavy manufacturing jobs, replaced by service work in a more globalised economic environment. For many, the increasingly technical and service based workforce has increased the necessity for work related mobility, and families may need to repeatedly relocate, thereby reducing the possibility of settling in one neighbourhood for long periods of time. This marks a difference between earlier periods of work related relocation, when entire families may move but remain in the new area for generations. This has resulted in the fragmentation of traditional working-class communities, with a decline in extended family interdependencies, but the lengthening of chains of interdependence with wider networks of individuals. The necessity for a mobile labour force has fragmented many families, such that intra-family caring, traditionally carried out by women, for elderly and very young family members, as observed in the established families of Winston

Parva, may not be possible, so caring services may need to be purchased. A process of 'functional democratisation'[10] has also resulted in greater equality in the division of labour between men and women, altering gender roles in work and the home. Elias (1984, p.64) argued that with increasingly longer chains of interdependence a process of 'functional democratisation' would occur, whereby differences in power between social groups would decrease producing more equal society. Nevertheless, this process of democratisation has perhaps proceeded at a slower rate for residualised residents of council estates, who represent a point of differentiation in status and relative power, in contrast to non-estate residents. Many families may become relatively isolated from others in their neighbourhood in a process of privatisation. With increasing longevity for some sections of the UK population, families may more often comprise several generations living apart from each other in separate households. However, with advances in communications technology, increasing numbers of service jobs are, once again, able to be carried out from home. This may enable families to remain in the same neighbourhood for longer periods. Nevertheless, for some residualised families, 'choices' to move have been bounded and constrained by such structural changes which have been beyond their control. A social gulf has emerged between the apparently highly localised lives of families on many estates, often with relatively short chains of interdependence, and those often more socially and work mobile families who live in neighbourhoods nearby. The role of children has also transformed in a process of democratisation, from family members contributing towards the survival of the family to which knowledge was passed from older family members, to the child-centred modern family in which children are sometimes more technologically advanced than parents. 'Responsible parents' provide a privatised nurturing environment, children protected, perhaps overprotected, from the outside world. In contrast, 'council estate kids' are often characterised as 'feral', 'running wild' in public places, their families as 'problems'.

Welshman (2017) suggests that the focus on 'problem families' as a site of intervention can be traced from the 1940s, with a relative silence between 1970

---

[10] Dunning and Hughes (2013, p.67) suggest that the theory of 'functional democratisation' is in fact a term which captures the entire structure of social transformations which involve 'specific aspects such as 'industrialisation', economic growth', 'urbanisation', 'bureaucratisation' and many others ...'.

and 2006, and a subsequent re-emergence. The categorisation of 'troubled families' is the latest iteration of the 'underserving poor' discourse (Macnicol 2017). Following the English riots in 2011, a breakdown in traditional family life was highlighted as a key problem in the 'broken Britain' political discourse (Slater 2012). The Prime Minister, David Cameron, announced plans for councils to target 120,000 'troubled families' with 'multiple problems', who overwhelmingly occupy social housing (National Audit Office 2016, p.16).

The government characterises 'troubled families' as households in which adults are unemployed, children do not attend school, and individual family members are involved in crime and anti-social behaviour (DCLG 2012, p.1); similar to Murray's (1990) typification of the white British 'underclass'. Louise Casey (2012, p.64), the Director General of the Troubled Families Team, asserts that:

> The problems of these families are linked and reinforcing. They
> accumulate across the life course, passed on from parents to
> their children across generations of the same family … Their
> behaviours and problems can be properly understood only by
> looking at the full cycle – and the full family.

Whilst it is accepted that these 'problems' may tend to be disproportionately and generationally experienced by some families, the programme focuses almost entirely upon 'problematic' individuals and families. The tenor is of an entirely endogenous transmission of 'problems', overlooking interdependent relationships with other residents external to the family and network of friends which may reproduce relationships between 'troubled' families and their 'respectable' neighbours. There are problems for social scientists in challenging these perceptions, as Sayer (2017, p.155) highlights:

> The ['troubled families'] programme is characteristically
> neoliberal in its silence on structural inequality and in its
> targeting of people as deficient and wholly responsible for
> their situation. Radicals are likely to want to repudiate the
> programme and to reject its blaming of individuals and
> families, but in so doing they expose themselves to accusations
> of denying facts of anti-social behaviour and of idealising the

targeted groups. Further, given that there is not a simple deterministic relation between social disadvantage and antisocial behaviour, one cannot adequately explain the latter wholly in terms of the former … Rather than deny that any problematic behaviour can be due to injuries of class, we need to frame it in a way that acknowledges both the behaviour and the more complex causality that produces it.

In focusing on problematic families and individuals, the 'troubled families' programme largely overlooks structural inequalities. However, simply rejecting it on the grounds of 'individual blaming' risks denying the reality of the harm which is suffered, and we cannot simply say that poverty causes criminality – there are many law-abiding and 'neighbourly' people living on deprived estates. So, how do we deal with these problems without either stigmatising or idealising residents? The argument developed in this thesis is that what is largely overlooked in the discussion around council estates, 'troubled families', and their apparent generational transmission of 'problems', which 'they' simultaneously 'have' and 'cause' (Welshman 2017), is a realistic appreciation of relationships between interdependent groups of people trapped in a double-bind. To focus only on 'troubled families' fails to take sufficient consideration of figurational mechanisms which can trap people in social and economic conditions in which the sociological inheritance of intimidating reputations may represent the possibility of status 'improvement' and the acquisition of social power. Having introduced the background to the study, and outlined the problem that it seeks to investigate, I will now outline the structure of the thesis.

Structure of the Thesis

The chapters are organised with those of Elias and Scotson's (1994) book in mind. This is done in order to test and develop the theoretical, empirical, and conceptual claims made in their study, and to develop the model to address the criminological focus of this thesis. It also represents a concerted effort (see Swann and Hughes 2016) to resist the 'retreat of sociologists into the present' (Elias 1987a; see also Flint and Powell 2012), and the criminological 'chronocentrism' highlighted by Rock (2005), in order to build upon classical sociological and criminological traditions.

Chapter 2 identifies the key theoretical themes and concepts employed in this thesis. Elias's theory of the civilising process is outlined and specific elements identified which develop the investigation presented in this thesis. Lea and Young's (1984) development of the concept of relative deprivation is proposed as offering a useful theoretical synthesis. It is compatible with the relational focus of figurational sociology whilst understanding how 'crime' may be produced from interdependent relationships which are both socially and economically unequal. The theoretical framework is then connected to develop the core theoretical proposition and indicate how relevant concepts may be adapted. As such, there is no directly corresponding established-outsider chapter, although many of the issues raised in Elias's (1976) introductory theoretical essay in the 1994 edition are considered. The strengths and relative limitations of the established-outsider model are discussed, and ways in which these may be adapted to address the problem outlined above to produce an example of sociological criminology (Swann and Hughes 2016; Hughes forthcoming) which may add to the 'public fund of knowledge' (Elias 1987b, p.62).

Chapter 3 corresponds to established-outsider Chapter 1 'Considerations of Procedure'. The relationship of theory to research, the ways in which the empirical data from this investigation are influenced by and develop extant conceptual-theoretical-methodological resources are discussed. Some more explicitly realist ontological and epistemological considerations are then examined, and their relationship to figurational sociology explored. The research design and empirical data collection methods employed are then considered, and the analytical effort of 'detachment' is discussed. Finally, a discussion of the ethical considerations permeating the research is presented.

Chapter 4 corresponds to established-outsider Chapter 2 'Neighbourhood Relations in the Making'; Chapter 3 'Overall Picture of Zone 1 and Zone 2'; and Chapter 6 'Overall Picture of Zone 3'. This chapter outlines the setting in which the research takes place. 'Welshtown' is situated in geographical and historical terms, and the particular historical and geographical development of Ashmill is discussed. The participant identified neighbourhoods of Ashmill are 'Zoned' as Elias and Scotson do in the Winton Parva study, and a rough statistical outline of

24

Ashmill is presented and problematized, before the reader is taken on a metaphorical 'walk' around the community.

There is no equivalent established-outsider chapter to Chapter 5, which focuses on the 'rough' and 'respectable' boundaries which emerged from the empirical fieldwork. The experiential dimensions of these boundaries are made explicit, and four types of boundary are identified: social, spatial, temporal, and emotional. The maintenance and transgression of these boundaries are explored to grasp how exaggerated reputations about Blackacre may be reproduced.

Chapter 6 corresponds with established-outsider Chapter 7 'Observations on Gossip'. After exploring how gossip might work as a mechanism which structures the community figuration in Ashmill, the concept of the 'no-grassing' rule is investigated as a phenomenon which may have similar social control functions to gossip. The nature and extent of the 'no-grassing' rule operating among some residents of Blackacre is investigated, and the possibility that it may form part of a process of empowerment for some residents, effectively tightening the grip of the double-bind situation.

Chapter 7 loosely corresponds with established-outsider Chapter 4 'The Mother Centred Families of Zone 2', and Chapter 5 'Local Associations and the "Old Families' Network"'. This chapter explores the accounts of members of families living on the Blackacre estate which represent 'real types' as 'notorious' and 'respectable' families. The analysis of these accounts highlight the commonalities that many residents of the estate have with those living in the surrounding neighbourhood. They also illustrate the figurational processes by which a 'notorious' family may come to develop a 'reputation' over several generations. The aim is to refocus attention away from perceived personality weaknesses of 'troubled families' and their friendship networks onto the figurational relationships which may act as mechanisms in the reproduction of intimidating reputations and power, and also of we-identities, at least for some.

Chapter 8 roughly corresponds with established-outsider Chapter 8 'Young People in Winston Parva'. In this chapter, the importance of belonging to a place in the process of socialisation is explored. In presenting empirical evidence of the experience of growing-up based on accounts of several young men, I develop the argument that collective fantasies of 'respectable' residents in the

surrounding community, and 'rough' residents of the Blackacre estate, are key and generationally reproduced aspects of the socialisation process.

In the final chapter, the key arguments made in the thesis are drawn together. Comparisons and connections are made with extant studies in order to add to the corpus of reality congruent social scientific knowledge. The theoretical-empirical work generated in this study is used in order to make key theoretical claims which both support existing theory, and develop new insights and claims which progress the theoretical framework employed in this thesis. These claims concern the continuities and differences in neighbourhood relationships when compared to those considered by Elias and Scotson fifty-years ago. They explore the interdependencies which both knit communities together, and simultaneously produce conflict based double-bind situations. Observations which elucidate the concept of 'grassing' as underpinning a code of honour which binds some residents of the estate is developed and explained, and finally, the proposition that some residents of Blackacre may have, over the course of several generations, come to be established *as* outsiders is examined. These claims are considered in light of the limitations of the study, and possibilities for further research are outlined which may also have theoretical resonance with similar intensive case studies, and potential policy implications.

Chapter 2: Developing and Adapting the Theoretical Framework Beyond Established-Outsider Theory

In the previous chapter, the contemporary images of British council estates as 'rough', sometimes 'dangerous', residualised places were discussed. It was argued that research involving estates has tended to focus on 'giving a voice' to residents, presenting 'partisan' or what is better conceived of as 'heteronomous'[11] (Elias 1987b) research in order to challenge stigmatising political and media representations. However, this intellectual tradition may overlook long-term processes and interdependent relationships between residential groups possessing varying degrees of social power which reproduce stigmatisation. Established-outsider theory is proposed as an appropriate intensive case study model to investigate these processes and interdependent relationships. Having provided an outline of established-outsider theory in Chapter 1, this chapter considers the wider theoretical framework informing this thesis, and how this may be used to usefully adapt and develop the established-outsider model. The first section of this chapter briefly summarises Elias's (2000) theory of the civilising process, a key text in the development of figurational sociology. This theory examines the changing forms of violence and manners which are evident in the behaviour of individuals in contemporary society when compared to previous periods. It provides an explanation for these differences which traces long-term structural transformations and processes. Relative deprivation theory is then proposed as a key theoretical synthesis with the figurational framework underpinning this thesis. The concept of relative deprivation, as adapted by Lea and Young (1984) from Runciman (1972), captures the feelings of resentment and social injustice experienced between socially proximate groups which can act as a mechanism for 'crime'. As such, it complements the relational focus of the thesis and develops the discussion in addressing 'the crime and violence question' (Hughes forthcoming). This theoretical framework is then connected and developed in order to formulate

---

[11] A discussion of the concepts of heteronomous and autonomous evaluations are discussed in Chapter 3. Briefly, heteronomous research involves questions which relate to particular standpoints or perspectives; they are highly emotionally 'involved'. In contrast, autonomous research suspends and subordinates individual or group interests to produce more 'detached' evaluations (see Elias 1987b).

the core theoretical proposition which sees the generational emergence of some relatively powerful family-based friendship networks on Blackacre as an inextricable part of the broader figuration in Ashmill. This section develops the framework of the thesis in a more explicitly criminological direction, to consider how and why residents within a community may both bond, and become entangled in double-binds underpinned by feelings of fear and safety. A transformation in the type of behaviour 'feared', from 'crime' and violence, to non-criminalised harms caught in the term 'antisocial behaviour', and the attempts to 'civilise' target populations are then discussed. A development of the mechanism of 'gossip' is then presented highlighting commonalities with the 'no-grassing' rule and a 'code of honour' which may generationally bond some residents of Blackacre through a process of sociological inheritance.

The Civilising Process[12]

Established-outsider theory and the theory of the civilising process both aim to explain dynamic power relationships between interdependent groups of people. They are fundamentally the same theory, although each offers a greater elaboration of some concepts and themes than the other (Mennell 1989, p.116). The summary of the theory of the civilising process presented in this section is necessarily abridged, drawing on the themes and concepts which develop the present investigation, principally in relation to 'manners' and 'violence'. Elias examined how, since the Middle Ages, Europeans came to see themselves as 'civilised' in comparison to other more 'barbaric' people. This was not to argue that they were in fact comparatively more 'civilised', but to explain the *processes* which produced this self-image of cultural superiority (Linklater and Mennell 2010, p.385), and essentially the same type of superior-inferior relationship is analysed in the micro-sociological study of Winston Parva. Elias (1936, p.xiii) hypothesised, after scrutinising European historical documents, that a profound interconnection exists between two developmental dimensions. Firstly, the largely unplanned long-term transformations in the social structure which give rise to institutions and formations, the 'sociogenetic' dimension; and secondly,

---

[12] *The Civilising Process* was originally published in two volumes in 1939 as *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*. For a discussion of the intriguing and protracted process of recognition of this text, which is inextricably bound-up with Elias's biography, the reader is directed to Mennell's (1989, pp.3-26) account.

observable changes in people's behaviour and personality structure, the 'psychogenetic' dimension. These two dimensions cannot be understood separately, they link the long-term historical civilising process with every individual's socialisation[13]. In this way, the personality structure of each individual is shaped not only by the immediate environment into which they are born, but also by the standards and 'manners' demanded at that particular stage of the social civilising process, developed over the many generations which precedes every individual. Each individual grows-up and undergoes an individual civilising process, incorporating, to a greater or lesser extent and success, the personality structure which pertains within their group at that particular stage of the long-term social civilising process (Elias 1936, p.xi). Elias traces a shift in manners and behaviour towards increasing self-restraint and control over emotions, as increasing interdependence between individuals with greater feelings of mutual identification develops. In his introduction to the work of Elias, Fletcher (1997, p.82) suggests that the three main criteria of a civilising process are:

> a shift in the balance between constraints by others and self-restraint involving the taming, differentiation and increasing complexity of external controls; the development of a social standard of behaviour and feeling which generates the emergence of a more even, all-round, stable and differentiated self-restraint; an increase in the scope of mutual identification between people.

This increasing interdependence and mutual identification is connected to larger social structural transformations involving trade within, and later between, states[14], which requires relative pacification. Key to understanding the

---

[13] Elias was significantly influenced by Freud's work. However, he was critical of Freud's focus on individual socialisation, overlooking the pre-existent historical influences which affect every human's individual socialisation. From the moment we are born we are affected by long-term civilising processes. Ray (2011, p.21) suggests that Elias ''historicizes' Freud's theory' (see also Collins 2008; Goudsblom and Mennell 1998; Mears 2013; Mennell 1989; Van Krieken 2001).

[14] Keane (1996) argues that individual nation states have been 'civilised' in as much as the state controls its populations through the monopoly of violence. However, these 'civilised' relationships are less secure between nation states. This is, arguably, more so in light of the recent insecurities in both the European and United States contexts; which inevitably have global ramifications. Keane (1996, p.27) argues that 'war and the rumours of war are omnipresent conditions of the civilizing process'. Blok (1974, p.xxviii) suggests that the 'state is ultra-violence incarnate'.

sociogenisis of states are the centralisation and monopolisation of the use of physical violence, and the interrelated development of state taxation (Elias 1997, p.175). Through taxation, states were able to raise funds to form armed forces, subduing challenges from less powerful quarters, thereby continuing a nascent, unplanned process of pacification conducive with successful trading in the emerging money economy (Elias 1983). However, Hall and Winlow (2015) argue that this is a process of 'pseudo-pacification'; a decline in public sphere interpersonal violence underpinned the emergence of a capitalist economy. Their essentially neo-Marxist critique of the civilising process usefully highlights a relative limitation of Elias's theory; that is, the impact of class conflict in the civilising process. However, they arguably shift too far in this direction, reducing their argument to one of economic class conflict:

> the fundamental driver for the decline in violence was not an increase in the ethos of civilization and progress but the emergence of a dualistic economic need for pacification in an emerging market economy (Hall and Winlow 2015, p.116).

The development of states and their monopoly of violence has underpinned a long-term reduction in violence, quantified in terms of homicide (see Pinker 2012; Eisner 2003, 2008) and a concomitant increase in shame as the main agent of social control (Scheff 2016). With increasing centralisation and urbanisation[15], the development of laws and the introduction of civilian police forces[16] to resolve disputes between individuals, 'crime' shifted from being against the individual to against the state, gradually preventing people from taking the law into their own hands (Spierenburg 1984, pp.6-8). Elias traces the overall social repression of violence, from a society in which private feuds were habitually settled by public violence to one in which the state monopolisation of violence, especially through the police, is now 'normally' relied upon to resolve public disagreements.

---

[15] For a comprehensive discussion of the pacification of European society in the process of urbanisation in comparison to nostalgic (and mythical) representations of earlier, supposedly peaceful, bucolic agrarian society, the reader is directed to the collection of essays in Johnson and Monkkonen (1996).

[16] As part of the emergence of centralised states in Europe considered by Elias (1983) in the development of the court society, Louis XIV organised a (possibly the first) centralised state police force in Paris in 1667 (Tucker 2017).

> ... with this monopolization of physical violence as the point of intersection of a multitude of social interconnections, the whole apparatus which shapes individuals, the mode of production of social demands and prohibitions which mould their social habitus, and above all the kinds of fear that play a part in their lives are decisively changed (Elias 1936, p.xiii).

It is worth highlighting that Elias used the concept of 'violence' as an 'undifferentiated' concept. Deploying the development of the concept by Dunning et al. (1988), violence may be understood as a range of behaviours occurring within a continuum between 'instrumental' and 'expressive' violence. Instrumental violence may be used to achieve a particular outcome, whereas expressive violence is impulsive or gratifying. Violence may be both instrumental and expressive, although tending to one form or the other within discrete encounters. The development of state control of violence has affected the personality structures of individuals at the present stage of civilisation. For most individuals living in 'civilised' states in which a legitimate police force exists, public sphere disagreements which once may have been resolved by threats or violence, are more likely to be resolved by recourse to the law and the police as bearers of state power. However, the reduction in public violence may have resulted in a relative increase in private sphere violence.

The problem of private sphere violence, whilst not the main focus of this thesis, is a relevant issue. Briefly, the observation that inter-personal violence has shifted from the public to the more individualised and private sphere with the monopolisation of physical force by the state is highlighted by Ray (2011) and Cooney (2003). However, the proliferation of 'Domestic Violence' initiatives, and the castigation of perpetrators of abuse against women, children, and the elderly in private spaces must also be evidence of a civilising process in the private sphere. As Elias (1997, p.176) comments:

> Nowadays, the precept that under no circumstances should men hit women – not even each other, even when they are stronger – that not even children should be hit, is far more deeply anchored in the feelings of individuals than it ever was in past centuries.

Violence may also be privatised in other ways. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.111) highlight the horror and sex films available to 'delinquent' young people at the local cinema in Winston Parva. Atkinson and Rodgers (2016) highlight the availability of online pornography and violence to develop a crucial aspect of Elias's civilising process theory, identifying the 'virtual' spaces in which individuals increasingly engage in sexual and violent fantasies. The key point is that a transformation of the spaces of violence is occurring; violent urges remain just under the surface, but may be performed and gratified by individuals in more privatised contexts. The main implication is that public violence and confrontation has reduced with the development of the state monopoly on violence where the police are accepted as legitimate agents of social control. However, public violence may be disproportionately more common in places where the legitimacy of the police, and other agencies of social control, is rejected.

An increase in interpersonal violence is likely to be disproportionately experienced by residents of relatively deprived communities, such as estates, who experience economic and social marginalisation (Cooney 2003; Ray 2011), and some residents of estates may tend to distrust official agencies, especially the police, and find ways to manage their safety largely without relying on them (Evans et al. 1996; Walklate and Evans 1999; and Yates 2004, 2006). Whilst Elias hypothesised a long-term process in the civilising direction, he also conceived of *decivilising* processes, of 'regression to barbarism' (Elias 1997, p.308) in relation to Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. Evidence of contemporary decivilising processes is available: Dunning (2016) highlights the decivilising process occurring presently in relationships between the 'civilised West' and the 'barbaric jihadists'. Swann and Hughes (2016, p.24) argue that a process of decivilisation may be linked to the increasingly precarious nature of social and economic life which make the processes of socialisation more uncertain and complex. This supports an important point; that some residents of relatively deprived neighbourhoods may be more likely to reject the legitimacy of the police and resolve problems through interpersonal violence. It also highlights a limitation in Elias's (2000) thesis, which tends to downplay the significance of the economy. Ray (2011, p.193) states:

although Elias has a concept of the spatial organization of cultural and economic interdependencies (figurations), this theory does not take account of the potentially decivilizational consequences of the spatial organization of capital ... patterns of known violent crime correspond to locations of high deprivation and inequality.

The most significant contribution of the civilising process theory in this thesis is in explaining the relative differences in manners, and the rejection of the police and other official agencies as legitimate agents of public control and problem resolution, which may be evident between different neighbourhoods in Ashmill. Public behaviour such as urinating, spitting, swearing, aggressive confrontations, drunkenness, and violent outbursts may be less common among residents able to claim 'respectability'. There may also be greater disapproval and denigration of people who fail to observe 'good' manners, self-restraint, and exercise control over their emotions among 'respectable' people. Although Elias and Scotson (1994) argue that the statistical data they gathered indicated that structural differences between neighbourhoods in Winston Parva were not sufficient to explain status differences, they also acknowledge that social power was probably related to an 'uneven growth of wealth in the community' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.68). The relatively small differences in power and resources between residents living in Ashmill may help to better explain expressions of resentment between residents which entrench perceived status differences and maintain double-binds, but crucially, are not sufficient explanations in themselves. As such, a theoretical proposition developed in this thesis is that established-outsider theory may benefit from the integration of 'relative deprivation' theory.

Relative Deprivation Theory

It was argued earlier that estates are stereotypically associated with a 'benefits culture', supported by an alternative criminal, especially drug related, economy. Viewed in figurational terms, expressions of resentment from 'respectable' residents frequently reproduce collective fantasies about the types of people who live on estates. The breaching of respectable taboos can provoke 'in "superior" groups ... anger, hostility, disgust or contempt' (Elias and Scotson

1994, p.154). These fantasy-images are often influenced by representations observed in political and media discourses branding estate residents as 'chavs', 'skivers', and overrun by 'feral youth'. Lea and Young (1984) employ the concept of 'relative deprivation'[17] as a key causal concept in grasping subjective feelings of discontent; that one group is unjustly benefitting relative to another. Relative deprivation theory hypothesises that the feelings of resentment that act as a mechanism in the generation of 'crime' can be experienced anywhere in the social structure, not only among the socially deprived and excluded, although this is more likely in the latter (Young 2006). The concept grasps the promise and the failure of the rewards according to merit principle (Young 2002, p.23). It is suggested that this concept offers a useful theoretical adaptation to established-outsider theory in examining the problems highlighted in this thesis. The concept of relative deprivation necessarily involves the recognition of an interdependent relationship between two (or more) groups of people, complimenting established-outsider theory in understanding double-bind relationships, and the feelings of resentment which may permeate everyday interactions. The concept of relative deprivation simultaneously captures the frustrations of those in the lower-strata of society experiencing social and economic exclusion towards those nearby who are marginally better-off; and the dissatisfaction of those marginally better-off towards people 'below' them who are seen as unfairly benefitting from the system (Young 1999). This is evident in McKenzie's account where she claims that estate 'outsiders' resent communities like St Ann's who display a sense of pride and belonging which is largely absent from contemporary Britain and which 'as those on the outside see it, they have no right to be' (McKenzie 2015, p.199).

Whilst the concept of relative deprivation is not explicitly employed by Elias and Scotson (1994), it is clear that similar relationships were at work in their observations where they note 'sarcastic remarks' about the increase in the

---

[17] Merton (1968) also develops the concept of relative deprivation but tends to focus on the discontent experienced by an individual actor rather than between groups. As Young (2006, p.350) comments, Merton's use of relative deprivation 'does not involve comparisons between groups but individuals measuring themselves against a general goal'. Nevertheless, Lea and Young's (1984) work is conceptually close to Merton's (1938) development of anomie and social structure. According to Rock (2007, p.11): 'the current incarnation of anomie theory is to be found in muted form in 'Left Realism', where the idea of structural tension is integrated with that of the social meanings of the act to produce a conception of delinquency as a motivated response to the inequalities of capitalism'.

number of cars on the Estate: 'It's the big families who have cars … they run them off their family allowances' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.99). The emphasis on subjective perceptions of unfairness between groups which are relatively closely matched is particularly relevant in integrating relative deprivation theory with established-outsider theory. Reputational threats are sensed most viscerally between neighbours with minor differences. As Blok (2001 p.115) observes in the context of *mafia*[18] in a Sicilian Village, 'the fiercest struggles often take place between individuals, groups and communities that differ very little – or between which the differences have greatly diminished'. In Ashmill, as perhaps in many other typical British working-class communities, the actual material differences between residents of different neighbourhoods, in terms of income and opportunities are relatively small (see Chapter 4). However, it is this proximity, and the struggle to distinguish one's group as 'better', and acquire or maintain power, which underpins the stigmatisation of 'outsiders'.

A thread developed here is that emotions are critical in understanding interdependent relationships. The civilising process thesis explains how humans internalise social control in response to social transformations especially around feelings of shame[19], and experiences of shame permeate the analysis of relationships in Winston Parva. One of Elias and Scotson's (1994) concerns was why residents of the Estate did not fight back against the stigmatisation they experienced, finding that they lacked the social power to organise themselves. This was also a key consideration in Lea and Young's (1984) analysis, arguing that in relation not only to higher crime rates, but also poorer standards of building maintenance, repairs, and litter collections: 'The tenants are not organised enough to retaliate' (Lea and Young 1984, p.73). Residents of the Estate are stigmatised as inferior people and are unable to fight back, these group images becoming deeply entrenched in an individual's personal image (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.105). Relatively little attention is paid by Elias and Scotson to the opportunities for empowerment that may be

---

[18] Blok (1974) understands *mafia* as a system of violent control in the largely agricultural context of the Sicilian village he studied. It emerged out of complex social, economic, and political processual transformations in which the state's monopoly on violence was relatively weak.

[19] As Gilligan (1997, p.110) argues: 'The emotion of shame is the primary or ultimate cause of all violence'. The importance of shame, and its repression as a taboo subject of discussion, is also highlighted by Scheff (no date): 'there are many studies of the shame system, but hidden under other terms: fear of rejection, disrespect, stigma, honor cultures, revenge, etc.'

presented for a few residents of the estate who may capitalise on their exaggerated reputations for intimidation and violence. Moran (2015), taking a 'subcultural' approach, highlights the importance of emotions, particularly shame and resentment to understand how some groups meaningfully[20] resolve problems. He argues that American street gangs may develop a sense of 'we-ness' as a way of converting shame into pride. This involves acts and gestures of mutual support, such that a sense of 'we-ness' is developed which contrasts with the world outside (Moran 2015, p.567). One of the theoretical propositions developed in this thesis is that feelings of stigmatisation experienced by residents of some estates may be transformed into group pride. However, a 'subcultural'[21] approach understands this problem in a highly time- and place-situated, *intra*-group process, displaying 'historical amnesia' (Dunning et al. 1988, p.21). The concept of a 'subculture' tends to encapsulate social phenomena within a relatively closed time-frame, 'hanging in mid-air' (Elias 1983, p.187) and largely overlooking the broader long-term processes at work which have preceded the current practices people use to meaningfully resolve everyday problems.

Interdependent relationships with other groups in a figuration which are sociologically transmitted between generations of family-based friendship networks are central to grasping how stigma may be transformed into group pride in this thesis. A 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96) may develop and be sociologically transmitted among generations of people trapped on estates in attempting to resolve the exclusion, shame, and resentment they experience. In these habituses, 'respect' may be acquired through acts of, and reputations for, intimidation and violence. As Blok (1974, p.61) notes, within a system of *mafia* 'respect' is associated with reputations for toughness and a capacity for physical violence. For some estate residents, particularly young men, this may be close to

---

[20] The concept of 'meaningfulness' is highlighted by Elias (1997, p.203) who argues that people, especially young people, suffer 'barrier[s] to meaningfulness … whether created through laws, unemployment or whatever, generates a broad recruiting field not only for the drug-dealers of the present, but also for future urban guerrillas and for future radical movements in general …'. This is perhaps prophetic of the rise of religious fundamentalist terrorism and anti-Jihadist movements in the early 2000s.

[21] Young (1997, p.303) discusses the concept of subculture which he explains are meaningful resolutions to problems: 'it is central to a realist position that objective conditions are interpreted through the specific sub-cultures of groups involved … Realism focuses on lived realities … Sub-cultures are problem-solving devices which constantly arise as people in specific groups attempt to solve the structural problems which face them'.

a 'warrior code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.51) based on violence plus courage. Relatively short chains of interdependence are maintained with trusted neighbours, in contrast to the longer chains of interdependence developed in more privatised neighbourhoods. The quantifiable long-term historical decline in violent crime may be correlated with a rise in privatised moral individualism, and a decline in masculine honour cultures in which men kill each other (Eisner 2003). As people become more individualised and interdependent, lengthening chains of interdependence result in a greater sense of empathy, with individuals less likely to engage in violence. However, Ray (2011, p.50) highlights a possible contrasting inclination, whereby in 'a society in which material and cultural differences remain ... but where there is an appearance of equalization and informality, might actually see an increase in interpersonal violence'. This is a pertinent consideration in this study, and one which highlights the helpfulness of the concept of relative deprivation. The discussion so far has outlined the theoretical framework informing the study presented in this thesis. In the next section the discussion will connect this theoretical framework in order to develop the core thesis.

Sociological Criminology: Connecting Figurational Sociology to Realist Criminology

The overarching question that this thesis investigates is how estates like Blackacre have come to be seen as 'rough' places. It asks questions about relationships between pluralities of people through an intensive case study in Ashmill, which may shed light on theoretical resonances with similar figurations. Seen through the established-outsider lens, the core theoretical proposition in this thesis hypothesises that the stigmatised 'minority of the worst' residents on Blackacre, the notorious family-based friendship networks on the estate, have emerged from interdependent relationships with other residents within the community figuration. The positions of these notorious families have developed in an unplanned way over about three generations, each subsequent generation being stigmatised by subsequent generations of residents from the surrounding neighbourhood of Ashmill. This stigmatisation reproduces a collective fantasy which maintains a polarised and oversimplified 'respectable' and 'rough' distinction. In particular, blame gossip casts these

notorious families, and all residents of Blackacre, as antisocial, alcohol and drug dependent, and violent criminals. In contrast, residents of the surrounding community are able to claim 'respectability' and protect their own charismatic status based on the collective fantasy distinction between themselves and the 'rough' residents of Blackacre. However, over generations, some residents of Blackacre may have capitalised on the stigma directed towards them. By building reputations based on intimidation they may have transformed stigma and shame into pride and power. An interdependent relationship exists in which both groups capitalise upon and reproduce these status positions. In this section, the preceding theoretical discussion will be integrated in order to produce a theoretical framework which connects figurational sociology with realist criminology which may help to explain the unplanned processes involved in this reputational and power struggle. In the next section, the idea of community 'binds' and 'bonds' are discussed.

Community 'Binds' and 'Bonds'

In their investigation into the fear of crime on an inner city housing estate in Salford, Evans et al. (1996, p.379) identify 'a key sociological problem: what is meant by 'community'? The concept of 'community' is not straightforward and has remained a 'relatively underdeveloped' (Walklate 2001, p.317) and 'deeply problematic' word (Hughes 2006a, p.47). As noted in Chapter 1, established-outsider theory understands residential communities as 'bounded' in a particular place. The concept of bounded residential communities, in terms of geography, choice, and reality, is developed by Swann and Hughes (2016) to emphasise the interdependency at the forefront of Elias and Scotson's (1994) study. Thus, 'community' is understood neither as 'romantic' nor 'oppressive' (Swann and Hughes 2016, p.682), but as an emergent feature connecting individuals within a figuration. People often use 'place' to distinguish themselves from others according to 'where they feel comfortable with others 'like themselves'' (Watt 2006, p.779). As noted in Chapter 1, this thesis conceives of 'community' as involving relationships between people who are 'placed', occupying households in the same locality and interdependently connected with each other to a greater or lesser extent. 'Place' is used in everyday language to evoke feelings of belonging (le Grand 2014), appealing to

a connected sense of shared identity based on a known and understood system of cohesive values, and Sampson's (2012, p.21) study of Chicago emphasises the critical importance of local neighbourhoods in the organisation of space and social life.

However, place-based communities are sometimes seen as under threat from large-scale social transformations such as neo-liberal capitalism, globalisation, political totalitarianism, and religious extremism (Winlow and Hall 2013; Young 2007). Criticism of the concept of community as bounded in a particular place often emphasises contemporary opportunities for social mobility (the requirement of work mobility rather than between social classes) available to those who are able and more willing to exercise 'choice'[22] about where they live and with whom they associate (Savage et al. 2005). This 'choice' may be less available to many residents of estates whose reality is bounded in geography, and constrained by social exclusion which limits opportunities for access to education and well-paid jobs. Moving to find work is nothing new, examples of people migrating to find work can be found throughout history, as illustrated in Winston Parva and, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, Welshtown developed directly as a consequence of waves of workers migrating to the area during the mid-nineteenth century. Not all people moving into a community for the purpose of work are necessarily 'outsiders', as some may be able to claim 'elective belonging' (Savage 2010, p.23). The distinction made here is the 'choice' to move in search of work which may be comparatively more constrained for many residents of residualised estates.

The figuration in Winston Parva involved relationships between the relatively cohesive 'respectable' established community in Zone 2, and the relatively anomic 'rough' outsiders of Zone 3. This respectable-rough status distinction is employed in this study as it captures more closely the nature of distinctions

---

[22] Elias (2001, pp.142-146) discusses the concept of 'choice' in connection with the process of individualisation; the increasing necessity for self-restraint in the way individuals behave. We are expected to make ever-increasing 'choices', the outcomes of which are assumed to be a direct result of our exercise of free choice, and so we are judged according to the 'choices' we make. Nevertheless, 'choice' is not able to be exercised evenly across society, and the use of the concept of 'relative deprivation' theory, particularly as outlined by Lea and Young (1984), is a useful theoretical adaptation to understand the problems addressed in this thesis.

expressed by participants during fieldwork conversations[23]. It also indicates the slight shift in focus from considering power relationships and status distinctions based primarily on length of residence, to consider other figurational aspects, such as images of economic worthlessness and moral delinquency, which may influence the stigmatisation of residents of Blackacre as of lower-status. Some community figurations in the early twenty-first century may be less localised, perhaps less intimately connected than Winston Parva; although probably not as anomic as Winlow and Hall (2013) suggest in their vision of a 'post-social' society. However, it may be that opportunities to opt in or out of established-outsider figurations may be possible for some residents in an increasingly mobile and individualised society, perhaps producing a majority of 'locally indifferent' residents (Hogenstijn et al. 2008, p.152). Ashmill is not a district of a big cosmopolitan city, and there may still be *Gemeinschaft*-like[24] connections between residents which have persisted for generations, involving strong local ties and interpersonal trust. Nevertheless, the development of a more individualised and privatised work-mobile community, at least in some neighbourhoods, may also be observable. Elias (2001) observes that since the middle-ages, there has been a continued and rapid weakening of the we-identity, as the balance between the I- and we-identity, coexistent aspects of any one individual's identity, has shifted towards the I-identity. This has implications for the for the idea of 'community', such that, as Elias (1973, p.xxix) argues, that there may be an:

> increasing defunctionalisation of communities until all that is left from the wide range of binding functions of communities in less differentiated societies are a community's functions for the private lives of those who form it.

---

[23] This point also acknowledges the influence that my presence and research focus inevitably had on the framing of the empirical data, picking-up on behaviour and conversations, and stimulating talk which might help to explain or confound explanations of relationships between residents in terms of feelings of safety and fear.

[24] Tönnies (1974) discusses the differences between the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. He states: 'All intimate, private and exclusive living together … is understood as life in Gemeinschaft (community). Gesellschaft (society) is public life – it is the world itself. In Gemeinschaft with one's family, one lives from birth on, bound to it in weal and woe. One goes into Gesellschaft as one goes into a strange country' (Tönnies 1974, p.7). The concept of *Gemeinschaft* conveys a much closer, more sanguine relationship.

In this sense, McKenzie (2015, p.199) may be astute in her observation that resentment may be felt by 'outsiders' who see estates as benefiting from a sense of community pride and belonging, of bonding, which may be diminishing in contemporary Britain.

In Winston Parva, community institutions such as social and sports clubs, pubs, and church societies were used and controlled by a fairly enduring group of established local people. Given the significant social and economic transformations in the intervening fifty years, similar institutions are now more likely to have a more transient membership. They may be managed by individuals who are required to comply with policy and legislative requirements in order to attract funding intended to 'include' relatively deprived groups, and abide by anti-discrimination legislation. This raises questions around how the dynamics of local social power operate in the early twenty-first century, and how power is exercised in the more individualised, globally mediated context. In contemporary Ashmill, relative newcomers may make up a significant proportion of the 'respectable' community, and the power of 'established' residents to exclude 'outsiders' within largely face-to-face community contexts may have been diluted. In this sense, the situation observed in Winston Parva may have inverted in some respects in the intervening fifty years, with residents of estates like Blackacre, often bounded by less capacity and 'choice' to move, forming relatively stable and closely bonded communities, with families living nearby for generations. In the process, some estate residents and families may have become relatively 'established'; established *as* outsiders.

An argument developed in this thesis is that a historically traceable British group broadly 'labelled'[25] as the 'under-class'[26] (Pearson 1983, p.236) is

---

[25] Labelling theory, such as that formulated by Becker (1991), has a resonance with the theoretical framework employed in this thesis. The processual nature of 'labelling' an individual or a group as deviant is acknowledged, and may, in the case of labelling an individual as a 'grass' – a 'deviant deviant' – be suitable. Nevertheless, in terms of the broader thesis, this approach tends to restrict analysis to the *lifetime* of the labelled *individual*. In contrast, in figurational sociology established and outsider groups are considered as a whole (Hughes and Goodwin 2016, p.9). Becker's concept tends to bracket out the overarching historical dimensions through which personality structures are shaped. Hughes notes this problem with Becker's labelling theory when considering the process of becoming a (tobacco) smoker, and the historical transformation towards 'a growing *individualization* of the functions of, and rationalizations for, tobacco use' (Hughes 2003, p.145). This is important in grasping the historical interdependence, and historical labelling, between the 'dangerous' British 'under-class' and the 'respectable' classes identified by Pearson (1983).

observable, the emergence of which involves long-term figurational processes. The collective fantasy that 'they' either 'choose', or 'naturally' inherit immoral and dishonest dispositions is rejected, proposing that sociological processes are evident in which intra-working-class stigmatisation occurs, whereby relatively deprived groups may be stigmatised by neighbours who are often only marginally better situated, but able to claim 'respectability'. It is in these liminal spaces where fierce reputational competition takes place and where violent confrontations between people, who have many social and cultural features in common, may occur. Furthermore, employing a figurational approach can illustrate how figurations can endure generationally, even after individuals who formed them have died and been replaced (Elias 1983, p.142). 'Respectable' and 'rough' neighbourhoods are distinguished within working-class communities, entrenching double-binds in which feelings of relative fear and safety pervade everyday life.

Fear and Safety

In the civilising process, violence is seen as a 'normal' feature of everyday life which individuals must learn to negotiate (Fletcher 1997, p.52). For many people living in 'civilised' societies, the negotiation of violent confrontation has been shifted from a 'individual' to a 'state' responsibility, primarily through the development of armed forces and civilian police forces. As this thesis argues, whilst the experience of public interpersonal violence has declined overall, this has not been an even process, either globally or in the context of local communities such as Ashmill. Fear is an intrinsic quality of established-outsider relations; fear of a threat to a 'civilised' reputation, and the fear of violence from those labelled as 'barbaric'.

As Mears (2013) notes in discussing violence and the process of civilisation, social scientists often exhibit a 'romantic wish' to perceive earlier societies as more peaceful and cooperative. Similarly, Pearson (1983) examines the

---

[26] Pearson (1983) uses the term 'under-class' in contrast to Murray's (1990) 'underclass'. Pearson (1983) was not using the term 'under-class' in the sense in which Murray (1990) used the term to label an 'emergent' class of people as an economically and morally worthless class inclined to crime and violence and beyond hope. Rather, Pearson was identifying a group of the poorest British citizens who historically bear the brunt of reproduced national stigma, and are the object of the 'respectable fears' of people who are able to claim 'respectability'. This distinction is maintained throughout this thesis.

historically observable British social 'nostalgia' which imagines that life was less violent 'before', emphasising a romantic longing for a time when people were 'more civilised', and in the process blaming the emergent 'immoral underclass' for the breakdown of 'decent' society. Drawing on literature and news reports, Pearson works back in time from the 1980s to the sixteenth century and notices an approximately twenty-year pattern which reproduces mythical 'respectable fears' about those individuals at the bottom of the social strata; the 'under-class' (Pearson 1983, p.236). He argues that, when myth is replaced with fact, we find that we are becoming more civilised and less violent; that public violence and 'carnival' were more commonplace in the past, and have been gradually suppressed (see also Presdee 2000). Pearson did not employ an explicitly 'Eliasian' approach, however, interpreted through this lens his analysis reveals an historically evident double-bind: the 'respectable' fears of the violent 'under-class' were reproduced in successive generations every twenty-years or so.

Pearson not only identifies the mythical thinking which underpins this 'respectable nostalgia', he also highlights the importance of 'disadvantage' in this enduring stigmatisation. Pearson's (1983, p.236) core thesis is that:

> The inescapable reality of the social reproduction of an under-class of the most poor and dispossessed is the material foundation to these hooligan continuities … it is those crimes that are associated with the materially disadvantaged under-class which have provided the continuing thread within this history of respectable fears.

Pearson is not arguing that poverty 'causes' crime, rather that it is the crimes of the poor which have historically been the focus of respectable fears. This perspective is important in developing this thesis, as evidence of a historical double-bind between 'respectable' and disadvantaged 'under-class' groups, and a decline in violence and rise in sensitivities, are empirically observable. The argument developed here is that 'respectable fears' may be generationally reproduced, every twenty years or so as Pearson (1983) observes, and attributed to the enduring British 'under-class' who are now largely identified and identifiable as residualised residents of council estates.

The 'fear of crime' is a concept which is inadequately theorised according to Hollway and Jefferson (1997). It is usually seen as a 'bad' thing, although it may also function to encourage individuals to increase vigilance and take precautions (Matthews 2014, p.146). Stanko (1990, p.34) talks of 'everyday danger' which grasps the imprecise quality of the kind of behaviour which people tend to fear, and as Merry (1981, p.125) comments in her case study of urban danger in 'Dover Square' an urban neighbourhood in the USA:

> danger has a variety of meanings ... It means encounters with muggers on deserted streets, invasion by culturally alien neighbors, stumbling over dishevelled drunks asleep on the sidewalk. But essentially danger is fear of the stranger, the person who is potentially harmful, but whose behaviour seems unpredictable and beyond control.

Occasionally, fear of a specific 'crime' may be expressed; such as after a bout of robberies, or burglaries in a specific area. However, as this extract from Merry eloquently illustrates, whilst the fear of 'danger' may include a criminal offence, most often it is the fear of the unknown, the unpredictable and uncontrollable that raises tension and fear among residents.

The relationship between fear of crime and safety is an 'awkward' one with an inverse relationship between subjective fear of crime and objective risk of victimisation being apparent (Crawford 2007, p.899). There is also a paradoxical relationship between a decline in crime and the fear of crime (Innes and Fielding 2002). This is a consistent feature with figures from the 2013/2014 Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) (Flatly 2015, p.2) showing that 61% of adults perceiving an increase in crime. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the poorest and most physically vulnerable groups may feel less safe (Pantazis 2000), with findings from the 2013/14 CSEW showing that it is people with the lowest incomes, social renters, and those living in the 20% most deprived areas who were most likely to have perceived a rise in local and national crime (Flatly 2015, p.6). As Lea and Young (1984) highlight, it is the relatively powerless and the poor who are more likely to be offenders and victims of street-crime, and the fear of crime is a 'real' problem; as they powerfully emphasise 'an irrational fear of crime has real consequences.

Fantasies transform reality' (Lea and Young 1984, p.30). Whilst fear is undoubtedly experienced subjectively by individuals, rather than reducing feelings of fear to individual rational/irrational positions, the approach developed in this thesis is that fear may be experienced figurationally, and collective fantasies formed which reproduce 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983), especially about 'rough' neighbourhoods.

Environmental and spatial factors have a significant impact on perceptions of danger as Merry (1981), Stanko (1990), and Walklate (1998, 2002) highlight. Our sense of safety is profoundly shaped by our knowledge of dangerous and safe places (Reiss 1986, p.1), and fear may cause people to avoid certain neighbourhoods (Stanko 1990, p.5), highlighting the importance of reputations of 'place' in considering the fear of crime. However, there is relative inattention given to space in the established-outsiders model (Hogenstijn et al. 2008; May 2004; Nieguth and Lacassagne 2012), Elias and Scotson 'treat their little community as if were a self-contained unit' (Khleif 1968, p.125). The consideration of space, place, and safety is therefore a critical development of established-outsider theory to understand how residents of council estates come to be seen as 'rough'. Foster (1995) found that the general feeling of fear among some residents of the estate she studied was due to the design of the estate which made certain public spaces feel threatening. Many 1970s British council estates are based on the heavily criticised Radburn design (see Chapter 4) which tend to suffer high rates of crime and antisocial behaviour (Hope and Foster 1992; Welch 2009). This can have an impact on reputation as council estates can be unpopular to live in and manage, with higher rates of crime perceived (Power 1989). When fear is experienced by residents living in neighbourhoods with 'rough' reputations it may cause people to retreat into their homes or move away dividing communities into 'respectable' and 'non-respectable' parts (Lea and Young 1984, pp.63-65).

Kelling and Wilson's (1982) 'broken windows' theory hypothesises that environmental factors which signify low-level disorder and incivility can, if left unchecked, cause a neighbourhood to become perceived as dangerous. Decent residents then avoid or leave the neighbourhood, which eventually becomes a 'no-go' area. Kelling and Wilson (1982) argue that police resources should be

aimed at 'deteriorating' neighbourhoods in which the police work on foot, in close contact with the community, to maintain social order and control, and preventing escalation from minor incivilities to more serious crime and fear. This involves informal control to nip antisocial behaviour in the bud, and supporting the community in maintaining an environment in which broken windows, abandoned cars, litter and the like are reported and quickly repaired or removed. On the face of it, this is similar approach to the consensus policing thread in Lea and Young's (1984) thesis. However, unlike Lea and Young's thesis, broken windows theory 'abandons' neighbourhoods seen as 'beyond redemption', and neglects the wider structural factors of economic and social exclusion and community interdependencies which can trap people in 'deprived 'broken windows' communities' (Squires 2008, p.311).

In contrast, the formulation of consensus or community policing in Lea and Young's (1984) thesis argues that the absence of consistent neighbourhood policing may have produced the perception in some relatively deprived (and in their study racialised) neighbourhoods that the police are adversaries, responding to 'problems' in a 'military style' (Lea and Young 1984, p.172). Thirty-years later these are still pressing issues, with recent warnings of a return to military style policing (Dodd 2015). Jackson et al. (2013) found that attitudes towards reduced interpersonal violence among young men living in London was related to their perceived legitimacy of the police affected by experiences of 'procedural justice', that is, being treated fairly. They argue for a shift to consensual policing to promote police legitimacy as the state's representatives of the monopoly of force, to develop policing methods based on mutual trust and shared aims which allow all members of a community to be included in the reproduction of social order (Jackson et al. 2013, p.491). At the root of Lea and Young's (1984) argument is the production of pseudo-information when relationships between the police and the community are relatively remote and inconsistent. Lea and Young (1984, p.171; emphasis added) argue:

> the closer the relationship between the police and the community as regards the sharing of information (*that is, real information, not pseudo-information generated by the prejudices*

46

and stereotypes held by the community at large), the more the police can begin their investigations following actual leads and the less recourse to stereotypes becomes the basis for starting investigations.

Innes and Fielding (2002) consider the disproportionate impact of relatively minor crimes and incivilities, what they conceptualise as 'signal crimes', on feelings of community fear and safety. They draw on aspects of 'broken windows' theory to argue for community policing which is locally responsive and reassuring, such that long-term beat officers develop local trust and are able to capture 'open-source' intelligence. However, 'broken windows' theory has tended to demonise residents of 'rough' neighbourhoods as lacking self-control and rationally 'choosing' to commit crime. This is problematic, as it perceives crime and incivility as problems emerging from immoral individuals, requiring 'remoralisation' of an 'antisocial underclass' through targeted intervention into the lives of problematic families and communities (Muncie 2006, p.358). It overlooks the structural inequalities which can give rise to feelings of resentment, or the relational nature of power relationships between groups of people within a broader community figuration.

A shift from 'crime prevention' to 'community safety' involving a multi-agency approach occurred in both policy discourse and much 'applied' criminological commentary in the 1990s (Hughes 2002). These public-private community safety partnerships involved systems of 'local governance' in which the voices of previously excluded actors could potentially be heard (Edwards 2002). Underpinning this shift is a process of 'community responsibilisation' (Muncie 2006, p.357) in which non-state organisations and private individuals take responsibility for their own safety (Edwards and Hughes 2012; Swann and Hughes 2016). However, 'community safety' initiatives have tended to be implemented as 'top-down' systems aimed at governance of 'problematic communities' such as deprived estates in high-crime areas (Walklate 2001, p.326), resulting in further stereotyping as 'problem places' inhabited by 'problem people' (Johnston and Mooney 2007). A 'lack' of engagement by 'problem' residents may be construed by community safety partnerships as a rejection of 'legitimate' initiatives, entrenching their perception as 'antisocial'. In

fact, they may be exercising a form of 'bottom-up', albeit deviant[27], 'self-help' community safety in which relatively powerful residential networks essentially 'police' themselves. The concept of the 'defended community' (Walklate 2001, 1998; Walklate and Evans 1999) involves a relatively deprived neighbourhood which is assumed to be highly organised around a mutual trust between residents, resisting interference from 'outsiders', such as the police and local authorities. Foster (1995) found that networks among residents on the estate she studied were important in reinforcing territoriality and may underpin feelings of safety. And, as Walkerdine (2016, p.706) observes in her discussion of a council estate in South Wales: 'it would not be surprising for a culture of resignation, covert opposition and so-called anti-social behaviour to be established and accepted by others in the estate as 'reasonable''. However, this assumes a homogeneity of values across *all* members of the defended neighbourhood, much as McKenzie (2015) describes. Whereas levels of relative deprivation that a neighbourhood experiences may be fairly settled over long periods of time, a neighbourhood may experience a more fluid state of organisation or disorganisation, and of being defended or vulnerable, with some groups of residents experiencing feelings of community bonding and others sensing disintegration and fear of their neighbours. Community safety initiatives tend not to conceive of communities as 'figurations', as pluralities of individuals engaged in processes involving interdependent relationships both within and outside the neighbourhood focused upon. Rather, they focus on apparently discrete individual problems, whether these be particular places, individuals, or groups of people. What may be overlooked are the lower level double-bind situations that may exist between groups of residents living on estates which may be too unproblematically assumed to be 'neighbourly', and where in fact, vulnerable residents may be suffering bullying and intimidation from a few powerful neighbours without an effective defence.

---

[27] Becker (1991, pp.3-8) considers the concept of 'deviance' suggesting that it may be defined: in statistical terms; in pathological terms; in functional terms in which an overarching social consensus is evident; and a more relativistic view in which deviance is a failure to observe established group rules. However, Becker (1991, p.8) pushes this last conceptualisation in more relativistic terms arguing that: 'A society has many groups, each with its own set of rules, and people belong to many groups simultaneously. A person may break the rules of one group by the very act of abiding by the rules of another group. Is he, then, deviant?'. The realist position taken in this thesis, following the rationale in Elias's (2000) civilising process theory, is that there are some rules – laws – which whilst they may not be 'agreed' upon by everyone, tend to reduce suffering and interpersonal violence.

So far, the concept of 'crime' has been used relatively unproblematically in this thesis. Briefly, it is understood neither as an unproblematic static concept, nor as a concept socially constructed in entirely relativistic terms. To speak of 'crime' necessitates some formal construction, usually a legal definition at root, a quantifiable 'thing' to which the police can be deployed, and crime rates counted. But the concept of 'crime' is sometimes inadequate to grasp the experiences of people whose lives are pervaded with the fear of 'harm' and veiled intimidation with a latent threat of violence. These are non-criminalised harms which include 'the intimidation of individuals by criminals and bullies on sink estates' (Hall and Winlow 2015, p.126). Without straying too far into 'zemiological' territory[28], a critical point here is that much of the behaviour which people fear loiters in the liminal space between 'crime' and a 'social problem', tending to be subsumed in the term 'antisocial behaviour'.

Antisocial behaviour is an ambiguous and subjective concept (Squires 2008, p.314) which is 'notoriously difficult to define' (Hughes 2007, p.114). According to information available on www.police.uk it can include a wide range of behaviours including nuisance, rowdy or inconsiderate neighbours; vandalism, graffiti and fly-posting; street drinking; environmental damage including littering, dumping of rubbish and abandonment of cars; prostitution related activity; begging and vagrancy; fireworks misuse; inconsiderate or inappropriate use of vehicles. The legislative[29] concept of 'antisocial behaviour' is 'community' based, intended to deal with conflictual relationships between residents of different households. Thus, a 'community' is envisaged in this

---

[28] Zemiology is the study of 'harms'. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider this concept in-depth, however a brief consideration may be helpful to clarify the position taken in this thesis. According to Dorling et al. (2008) zemiology rejects the concept of 'crime' as 'real'; perpetuates the 'myth' of crime; often consists of 'petty' events with minimal harm; excludes many serious harms often of the disadvantaged and least powerful; constructs 'crimes' through the application of legal tests such as *mens rea*; inflicts pain through processes of criminalisation and punishment; posits that 'crime control' is ineffective and simultaneously gives legitimacy to the expansion of crime control; and serves to maintain power relations. Underpinning this critique is a position of critical relativism, in which 'harm' has similar difficulties of definition as 'crime'. Nevertheless, whilst the concept of 'crime' is clearly problematic, it has been developed over centuries to deal with 'harmful' problems facing society at various stages. The development of the criminal law (and other strands) is fundamental to the processes of civilisation.

[29] The legal definition of antisocial behaviour is developed in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, and The Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014.

legislation as comprising 'households', a relevant point when considering the definition of a residential community in established-outsider theory.

Antisocial behaviour legislation tackles certain problems associated with a particular 'type' of community; it addresses an 'enforcement deficit' and is directed at relatively deprived 'broken windows' communities (Squires 2008, p.311). This enforcement deficit involves problems of people engaging in non-criminal but nevertheless 'harmful' behaviour in terms of the feelings of fear and intimidation that such behaviour can generate, and for which no, or limited legal sanctions previously existed to deal with. It captures non-criminal behaviour for which 'troubled' families and individuals may be coerced into acceptable – 'civilised' – behaviour through devices such as Antisocial Behaviour Orders (ASBO's) and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs). The Antisocial Behaviour Act 2003 extended the range of behaviour to include for example, closure orders for dwellings involved in drug dealing, disorder or causing excessive noise, and parenting orders.

As David Blunkett, the Home Secretary implementing the Antisocial Behaviour Act 2003, explained:

> It might seem relatively small – spray painted graffiti, an abandoned car, a broken window. Or it can feel more threatening – a gang late at night, a beggar at the cashpoint, young kids using passers-by as target practice ... But left unchecked this has a big impact on communities ... a yobbish minority can still make the lives of hard working citizens a living hell ... That's why I am setting out how the government plans to reclaim communities for the decent, law-abiding majority (BBC News 2003).

This extract illustrates the nature of the behaviour intended to be captured by the legislation. It focuses on the impact for 'communities', making a distinction between the 'yobbish minority' and the 'hard working, decent, law abiding majority' for whom the government aimed to 'reclaim the communities'. This image of the 'yobbish minority' promotes the national collective fantasy based on the 'minority of the worst' to use Elias and Scotson's (1994, p.7) term. It

50

presents an image of relatively deprived communities as dangerous places, and their residents as requiring 'civilising'.

Whilst the reality of violent crime for some people in some places is not doubted, the apparent shift from a fear of violent crimes to 'antisocial behaviour' may be indicative of a more general civilising process. The inverse relationship between a 'crime drop'[30] and a rise in concern about 'antisocial behaviour' is discussed by Mooney and Young (2006), which may indicate an increasing fear of non-violent public behaviour, and may be evidence of increasing sensitivities within the civilising process. Antisocial behaviour legislation may therefore be seen as a 'civilising offensive'[31], as a 'project of government representing an active and deliberate attempt to reframe the values, habits and conduct of particular individuals' (Powell and Flint 2009, p.169; see also Powell 2013) in line with 'respectable' classes. Residents of council estates, particularly young people, tend to be perceived as at most at 'risk of antisocial behaviour'. That is, at risk of engaging in antisocial behaviour, which is often seen as a problem affecting residents of nearby neighbourhoods. Residents of estates are often seen as 'lacking' the required level of self-restraint to engage in 'normal' civilised society, and are therefore seen to be in need of external control and 'recivilising'.

Groups requiring recivilising are identified, placed, and controlled largely according to housing status, identifying housing policy as an area through which antisocial behaviour is governed (Powell and Flint 2009). As noted above, Elias argues that a process of informalisation, a relaxation of rules and greater self-restraint, is evident in a civilising process. A civilising offensive in the shape of legislation which criminalises incivilities may represent a *planned* reformalisation of conduct. First, in the types and arenas of conduct to criminalise previously non-criminal behaviour; and second, to contractualise acceptable behaviour, especially through social landlords (Powell and Flint 2009, p.171). Therefore, relatively deprived communities and their associated

---

[30] Since the early 1990s 'crime' has dropped by 'about half' (Young 2011, p.124), and according to Farrell et al. (2014, p.241) 'The "crime drop" is the most important criminological phenomenon of modern times'.

[31] Civilising offensives can be traced back to the Dutch bourgeois civilising offensive in the nineteenth century which involved attempts to inculcate a middle-class habitus in the lower-classes (Kruithof 2015).

stereotypical 'antisocial' behaviours are typified at a national level, a collective fantasy seeping down and entrenched at the local level. This tightens rather than loosens the double-bind and encourages feelings of fear about some estates.

The implementation of antisocial behaviour legislation highlights the historically traceable fears of 'respectable' society (Pearson 1983) that residents of relatively deprived neighbourhoods are unable to exercise the expected level of self-restraint and self-control. Paradoxically, this may be indicative of a decivilising process in which external constraints on behaviour are required for some sections of the community. In contrast to the main criteria of a civilising process identified by Fletcher (1997, see above), he also identifies three main criteria of decivilisation. These are:

> A shift in the balance between constraints by others and self-restraint in favour of constraints by others; … the development of a social standard of behaviour and feeling which generates the emergence of a less even, all-round, stable and differentiated pattern of self-restraint; … and we would expect a contradiction in the scope for mutual identification between constituent groups and individuals (Fletcher 1997, p.83).

Fletcher (1997, p.84) also speculates that these decivilisational changes would probably be seen in places where there was a decrease in state monopoly of violence, a rise in levels of fear, a re-emergence of violence in public places, and an increase in impulsive behaviour. An aim of this thesis is to investigate the differences in habitus in neighbourhoods in Ashmill, to compare empirical observations and accounts of life in the community according to participants, and conduct a relatively detached analysis in order to dispel myths and produce more reality congruent knowledge.

Stigmatised working-class groups form an enduring feature of British society. The current iteration is 'troubled' families, many of whom have, often exaggerated, reputations for crime and violence, and who overwhelmingly

reside on council estates[32]. The character of rough estates is often stereotypically represented by these families and their friendship networks as the 'minority of the worst'. In established-outsider theory, these stigmatising reputations are reproduced through 'gossip' among 'respectable' established residents. In the next section, the concepts of 'gossip' and 'grassing[33]' are discussed, and grassing is proposed as a parallel 'deviant' phenomenon which may assist in bonding some residents of council estates, and producing a 'self-help' form of social control. In this way, the concept of grassing, and the closely connected concept of a 'code of honour', adapts and develops established-outsider theory along more criminological lines.

From 'Respectable' Gossip to Grassing and the 'Code of Honour'

Established-outsider theory postulates praise and blame gossip (see Chapter 1) as the key mechanisms reproducing collective fantasies, and furthermore, that the relative power structure of a community may be understood through the analysis of gossip. Gossip is important in maintaining reputational boundaries, and a key distinction in the self-image of the established residents of Winston Parva was of more 'civilised', 'respectable' standards in relation to the 'rough' Estate people, who were gossiped about in 'stories about drunkenness, violence, promiscuity and squalor' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.99). The contemporary importance of gossip is evident in McKenzie's (2015) ethnography of St Ann's estate in which she highlights the importance of 'chatting business' in connecting and maintaining social networks, knowing what is going on in the community, and connecting this to the importance of 'fitting in' and 'being known' on the estate for reasons of safety. Scott et al. (2011), used established-outsider theory to develop the concept of 'crime talk'; gossip linked to the fear of crime in an isolated Australian mining town experiencing an economic boom. Scott et al. (2011) observed different patterns of life between the supposedly strong family centred respectability of the locals, and the workers visiting the town who were imagined as drunken, antisocial, and violent outsiders. Elias and

---

[32] 'Troubled' families overwhelmingly occupy social housing: '70% were living in social housing compared to 18% of the population nationally' (National Audit Office 2016, p.16).

[33] Walklate and Evans (1999 p.87) suggest that: 'the term 'grassing' has its origins in cockney rhyming slang … someone who is close to a 'copper' as a 'grasshopper'… a 'grass' was someone who provided information to the police about ongoing criminal activity, and, once an individual was known as a 'grass', they were certainly someone not to be trusted'.

Scotson (1994, p.101) found that often 'exaggerated or untrue' understandings of stigmatised groups in Winston Parva were proliferated through gossip, which tended to reproduce stereotypical ideas about all members of the outsider group. Likewise, Scott et al. (2011, p.166) found that: 'The diversity and complexity of social life in the region was reduced to stereotypical and exaggerated representations, which allowed for the worst characteristics of groups, as identified in gossip, to become qualities associated with all group members'. According to Merry (1981) in her study of urban danger in a North American housing project, 'gossiping' can be seen as a form of social control, and may have two functions; as a way of sharing information and of passing judgment. Similarly, in established-outsider theory gossip has an integrating function, in that it reinforces (rather than causes) integration among a cohesive group; and it has a rejecting function, operating to exclude stigmatised groups (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.100). Rejecting gossip may be sociologically inherited (ibid, p.97), a point supported by Gluckman (1963, p.309) who suggests that gossip may be generationally experienced and difficult to shake:

> Each group comprises not only the present members of the group, but also the past dead members. And here lies great scope for gossip as a social weapon. To be able to gossip properly, a member has to know not only about the present membership, but also about their forbears. For members can hit at one another through their ancestors.

Transformations in the nature of social interaction mean that previously key social institutions such as 'the church' and 'the pub' may no longer as central to community life, and therefore key places of social interaction and conduits for face-to-face gossip may be diminishing. Consequently, 'established' residents are perhaps less likely to be able to exercise face-to-face social power to exclude outsiders from local associations. However, contemporary blame gossip may be practiced using online social media, adding another layer to the community figuration, and potentially adding to the 'considerable entertainment value' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.91) of rejecting/blame gossip. In their combined face-to-face and virtual ethnography, Gabriels and de Backer (2016) found that online and offline gossiping overlapped in terms of its functions. It was

important for 'reputation management; as a cultural learning system; as a sanctioning system; and as entertainment' (Gabriels and de Backer 2016, p.683), and was a key mechanism in regulating moral life. Gossip, as a sociological concept, operates as a mechanism of informal social control through the sharing of reputational information. It functions to both integrate group members and maintain charisma (praise gossip), and to reject, stigmatise, and ostracise members who contravene the dominant social code, and non-members (blame gossip). It maintains reputational boundaries, sometimes over generations, and it is a system of enculturation. It is also a source of entertainment which tends to produce exaggerated or untrue – fantasy – knowledge.

It is proposed in this thesis that the phenomenon of 'grassing' is a comparative, if deviant, instrument of social control observed within a 'code of honour', which may help to understand the processes by which some residents of Blackacre transform stigma into group pride and power. The phenomenon of grassing is relatively under-explored in the context of its meanings and functions in British communities, compared to the United States ethnographic criminological literature (Walklate and Evans 1999, p.98). In the American context, Rosenfeld et al. (2003) identify two strands to the phenomenon, which they call 'snitching'. These involve a moral 'code of the street' (drawing on Anderson 1999) which prohibits talking to the police and other authorities, and also using information to obtain some leniency with the police, or to 'punish' other individuals. According to Morris (2010) the 'stop snitching' code has become common in American culture, the anti-snitching mantra transmitted through popular culture. In the British context, Evans et al. (1996) consider the phenomenon of grassing on a council estate in Salford. They discuss the distrust between residents and the police, leading to a reluctance to engage in communication; they reject the legitimacy – to some degree – of the police; an important consideration in terms of civilising process theory. In his study of an estate in the North of England, Yates (2004, p.6) observes the practical application of this distrust in the form of an 'unwritten rule' that you do not speak to the authorities. One of the arguments developed in this thesis is that, following Elias's (2000) civilising process thesis, where the state monopoly on violence actually and symbolically exercised through the police is rejected there exists a

55

greater possibility of interpersonal violence. The transformation in the governance of community safety to include various public and private agents is acknowledged. However, without slipping into a 'golden age' idealisation of the police (Loader 1997), they still represent the embodiment of the state monopoly on violence, to which many people look to 'defend everyday civility, norms and social controls' (Jackson and Bradford 2009, p.513). As the legitimacy of formal state control diminishes, reliance on self-help in the shape of the moral code of the street increases, and violent retaliation escalates (Rosenfeld et al. 2003). The 'no-grassing' rule may be a control mechanism through which the legitimacy of the police, and other authorities is rejected, and localised structures of control, or power, among some groups maintained.

The process of being labelled as a 'grass' involves the perception of a lack of trust (Evans et al. 1996; Yates 2006), and carries both 'physical' and 'social' risks (Yates 2006, p.200), which may involve physical injury and public shaming. Evans et al. (1996) outline three elements in the phenomenon of grassing: intimidation, politicisation, and socialisation. They suggest that intimidation has two dimensions, the first being the role of grassing and intimidation in the way that the police and other agencies talk about their area, thereby reproducing the collective fantasy. By alluding to the presence of an intimidatory presence, a 'Mr Big', who enforces a 'no-grassing' rule within an area, police and other agencies tend to further entrench the 'no-grassing rule' which acts as a barrier in police community relations and effective policing. The second dimension of intimidation is public shaming enacted through (in their study) graffiti being written about the 'grass' on walls near the shopping area. This kind of public shaming may now be more likely to be on social media. Politicisation involves the observance of a 'moral code' that you do not offend against women, or 'your own'. This involves a subtle understanding of when it may be permissible to talk to the police – for example if someone is raped, a child is abused, or an 'old lady is mugged'. However, the penalty for grassing about, for example, a burglary, may range from 'a talking to' for a young naïve person, to physical assault. Socialisation involves the idea that well-known local people, often with a family history on the estate, build-up reputations based around knowing people, and residents are assumed to know the rules. There is a level of trust, security, and community cohesion due to alternative structures of

56

control on the estate; although this should not be overstated. Evans et al. (1996, pp.374-375) identify a 'neighbourhood dogma' which involves two beliefs: 'You're alright if you're local' and 'People round here don't rob off their own'. They draw on established-outsider theory to argue that these beliefs represent individual variations of communal beliefs (Elias and Scotson 1994, pp.5-6). It is proposed in this thesis that an understanding of the dimensions of the 'no-grassing' rule and the 'moral code' identified by Evans et al. (1996) realist criminological study may be further developed figurationally. If, as Elias (2000) argues, the individual socialisation of each child is inextricably connected to the social civilising process, then this may mean that 'properly' socialised children are discouraged from resolving disputes through interpersonal violence. Instead, they are taught to exercise self-restraint and report problems to figures of authority, usually familiar and trusted people such as parents, teachers, or police officers, so that these problems may be resolved by non-violent means. Nevertheless, for some groups aggression and violence are not removed from public life, and many industrialised urban areas are relatively violent and unsafe places (Fletcher 1997, pp.29-30). In some places, the legitimacy of the police and other agents of authority in resolving interpersonal issues may be rejected by some residents who may find ways to manage their safety largely without relying on them (Evans et al. 1996). This may involve the development of a moral code underpinned by a 'no-grassing' rule and potentially violent methods of informal social control.

The 'no-grassing' rule appears to have parallels with the phenomenon of gossip, as it partially rejects and inverts 'respectable' values, and functions to maintain contradictory values. It is, like gossip, a mechanism of social control by which some relatively 'established' estate residents might differentiate between 'them' and 'us'; that is, between 'outsiders' in relation to the relatively powerful 'established' minority on the estate. In this way, some relatively powerful residents of the estate can construct a 'we-identity', a sense of belonging and group status predicated on a largely exaggerated, fantasy-laden reputation for a capacity for intimidation and violence. In a similar way in which members of the established group in Winston Parva succumbed to communal norms, the 'no-grassing' rule involves the use of informal penalties by which members contravening the code may be sanctioned by relative exclusion from the group.

Although Evans et al. (1996, p.375) attribute grassing with the status of a kind of 'neighbourhood dogma', they highlight its primary significance as a discourse, being careful not to overstate its empirical reality (ibid, p.370).

In his study of seventeenth century court society in Versailles, Elias (1983, p.95) highlights how social opinion regulates 'honour'. In a similarly relatively encapsulated place, like Blackacre, there may be less chance to escape the gossip which regulates group honour. A theoretical development of established-outsider theory proposed in this thesis is that a form of communication similar in function to gossip may be observed operating among some of the 'established *as* outsider' residents in Blackacre. In this case, rather than a 'distinguishing code' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.151) operating to maintain socially 'normal' values and a superior group charisma among 'respectable' residents, it functions to partially reject and invert these values, to reproduce the intimidatory power of a minority of Blackacre residents. This power may be based on a group 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96), capitalising on exaggerated reputations for intimidation and violence to convert stigma into group pride.

A 'street code of honour' has been identified primarily in the North American context. For example, Rosenfeld et al. (2003) discuss 'snitching and the code of the street', and Anderson (1999) identifies a 'code of the street' in Philadelphia. Urbanik et al. (2017) draw heavily on Anderson to investigate the effects of neighbourhood redevelopment in a Canadian social housing neighbourhood. They find that a disruption of local criminal networks due to the relocation of 'old-heads' resulted in a power vacuum and a perceived increase in fear of crime. They argue that this was not simply perceived but 'real', as younger residents vied for status through violence. In the UK context, Bennett and Brookman (2011) interviewed UK prisoners convicted for violent offences and found that there was evidence that a 'code of the street' similar to that described by Anderson (1999) exists in the UK, in particular that 'offenders described the need to punish disrespect, to express violence overtly to avoid victimisation, to show self-reliance in resolving disputes and to maintain a frightening and formidable reputation' (Bennett and Brookman 2011, p.83). However, the focus of these examples tends to be on those people perceived to be 'involved' in the 'code', rather than in explaining how the code may resolve experiences of

exclusion and stigmatisation in broader, long-term figurational interdependencies. Stigmatised residents may internalise deviant group norms within a code of honour which emphasises violence and courage; elements of a 'warrior code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96).

The argument being developed here, is that small groups of estate residents, often based around 'notorious' families and their friendship networks, may in an unplanned and generational process, develop a potentially empowering 'moral code' to deal with the stigmatisation experienced by them. Elias (1997, p.96) discusses the 'code of honour' in which members 'fear of losing honour in the eyes of one's we-group' and of being thrown out of the fraternity. Blok (1974), in his Eliasian study of a system of *mafia* and the use of violence in a Sicilian village in the relative absence of powerful state control, identifies the code of *omertà* (manhood) whereby legal authority is rejected and:

> a person makes himself respected by keeping silent over "crimes" witnessed, suffered or committed ... Silence was enforced upon the weak ... Through their manipulation of this complex cultural code and the social control it entailed, *mafiosi* tried to isolate the local population from external rival powers (Blok 1974, p.212).

This has resonance with the practice identified in some council estates. Elias (1997, p.96) contrasts the 'warrior strata code of honour' involving 'the pairing of violence with courage', and the pacified middle-class strata of 'being honourable in the sense of moral and honest'. It may be possible that notorious families and their friendship networks might convert stigma into pride and power by developing an emergent 'code of honour', capitalising on exaggerated reputations for intimidation, and a significant control mechanism may be the 'no-grassing' rule.

The figurational-realist tradition in which this thesis is located requires intensive case studies to be analysed using a consciously more 'detached' approach (discussed in Chapter 3). Previous researchers into 'grassing', such as Evans et al. (1996), Walklate and Evans (1999), and Yates (2004, 2006), tend to represent an explanation from the inside-out, that is, of the residents of the

estates they studied, implying that a majority of estate residents consensually adhere to the code of the estate. By taking a more detached perspective, interdependent group relationships may become more apparent, and the concentration of a code of honour and 'no-grassing' rule among a minority of estate residents, but impacting on the equally stigmatised majority of estate residents, may emerge.

This thesis shifts the focus from notorious individuals and families onto the figurational relationships which may act as mechanisms in the reproduction of exaggerated reputations of intimidation. Where residents living nearby a council estate may have a long-standing fear of the residents based on an intimidating reputation, the opportunity for a 'minority of the worst' of estate residents to capitalise on this fear and acquire power may exist. This power may seduce, or coerce, other stigmatised and relatively powerless individuals into family-based friendship networks, providing a sense of 'bonding' with similarly stigmatised and excluded people, perhaps with generationally reproduced connections, formed around drug dealing, crime, and 'antisocial' behaviour. A 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96) may develop, in which stigma may be transformed into group pride and power. The price to be paid for this power is a 'rejection' of state authority, and a loyalty to other members of the network, significantly controlled by the 'no-grassing' rule. Members 'look after' each other. This develops the argument that such groups may have become 'established *as* outsiders', occupying a status of the 'dangerous', 'uncivilised other' in the community figuration over inter-generational time. In the process, group stigmatisation and feelings of shame become generationally entrenched, the denigrating image integrated into their self-image through a process of sociological inheritance, in the I- and we-identities of the outsider group. Elias comments (1976, p.xxviii; emphasis added):

> Give a group a bad name and it is likely to live up to it. In the case of Winston Parva, the most severely ostracised section of the outsider group was still able, in a surreptitious way, to hit back. How far the shame of outsiders produced by the inescapable stigmatisation of an established group turns into

> paralysing apathy, *how far into aggressive norm and lawlessness*, depends on the overall situation.

Elias and Scotson (1994, p.129) only pursue this line of argument to the point of suggesting that children of 'problem' families liked to humiliate those 'respectable' people who rejected them. A theoretical proposition developed and investigated in this thesis is that in the intervening fifty-years some generationally residualised residents of council estates may have capitalised on opportunities emerging from unplanned processes to transform stigma into group pride, thereby empowering themselves such that they are able, in a local and limited way, to 'hit back'.

Vicious Circles: The Sociological Inheritance of Intimidating Reputations

In Chapter 1, the concept of sociological inheritance was identified as a mechanism by which 'respectability' may be maintained between generations of established families in Winston Parva. This also involved reproducing social power, used to exclude outsiders and to maintain social control within the respectable group, potentially ostracising individuals who contravened their distinguishing code. A development of this concept proposed in this thesis is that this mechanism may explain the process by which relatively established residents of estates, some having occupied the same estate for several generations, may maintain intimidating reputations. Established-outsider theory hypothesises that a process of sociological inheritance may be observable, in which a repeating cycle of rejection by the wider community, and 'bad' behaviour by children of the minority of disordered families on the Estate in Winston Parva was bound-up in a vicious circle (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.122). The concept of sociological inheritance resonates with Lewis's (1966) 'culture of poverty' theory observable among significant numbers of poor communities in Mexico. Lewis's theory has been interpreted as evidence that poor people are inherently responsible for their own poverty. However, his argument focuses on the structural causes of poverty which are difficult to escape, and to which generations of families adapt, effectively remaining trapped in a repeating cycle. The culture of poverty theory has been wrongly associated with blaming the poor for their own poverty and supporting Murray's (1990) theory of the 'cycle of deprivation' and the development of the

'underclass' theory. McKenzie (2015, p.15) argues that the theory was appropriated by neoliberal politicians to reduce welfare benefits and focus on problem families rather than structural inequalities. This thesis accepts McKenzie's astute criticism, and offers the figurational concept of sociological inheritance as a means of grasping this reproduced behaviour in structural terms, without erroneously separating individual and society.

The use of the word 'inheritance' may be problematic as this may suggest some people being biologically/psychologically predisposed to criminal behaviour, as Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) argue. In contrast, the position taken in this study is that the concept of sociological inheritance is useful to understand the structural reproduction of reputations, fear, and objective harm. This figurational approach is strengthened when combined with a realist criminology which focuses on the social mechanisms which produce crime, especially when incorporating the concept of relative deprivation (Lea and Young 1984) which captures the interdependent frustrations and resentment between relatively closely situated groups.

It is proposed that residents of Ashmill may have become trapped in an interdependent cycle of sociologically inherited behaviours and reputations, producing a double-bind situation. This involves residents from the surrounding community stigmatising residents of Blackacre as 'rough', thereby simultaneously distinguishing themselves as 'respectable'. In contrast, a minority of residents on Blackacre may capitalise on opportunities to transform this stigma into group pride and empowerment based on exaggerated reputations for intimidation and criminality. A sociologically inherited phenomenon may be observed in which delinquent traditions may be generationally transmitted, and may support co-offending within a community network. 'Antisocial behaviour' may be generationally transmitted through the mechanism of sociological inheritance. In social circumstances where there is a tendency to break rules, or at least to fail to condemn rule-breaking, individuals will learn to reproduce this behaviour particularly in areas of 'social disorganisation'. These are characterised by a lack of social cohesion, weak friendship and family networks, an inconsistency in community values, scant participation in organised community structures, and higher crime rates

(Sampson and Groves 1989). However, the objectively deprived Blackacre may not be 'disorganised'. Walklate (1998, 2001), like Whyte (1967), challenges the view that poorer communities are necessarily socially disorganised, viewing them as highly organised, but structured around a contrasting set of moral values shaped by the prevailing wider economic and social structures. What is common to these explanations is the tendency to bracket-out the long-term processes which influence individual and group sensitivities and personality structures.

Conclusion

The problem investigated in this thesis is to understand how British council estates, like Blackacre, have come to be stigmatised as 'rough' places. As Blok (1972, p.xxx) highlights, 'this requires a shift from a static system model to a dynamic process model'. I began this chapter by briefly summarising Elias's (2000) theory of the civilising process. This provides a long-term theoretical framework through which emergent, unplanned processes affecting every individual's socialisation, and our inextricable connection to the figurations into which we are born may be understood. Whilst we shape these figurations, our manners and behaviours are also shaped by the structural developments which preceded us. One of these developments is the state monopolisation of violence, which has tended to reduce public interpersonal violence through the development of a civilian police force on whom we rely to resolve disputes. Nevertheless, this was highlighted as an uneven process, in which relatively deprived places tended disproportionately suffer from crime and public violence, and the associated fears. Relative deprivation theory, as developed by Lea and Young (1984) was proposed as a consistent, with established-outsider theory, relational approach which captures feelings of resentment and social injustice experienced between socially proximate groups which can act as a mechanism for 'crime'.

The core hypothesis developed in this thesis is that the stigmatised 'minority of the worst' residents of Blackacre, the notorious family-based friendship networks on the estate, have emerged generationally from interdependent relationships with other residents within the community of Ashmill to become relatively 'established'. This traps residents in a double-bind situation based on

widely held collective fantasies which tend to reproduce 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983), exaggerating the intimidating reputations of a minority of estate residents. On one hand, those residents able to claim 'respectability' are able to distinguish themselves as such in contrast to those on Blackacre. On the other hand, this may simultaneously represent opportunities for some of the most excluded residents of Blackacre to generationally transform collective stigma into group pride, capitalising on their intimidating reputations and acquiring sociologically inherited power. Group pride and bonding may be reproduced through the development of a 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96), which requires adherence to informal rules. Although possibly exaggerated in its scale and effect, the 'no-grassing' rule may represent a form of social control which constrains, albeit in a fluid and permeable manner, the nature of the gossip that residents of some estates may 'safely' engage in, especially in respect to contact with the police and other authorities. Contravention of the 'no-grassing' rule may, like contravention of the established distinguishing code in Winston Parva, risk exclusion from the group and a diminishing of one's status in the eyes of other group members. However, unlike the 'respectable' code, contravention of the 'no-grassing' rule may also risk intimidation, violence, and loss of group protection and belonging. The proliferation of the 'no-grassing' rule may be key to constraining effective neighbourhood cohesion and the building of trust between some neighbourhoods and the police (Lea and Young 1984). Thus, a generationally reproduced double-bind relationship may exist between groups of Ashmill residents, based on relationships of 'mutual fear and distrust' (Mennell 1989, p.89) in which generations of residualised residents of Blackacre become 'established *as* outsiders'.

This thesis presents a relatively detached, autonomous analysis which explains the interdependent relationships which may be evident between residents. The working-class community of Ashmill has historically experienced tensions between Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood, and this case study may help to describe and explain some of the mechanisms reproducing this type of double-bind. The study is a test and adaptation of Elias and Scotson's (1994) theoretical-empirical model, from which new theoretical propositions and hypotheses have emerged as the study has proceeded. Notwithstanding the significant social, economic, and technological transformations in the

intervening fifty years, it is proposed that the adapted established-outsider model has important implications for understanding the enduring stigmatisation of residents of British council estates as 'rough' places. This has implications for better understanding the fear of crime, and for developing or supporting community safety initiatives. Some limitations in the established-outsider model have been highlighted, and the argument has been made that synthesis with realist criminology, drawing particularly on Lea and Young's (1984) development of relative deprivation theory, may produce an example of sociological criminology. In the next chapter, I will continue to build on the development of the established-outsider model employed in this community case study by considering the methodological framework employed.

Chapter 3: 'Considerations of Procedure': The Methodological Framework

Established-outsider theory is proposed as an appropriate model for analysing relationships between groups of residents living in the community of Ashmill. Only a brief discussion of the methods used to gather and analyse data is provided in *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994); according to Dunning and Hughes (2013, p.136) 'methodology', 'ontology', and 'epistemology' are philosophical rather than sociological concepts which are 'fundamentally rejected' by Elias (see also Kilminster 2011). However, to add to the fund of social scientific knowledge, research needs to be able to 'speak' to other research, and therefore, these concepts need to be addressed and related to figurational sociology. In the first section, the relationship of theory to research is discussed, the ways in which the empirical data from this investigation are influenced by and develop extant theory, and may add to the social fund of knowledge. I then discuss the study's underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions and indicate how a realist sociological criminology may be developed, constructively integrating realist criminology with figurational sociology. The research design and strategy are considered, critically discussing community case studies and Elias and Scotson's established-outsiders model, before outlining the data collection and analysis approaches. My 'involvement' within the setting is then considered, and the concepts of 'involvement' and 'detachment' (Elias 1956, 1987b) are examined. Finally, although ethical considerations permeate all stages of the project, the deliberations around the methods used in this study to disguise and anonymise the participants and the setting are discussed.

The Relationship of Theory to Research

The use and development of extant theoretical concepts in the process of elaborating upon them, generating theory in relation to empirical evidence, and by using these concepts as 'orienting devices' by which empirical data is structured (Layder 1998, pp.23-24), is important to highlight. Elias emphasises the influence of Comte in his own efforts to strive for cumulative social scientific

knowledge, highlighting the interdependence of theory and observation at the root of Comte's, and all scientific work (Elias 1984). In this thesis, established-outsider theory is used as a framework to bring structure to empirical data, and to both test and develop the theory empirically with the aim of adding to the fund of social scientific knowledge; it is a form of 'middle range' theorising (Merton 1968). By framing the investigation using established-outsider theory it cuts across micro- and macro-social problems, using an intensive case study to empirically investigate sociological issues which may have wider theoretical implications. It continues a line of theoretically oriented empirical work which tests and develops classical sociological theory in order to add to the accumulation of sociological knowledge. The importance of this process of accumulation of empirically grounded theoretical generalisations is emphasised by Merton (1968, p.51) who argues that if sociological theory is to advance it must proceed:

1. By developing special theories from which to derive hypotheses that can be empirically investigated and;

2. By evolving, not suddenly revealing, a progressively more general conceptual scheme that is adequate to consolidate groups of special theories.

The theoretical work presented in this thesis rests between the highly abstract 'total systems of theory' and the detailed descriptions which offer no generalisation. It 'involves abstractions … close enough to observed data to be incorporated in propositions that permit empirical testing' (Merton 1968, p.39). Whilst this thesis represents a 'test' of established-outsider theory, it does not seek to replicate it in a positivist 'scientific' sense. Rather, the intention is to develop and adapt the model in terms of the theoretical and conceptual claims it makes, such that this study might add to the corpus of social scientific knowledge accumulated over generations of research. Intensive research requires 'repeated movement between concrete and abstract, and between particular empirical cases and general theory' (Sayer 2000, p.23), and this is characteristic of figurational 'theoretical-empirical research' (Dunning and Hughes 2013, p.191). This indicates the importance of engaging with extant theory and concepts in order to understand empirical research problems in

theoretical terms, allowing the researcher to begin to organise and analyse empirical data during the process of collection, and situating the study both within the wider theoretical milieu and a figurational-realist tradition. This process helps to order and shape the data, and enables the researcher to generate more reality congruent knowledge which may build upon the fund of social scientific knowledge (Elias 1987b).

Whilst the thesis aims to understand why residents of the Blackacre council estate tend to be stigmatised as 'rough', it also connects with wider theoretical and structural issues which have relevance beyond the immediate setting. The relationship between micro- and macro-level analyses is important in figurational sociology, and Elias's (2000) civilising process theory is central as it grasps the connection between large socio-historical transformations and the socialisation of each individual within pluralities of human beings. Established-outsider theory offers a way of understanding how problems affecting similar communities may be explained by shifting 'the focus of this enquiry from the narrower problems of Winston Parva to the wider theoretical problems of which they are an example' (Elias and Scotson 1994, pp.22-23). This investigation aims to test and develop established-outsider theory, therefore it is helpful to utilise concepts within relevant contemporary literature so that the findings from this investigation can be readily synthesised with other research and allow theoretical generalisations. Yin (2014, p.237) suggests that, in contrast to statistical generalisations, case studies may be capable of 'analytic generalization … whereby case study findings can extend to situations outside of the original case study, based on the relevance of similar theoretical concepts or principles'. In a similar manner, Elias (1983, p.145) highlights that intensive figurational research:

> removes the barrier that so often divides the discussion of theoretical from that of empirical problems today. A detailed study of a single society … provides material for investigating the more general theoretical problems of the relative dependence and independence of individual people in their relations to each other, and this latter problem in its turn helps to clarify the former.

The problem investigated in this study may be usefully investigated employing the established-outsider model of community case study, and through 'empirical work and theoretical reflection' (Garland 1990, p.285) it may be possible to usefully synthesise theoretical insights drawn from different perspectives to generate 'reality congruent knowledge' (Elias 1987b).

Generating 'Reality Congruent' Knowledge

This study employs figurational sociological theory, synthesised with realist criminological theory, as the theoretical and methodological framework for an empirical study. Unlike predominant forms of criminological work which tends to focus either on the problematic 'mad' or 'bad' individual, or on 'administrative' crime reduction and prevention, this study is sociological in its concern with collectivities, or figurations, in addressing the crime problem. In these respects, it is located in the field of 'sociological criminology' (Swann and Hughes 2016; Hughes forthcoming). It aims to challenge myths and face-facts:

> The way to challenge the foundation of myth ... is not to deny
> the facts of violence and disorder. Rather, it is to insist that
> more facts are placed within the field of vision (Pearson 1983,
> p.236).

The concept of reality congruent knowledge distinguishes the scientific from a prescientific, or fantasy-laden, mode of thinking dominated by emotionally involved mythical fantasies. In contrast, a figurational analysis requires a relatively high level of 'emotional detachment' (Elias 1987b, p.62). Nevertheless, Elias (1987b) draws a distinction between the comparatively high level of reality congruence in the natural sciences and the contrastingly relatively low level of reality congruence in the social sciences. Unlike the relatively high level of control over variables in the relatively closed system research in the natural sciences, social scientific research occurs in relatively open systems, with limited control over variables[34]. As such, it is accepted that figurational-realist

---

[34] Elias (1987b) conceived of open and closed systems not as separate and closed-off spheres of investigation, but as poles of a continuum. In relatively closed systems phenomena may exist independently of each other and be amenable to investigation using physical scientific methods to produce scientific laws upon which relatively accurate predictions may be made. In relatively open systems constituents are highly interdependent and less able to be studied as independent variables. Relatively open systems, such as humans within figurations, require structure and

sociology is fallible. However, as Edwards (2015, p.27) asserts discussing realist criminology 'it is better to be vaguely right than precisely wrong'. This highlights the importance of cumulative social scientific work which seeks to test and adapt extant theories, moving them inch-by-inch towards higher levels of reality congruence. By seeking greater detachment and generating increasingly reality congruent social scientific knowledge it may be possible to acquire greater control over social processes. However, the concept of 'reality congruence' implies a process, not a fixed state, 'Elias did not think of 'reality' as something fixed, monolithic and 'ultimately fully knowable'' (Dunning and Hughes 2013, p.134). The position is developed throughout this chapter that figurational research must be capable of speaking with other 'realist' approaches if a reality congruent fund of social scientific knowledge is to be accumulated and used. Whilst Elias may not explicitly associate figurational sociology with 'realism', eschewing philosophical approaches (Kilminster 2011), the terminology and methodology underpinning the figurational approach are essentially 'realist' (see Linklater 2011). The aim is to produce reality congruent, 'practically adequate' (Sayer 2000), knowledge which describes and explains the ways that images of 'rough' Blackacre residents are reproduced by local residents based largely on highly emotional collective fantasies rather than relatively detached reality congruent knowledge.

Figurational sociology's focus on processes and relationships indicates the epistemological and methodological questions and approaches implied in doing theoretical-empirical work directed at addressing Elias's basic epistemological question: 'how did this come to be?' (Dunning and Hughes 2013, p.148). It is about grasping the complex and changing – and therefore change*able* – interdependent relationships between individuals forming a particular figuration. Subsequently, interventions may be planned or supported which modify these interdependencies with the aim of reducing stigmatisation and feelings of fear. This is consistent with the aims of realist criminology, as although realist social scientists are interested in *what* works, they are more concerned with *why* and *how* things work: in other words, identifying causal mechanisms that foster change (Matthews 2014; Pawson and Tilley 1997).

---

process theories in order to produce a synopsis, a coherent theoretical representation of constituent parts within the whole (Mennell 1989, p.176).

Figurational sociology acknowledges that there is a reality 'out there', in a continual process of transformation, albeit at differing rates, but which nonetheless shapes and is shaped by unplanned processes involving interdependent human agency. When analysing sociological processes retrospectively the development of successive figurations may seem inevitable: figuration 'A' transforms into figuration 'B', which transforms into figuration 'C', and finally into 'D'. However, Elias (1984, pp.160-161) explains:

> From the viewpoint of the earlier figuration, the later is ... only one of several possibilities for change. From the viewpoint of the later figuration, the earlier one is usually a necessary condition for the formation of the later ... such sociogenetic connections between earlier and later figurations may be more appropriately expressed if concepts like 'cause' and 'effect' are avoided.

The successionist conceptualisation of causation (although not the concept of causation itself) is also rejected in realist sociology where causal mechanisms are understood to operate in open systems, a social world where other conditions may function and produce different outcomes in social contexts where interdependent people interpret situations (Sayer 2000). A process of 'concrete' causation central to realist criminology is explained by Edwards (2016, p.26):

> the multi-faceted, 'concrete', quality of social relations such as crime, where y (e.g. juvenile offending) is regarded as a unity of diverse determinations (a + b + c + d + ... n: family breakdown + school exclusion + subculture + boredom + ... n) as they configure in particular places and moments.

Therefore, any number of causal factors may combine to produce particular outcomes in open system contexts, but not always. What is important is to understand are influences on people's behaviour within these contexts; the mechanisms impacting upon their range of responses, and a deeper understanding of the reasons people 'choose' to behave in the ways they do. Rather than understanding human behaviour purely as a consequence of highly

situated context dependent responses, Sayer (2000, p.16) argues that how people behave is affected by dispositions 'sedimented' at some earlier stage. In Eliasian terms, this is the result of the social civilising process in which generations of people build-up the 'stock of human knowledge' (Kilminster 2011, p.94). What is evident is that the complex and transforming processes of knowledge building are critical to both negotiate everyday life, and in figurational and realist ways of understanding the social world. However, these are difficult to conceive of without achieving detachment. A process of investigation which involves the gradual accumulation of reality congruent theoretical knowledge through intensive empirical case studies may allow a better understanding of the processes which underpin relationships between interdependent groups of people to emerge. In the next section the methods employed to conduct this case study and generate a figurational analysis which attempts to identify and explain relevant causal mechanisms is discussed.

Community Case Studies: The Established-Outsiders Model

Figurational models employing intensive case studies make relationships involving dependence and action between individuals empirically available. Elias (1987b, p.23) argues that the methods of the physical sciences are 'less adequate' to study complex social figurations. He imagines phenomena as forming a continuum: at one end are phenomena which may exist *independently* of each other in a closed system without changing their 'characteristic properties'. These can be studied independently using the natural scientific method to produce scientific laws. At the other end are *interdependent* phenomena existing within an open system from whom they cannot be separated without changing the properties of the phenomenon and its constituents. For these phenomena, process theories rather than scientific laws are more adequate models of investigation.

The unit of study in the established-outsider model is the community of Winston Parva. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.9) highlight the importance of sociologists learning to:

> observe and to conceptualise systematically how individuals
> cohere, how and why they form with each other this particular

configuration or how and why the configurations they form change and, in some cases, develop.

This involves an iterative process of 'analysis' and 'synopsis'. That is, a theoretical-empirical analysis of the constituent parts of the phenomena, in this case the neighbourhoods and groups within the community and their interdependent relationships. This analysis is used to build a synopsis, an explanatory picture which connects the constituent parts in 'a coherent theoretical representation of the whole' (Mennell 1989, p.176). Collecting this type of in-depth qualitative data requires the use of ethnographic methods, becoming involved within a community in order to grasp how people get on with each other.

Community studies have a long history in anthropology and sociology, often producing descriptively rich ethnographies. Their main criticism is their idiographic nature; they focus on one case and are seen as incapable of generalizing beyond that case. Accordingly, Bell and Newby (1973, p.xliii) state:

> community studies … are at one and the same time, some of the most appealing and infuriating products of modern sociology. They are appealing because they present in an easily accessible and readable way, descriptions and analyses of the very stuff of sociology, the social organization of human beings; and infuriating because they are so idiosyncratic and diverse as to steadfastly resist most attempts to synthesize their findings.

In contrast, it is argued here that intensive studies of particular cases are not only 'appealing' but are also strong on causal explanation, and when conducted employing and developing extant theories, links between empirical studies may be made which leads to the accumulation of useful sociological knowledge.

The unit of analysis in this thesis is 'the community', employing Elias and Scotson's (1994) definition which conceives of a residential community as a figuration of human interdependencies. One of the aims of this thesis is to highlight the theoretical claims made by Elias and Scotson and thereby to elucidate regularities and inconsistencies with their study of Winston Parva. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.23) argue that their study of Winston Parva aims to

explain 'the regularities underlying the problems of their particular community which they share with other communities involved in similar processes'. They envisaged that it could form 'a tentative figurational model for this type of relationship which might serve as a guide, and could be tested, in studies of similar or related phenomena' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.3). Similarly, it is contended that Ashmill is not a unique or extreme figuration, it is a typical example, what Yin (2014, p.52) calls a 'common case study'. Like Winston Parva, Ashmill represents a typical and 'unexceptional' white, working-class community which can be studied to grasp the wider problem of why many British council estates are stigmatised as occupied by 'rough' people, in contrast to their 'respectable' neighbours.

'Established' and 'Outsiders' as 'Real Types'

In their study of Winston Parva, Elias and Scotson describe the feelings of superiority that existed between 'established' residents over the 'outsiders'. These categories represent 'ideal types' studied *in vivo* (Elias, in Goudsblom and Mennell 1998, p.107) or 'real types' (Mennell [no date]). This develops Weber's concept of 'ideal types' which are a construct of the researcher in which the behaviour of individuals is abstracted to identify a pattern of behaviour developed using an 'extensive' approach (Elias 1983, p.21). In contrast, Elias's use of a single intensive case study, as in Winston Parva (1994) or Versailles (1983), allows 'real types' to emerge to 'elaborate concrete, empirically based, examples of real types' (Kilminster 2007, p.165). Therefore, the established-outsider relationships evident in Winston Parva represent real types in a figuration in which residents themselves recognised. Whilst using real types is helpful in analysing relationships between residential groups, they may tend to conceal many of the complex, overlapping, and subtle relationships involved. As such, a balance has been attempted which provides analysis of relationships between the real types, but also attempts to convey the messy, sometimes contradictory and overlapping character of these relationships.

Mapping Ashmill

Deegan (2001, p.20) highlights that in the Chicago School mapping had a central role in the core ethnographies and that creating a map was often a student assignment. Winston Parva was divided into three residential 'Zones',

reminiscent of the Chicago School ethnographies, however Elias and Scotson do not provide a visual representation of Winston Parva. Despite the description of Winston Parva and its constituent neighbourhoods provided in the text, a map may have helped the reader visualise the layout. Space, the relationship between places and their uses are clearly an important aspect of figurational research. In *The Court Society* (1983), Elias analyses the use and functions of space within Versailles, indicating the hierarchical implications in developing his analysis of court etiquette. Nevertheless, a visual representation of the space and the design of the palace is not presented in this study either, despite the importance of space in Elias's study. This omission from the established-outsider study is made more frustrating given the recent discovery of a map (Goodwin et al. 2016a) which may have been developed to include within the substantive study. One of the objectives in this thesis is to 'zone' the community in a similar way, and to 'map' Ashmill based on participant's understandings. Blok (1974) usefully provides maps of the setting for his Eliasian study of *mafia* in Sicily. Swann and Hughes (2016) develop the established-outsiders model analysing community relations in 'Cornerville', producing a useful map of the residential zones they describe. However, this raises a problem inherent in attempts to map areas, especially for figurational studies which resist reducing social phenomena into static 'states', stressing society's dynamic and processual nature. Whilst the long-term 'big' socio-economic changes, and the 'historical memory' (Swann and Hughes 2016, p.11) are discussed, there is an impression that the map represents objective fact. There is a sense in which maps do represent relatively static physical characteristics. However, changes in social boundaries, affected by broader social and economic changes, and power relationships within the figuration involving for example, interactions between residents, interventions from others such as local authorities and the police, or the arrival of newcomers, have the potential to alter the map of a community from time-to-time, even moment-to-moment. Rather than understanding the concept of 'places' as static, we should see them as processes 'in terms of the social interactions that tie them together' which have shifting boundaries, internal conflicts, and an 'accumulated history' (Massey 1991, p.29). The map of the community presented in Appendix 4 also suffers from this sense of static

objectivity, nevertheless, it is useful in beginning to describe and picture the layout of Ashmill in 2017.

A Primarily Qualitative Research Strategy

The empirical data on which this thesis primarily draws has been accumulated over about three years of ethnographic fieldwork. Whilst statistical data can be useful to give a 'rough outline' of a figuration, statistical data alone cannot explain the social processes by which people form specific configurations of attitudes and beliefs with one another (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.7). The complex relationships between residents of these neighbourhoods required verbal explanation. This is consistent with a realist approach in which qualitative and quantitative methods can be usefully combined whilst being mindful that they indicate patterns which can be used as a starting-point (Matthews 2014, pp.61-62). The statistical data presented in Chapter 4 are used as a starting-point for the investigation, highlighting how they may be misleading in terms of the reality of life for residents of Ashmill. Specifically, the inclusion of 'Evendale', an observably more affluent area of Ashmill, with Blackacre, a deprived estate receiving (indirectly) funding from Communities First[35] within Lower Layer Super Output Area[36] (LSOA) 3, misrepresents the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation[37] (WIMD) data set significantly. Rather than imagine that these secondary statistical data present 'facts', their usefulness is to highlight discordances and commonalities with observations and accounts of residents, indicating how qualitative empirical data may usefully grasp the nature of tensions between residential groups within a

---

[35] Communities First is a Welsh Government funded programme which aims to reduce poverty in the most deprived communities. It is the Welsh Assembly Government's flagship programme to improve the living conditions and prospects of people in the most disadvantaged communities across Wales (Welsh Government, 2016). However, in February 2017 the Cabinet Secretary for Communities and Children announced that the Communities First Programme would be phased out by March 2018 and a transition to a new approach to building resilient communities would be undertaken (Welsh Government 2017).

[36] A Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) is a geographic area used to report small area statistics in England and Wales. Lower Layer Super Output Areas have a minimum size of 1,000 residents and 400 households, but average 1,500 residents.

[37] The Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation is 'the Welsh Government's official measure of relative deprivation for small areas in Wales. It is designed to identify those small areas where there are the highest concentrations of several different types of deprivation ... An Index is a group of separate measurements which are combined into a single number. WIMD is currently made up of eight separate domains (or types) of deprivation ... Each of the domains include several indicators of deprivation. WIMD ranks all small areas in Wales from 1 (most deprived) to 1,909 (least deprived). It does not provide a measure of the level of deprivation in an area.' (Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014).

community. Furthermore, this may also indicate, in contrast to Elias and Scotson's findings, a significant structural difference which may explain at least some tension between residential groups. As such, the concept of 'relative deprivation', as indicated in Chapter 2, may be useful in explaining some aspects of the relationships between residential groups.

Throughout the first chapter of their study, Elias and Scotson build the argument that adequate investigations into power relationships in human figurations should be conducted primarily using participant observations and interviews, criticising what they see as the 'deceptive finality' that may be implied in statistical analysis (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.9). They argue that investigations which try to grasp relationships between groups of people require:

> an observer trained for the perception of configurations ... to observe and conceptualise systematically how individuals cohere, how and why they form with each other this particular configuration or how and why the configurations they form change and, in some cases, develop (Elias and Scotson 1994, pp.8-9).

Ethnographic methods are consistent with the aims of this study not only in terms of the type of problem being investigated, but also to facilitate access to appropriate social contexts and suitable participants for an extended period of time, and the collection of appropriate observational and interview data. Intensive ethnographic research is also consistent with realist research which aims to provide explanations, and a useful framework from which to develop a good realist criminological ethnography is provided by Matthews (2014, p.66). In summary, Matthews argues that it needs to:

- Formulate a conceptual framework that elucidates key concepts and theorises the patterns and processes involved.

- Be reflexive, considering power relations between those studied *and* between researcher and researched.

- Try to identify the main causal relations affecting social processes, thereby moving from description to explanation.

- Link analysis of participant account to the structures they operate in, identifying what mediates or connects the two processes.

- Move from the specific to the general in developing investigations, through repetition or comparison, to maximize generalisability.

- Develop policy relevant research based on causal analysis, linking action and structure and constructing credible and convincing explanations.

Integrating this framework with established-outsider theory, it is proposed that a useful figurational analysis and synopsis is possible. The use of multiple methods of data collection represents a methodological triangulation which is common in ethnography and may involve comparing data gathered from participant observations, interviews, and documents (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, p.184). The participation of residents from residential 'Zones' within Ashmill also represents a form of triangulation, in which participant accounts are compared and checked (Rock 2001, p.34). By collecting data from various sources, using different methods, the validity of the data may be fostered and a deeper understanding the social meanings involved in a setting may be acquired through a process of 'reflexive triangulation' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, p.184).

Methods of Data Collection

Elias and Scotson (1994) examined data collected through interviews with residents from every thirtieth house on the electoral register and key local organisations through which they analysed membership lists of voluntary associations. They organised this data into statistical tables in order to ascertain if there were sufficient structural differences to account for the hierarchical relationships between residents, finding that this was not a sufficient explanation, particularly between Zone 2 and Zone 3, residents of which were similar in terms of income, occupation and social class. This type of demographic data is now readily available online from sources such as the 2011 British Census and the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, and negated the requirement to conduct this element of the research in the established-outsiders model. Furthermore, I was able to utilise the information which had been recently gathered during the Neighbourhood Action Plan (NAP) conducted

on the Blackacre estate by the Registered Social Landlord (RSL), involving a 'walk-through survey' by local housing staff gathering resident's concerns about life on the estate. The NAP indicated that the RSL perceived the estate as 'problematic', based on data collected from residents of the estate who indicated that 'antisocial behaviour' was an issue. I was unable to obtain access to the raw data, or obtain an account of the methodology used in collecting the data in developing and conducting the NAP. An RSL housing manager explained that they were unable to share information because of data protection legislation constraints. However, he confirmed that occupants of 156 properties were interviewed in a door-to-door survey by representatives of the RSL, spending about twenty-minutes in each property. He added: 'interestingly residents were very happy to talk with us about everything', indicating his expectation that this may be a problematic exercise in which residents would be reluctant to talk. An area in which I found my access to data more restricted than Elias and Scotson was to local organisation's membership lists, as 'safeguarding'[38] and data protection[39] legislation has tended to be a barrier to accessing this type of data. When asked for such data, organisers often sidestepped the problem by giving me rough subjective estimations of where they drew their membership from.

Participant observations were used to collect empirical data which documented observable differences in habituses between neighbourhoods, to get an 'overall picture' of the Zones. Sampson (2012, pp.6-20) takes the reader on a walk 'Observing Chicago' to generate a 'bird's-eye view'; and 'walking' became the primary method through which I participated in everyday life. This is street-level fieldwork in which I absorbed understandings and learned the boundaries which residents maintained and reproduced, even 'constituted' (Smith and Hall 2016, p.504), in their everyday activities. I used buses, went to cafés and pubs, watched local football and rugby matches and used the clubhouses, used the local gym, and the shops. I observed behaviour and engaged residents in conversations. Often, I did not alert the actors of the fact that I was doing a study as concealing my purpose in these settings overcame reactivity, which limits ecological validity (Spicker 2011), the capture, as closely as possible, of 'real-life'

---

[38] 'Safeguarding is about protecting children and adults from abuse or neglect and educating those around them to recognise the signs and dangers' (Welsh Government, 2016).
[39] The Data Protection Act 1998 requires organisations to protect personal information that they store, imposing restrictions on how such data can be used.

experience, and also helped to maintain participant and researcher safety. This aspect of data collection was essentially covert, although the nature of this deception must be distinguished from covert research where a closed-group or private setting is accessed using deception, and this context where naturalistic behaviour is observed in public places (Spicker 2011). This is not to suggest that I deliberately failed to disclose my position as a researcher simply to obtain data; if a conversation was relevant I would disclose this fact, indeed, often I would tell individuals I was 'doing a community study' to stimulate conversation. The situation is complex and fluid when researching in open system social situations where control over the situation is limited and obtaining the participants' fully informed consent is sometimes not possible (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, p.211). Consequently, some ethical judgements (discussed below) about whether to include observational data, given lack of consent, were taken after the event (Spicker 2011, p.121).

Observations were recorded in a journal of fieldnotes. There are three main types of fieldnotes: mental notes; jotted notes; and full fieldnotes (Bryman 2008, p.420; see also Emerson et al. 2001). The practical problems of making notes have been addressed by several ethnographers: Winlow (2001) approached the problem by 'jotting key words and phrases' and writing-up fieldnotes later; and Wacquant (2004, p.5) describes how he spent several hours each night writing up his day-to-day observations (see also Wolfinger 2002). The method I adopted to unobtrusively make notes was to use a mobile phone with software which was compatible with my computer's word processor. I could make comprehensive notes virtually anywhere without drawing attention to myself, and to passers-by it appeared that I was 'texting' or 'playing a game'. This also had the advantage that I only had to make the notes once, I could then upload my notes to my computer and place them in the relevant section of my electronic journal with necessary elaborations and corrections. My journal was kept on a Microsoft Word document, simply headed with the date, followed by the type of entry such as analytical notes, substantive notes, methodological notes, reflexive notes, and supervision notes (Burgess 1991). Salient information such as the location and time, the weather, who else was present, if it was a planned observation, and details of the observation, both descriptions of events and activities, and dialogue were also included (Emerson et al. 2001). I

was then able to easily search my journal for key words or phrases in order to code and analyse my journal, which by the time I began to negotiate my withdrawal from the field consisted of about 90,000 words.

I recorded thirty-four interviews with fifty-six participants, lasting between thirty minutes and four hours (see Appendix 1), primarily using a digital audio recorder which was compatible with the other software I used to transcribe the interviews. Taped interviews offer a means to capture in-depth discussions about everyday life fairly unobtrusively, nevertheless, organising an interview required the participant to give full consent, and a form (see Appendix 2) was devised to record this consent, which I sometimes felt was an obstacle to the conversation. My approach to these interviews was 'conversational', that is, I invited participants to have a recorded conversation with me in which we discussed, dare I say 'gossiped', about how they got on with life and others residents in Ashmill in a 'sociable' or 'dialogic' manner (Sinha and Black 2014). Often, I would arrange to pop around to a participant's house to 'have a chat', and would find that other people such as family members or neighbours would also be there, or would arrive during an interview, and become engaged in our conversations. Rather than viewing this as problematic, I took full advantage, briefly explaining what I was doing and inviting them to participate, ensuring that a consent form was completed before finishing. Sometimes these discussions would get reignited at a later date, at the rugby club, or gym, or a shop, and others would be drawn into the conversation. This highlights the messy nature of ethnographic research which requires a sociable approach to research 'not on but with' participants (Sinha and Black 2014, p.483). I had three questions in mind for recorded interviews:

- How long have you lived here? This sometimes encouraged the participant to give a life history involving talk about family, jobs, relationships, and why the participant lives here.

- What makes up the community of Ashmill? This asked the participant to consider what is meant by 'community'. This usually led participants to define Ashmill geographically in terms of boundaries and extent, allowing the identification of which areas 'belong' and which do not, and why this may be so.

- What is it like living here? This encouraged the participants to discuss 'good' and 'bad' aspects of life in the community.

Often, the participant(s) would begin talking about the community without any prompts, in which case I would steer the conversation such that the main areas were covered. As the study progressed, themes and issues from previous interviews and conversations, observations, and topics in the local news were used to develop the conversations. Some participants offered an account of their lives in response to my asking how long they had lived in Ashmill. The collection of life histories was a method employed by Elias, as O'Connor and Goodwin (2013) discuss in their reanalysis of one-thousand life history interviews in Elias's 'Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles' project. Although these were not a method used in the established-outsiders model, the advantages of life history accounts in intensive established-outsider case studies (Bucholc 2013), criminological research (Goodey 2000), and ethnography (Plummer 2001) are recognised. In this study, this lies particularly in grasping the inextricable connection between an individual's life and that of their community, between their I- and we-identities, which are fundamental issues in understanding relationships between groups of residents. For example, Kieran described the constant peer pressure to 'fit-in' to the deviant and violent social context he experienced growing up on the Blackacre estate, and his feelings of embarrassment if he is associated with the estate now that he has 'grown-up' and moved off the estate. Conversations I recorded with Jordan and his uncle, Craig, who are members of the 'notorious' Jones family on the Blackacre estate helped me to understand the process of generational sociological inheritance of family identities, and how this may be connected to the availability of an empowering status based around intimidation and a reputation for violence, indicating the informal control roles that may exist for members of these families.

There were other sources of data collected, which included some historical information to assist in generating an overview of the community presented in Chapter 4. This is valuable for ethnographies which consider residents' interconnected social, economic, geographical, and historical relationships, and the effects that these have on the development of individual and group cultures.

Elias and Scotson (1994) discuss the foundation and development of Winston Parva in Chapter 2 'Neighbourhood Relations in the Making', and this thesis provides a corresponding section in Chapter 4. I have also used some secondary statistical data from the 2011 Census and the WIMD in order to give a 'rough outline' of the setting, and to use this as a springboard from which to argue that quantitative data alone is inadequate for understanding and explaining relationships between residents. As noted above, I was also able to make use of some survey data collected by the RSL during a Neighbourhood Action Plan designed to identify and address some issues which residents identified on the Blackacre estate. I have collected comments made on the online local newspaper, and joined some online community organisations on social media such as Facebook. Comments and conversations seen here were useful as collaborative representations of praise and blame gossip. They were important not simply for harvesting data, but also for the importance attached to being involved in and 'belonging' to Facebook groups where commenters could test their ideas about values and morality, developed and reinforced among other commenters, and where 'disgraceful' individuals and groups could be 'named and shamed'. This is an important development of established-outsider theory, and a route through which I have been able to contact and cultivate potential participants. I have also collected newspaper clippings and other documents such as community leaflets during the course of the study. Nevertheless, collecting publicly available information from these sources raised difficult ethical issues regarding privacy and anonymity which are discussed below in the section on ethical considerations. Essentially, I wanted to gather empirical data which elucidated the relationships between residential groups in Ashmill, enabling analysis of how this figuration of residents generated and maintained their reputations, and to present a synopsis of the community.

Data Analysis

I began by identifying the main themes in established-outsider theory (see Chapter 1), which revolved around how the residents understood their community, what neighbourhoods they distinguished, and the apparent status of the residents occupying these neighbourhoods. This allowed Elias and Scotson to identify residential 'Zones'. The relationships between residents of

these 'Zones' were analysed in relation to the relative power of residential groups. By starting with theme based empirical chapters based on those in the established-outsider framework, I was able to build chapter frameworks from the data I was collecting, noting where empirical data I had collected may support or refute some aspect of the established-outsiders model, and how emergent themes may develop the model. For example, the contrasting concepts of 'gossip' and 'grassing' seemed to indicate related phenomena involving community talk which implies the informal exercise of power.

The interview transcriptions, and fieldnotes I collected were analysed using Microsoft Word. I transcribed each interview myself, which was a time consuming process, but offered the opportunity for early analytical insights, and represents a level of transparency and allows others to critically review my interpretations. The process of transcribing was made easier by using a foot pedal compatible with my audio recorder and word processing software. The interviews were transcribed word-for-word, except for sections where the conversation was not relevant, which is indicated in the interview transcripts. After transcribing the interviews, I found that listening to the interviews whilst coding was beneficial. Once the first round of analysis was completed the audio recordings were destroyed in order to reduce the possibility of participants being identified. The transcriptions were indexed using the interview number and formatted with 'continuous line numbers' using the 'Page Layout' function. I was then able to code sections of transcript which were associated with extant or emergent themes using the interview number and the line numbers. For example, '4/730-800' would indicate a section of interview number 4, lines 730 to 800. A similar process was used to analyse the fieldnotes and other documents, linking these under theme headings and sub-headings in the coding framework. Having iteratively developed a coding framework of theme based empirical chapters which included subsections or topics related to the overarching themes throughout the data gathering process, I was able to identify recurrent and emergent themes and filter out marginal issues. This sounds like an orderly process, but in reality it was messy and involved numerous revisions, additions, deletions, and rearranging of chapter sections to begin to bring structure to the corpus of unstructured data. Importantly, this helped me to obtain some repeated periods of sustained 'detachment' from the

data and the setting in which I remained generally 'involved'. One of the important early considerations as the focus of the study developed was where to conduct the research, and this process of selection is considered next.

Selections

The areas of selection pertinent in this study were of the theoretical literature, the community, and the participants. None of these were unproblematic discrete selections, rather they emerged out of a process of engagement, especially during the difficult early stages of project development, but continuing throughout. The study developed out of an extended engagement with the literature, and discussions with my supervisors about difficulties getting access to suitable settings and groups. During this process I was introduced to the work of Norbert Elias and figurational/process sociology more generally and, in particular, Elias and Scotson's (1994) established-outsider theory and research. Reading the study of Winston Parva reminded me of a similar figuration which I was confident I would be able to access in order to test and develop the model. I was aware that Blackacre has struggled with a reputation for 'antisocial behaviour' and drug related crime, and during some cursory enquiries I discovered that the local RSL had recently conducted a Neighbourhood Action Plan on Blackacre which indicated that 'antisocial behaviour' was a problem. Blackacre seemed interesting because it is a small council estate located within a primarily white, working-class community in one of the 'better' areas of Welshtown, whose residents tend to be stigmatised as 'rough' by the surrounding 'respectable' community. This represented a broadly similar setting to Winston Parva in which, despite the relative homogeneity of residents, mechanisms of stigmatisation and exclusion were still observed.

Sampling in qualitative research is typically purposive (Bryman 2008, p.375), and flexible in relation to the number of participants' and size of the samples (Layder 1998, p.46). Setting selection was made primarily on purposive social scientific grounds, in contrast to Whyte (1967, p.283) who admits: 'I made my choice on very unscientific grounds: Cornerville best fitted my picture of what a slum district should look like'. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.4) explain that they built their sample of participants using a door-to-door survey of every thirtieth house in Winston Parva. They are not clear about how many participants were

involved in their study, however, based on their Table VIII (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.74), there were 12 participants from Zone 1, 64 from Zone 2, and 35 from Zone 3, giving a total of 101 participants. In comparison, I have interviewed 56 participants[40], 10 who currently live on Blackacre estate, and 7 who have lived on the estate and now live in the surrounding neighbourhood which borders onto the estate. The remaining participants either live in the surrounding neighbourhood or work in Ashmill (e.g. shop workers, police community support officers, housing officers, teachers, and social workers). In addition, I have engaged in many unrecorded conversations with residents from Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood. In total, I have engaged with just under 100 individuals who I could name, and many more that I could not. One of the problems I encountered in engaging with residents of Blackacre was a reluctance to engage in 'formal' conversations, although many were happy to engage in informal conversations.

A mixture of convenience and snowball sampling was employed initially. In practical terms, I spoke to anyone in the setting who would speak to me, striking up conversations on the street, in shops and the café, at the rugby club and the gym. Most of the time these conversations would pass without note, but sometimes they would provide interesting perspectives, and occasionally interviews would be arranged. As the research proceeded and the focus of the research emerged, I was able to employ a more purposive approach to participant selection; theoretical sampling. Selection of participants gradually concentrated on the basis of the emerging theoretical focus of the study, to develop and analyse emergent categories and variation between them (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001, p.168), and to make links with extant theories and concepts. Observations and participants were sought which may be able to provide empirical insights which could be used to analyse the data in relation to both extant and emergent theory and themes. I continued to collect data from willing participants, observations, documents collected in the field, and relevant literature, until I was satisfied that I had a sufficient basis from which to interpret data, and analyse emergent issues and themes, that is, a point of 'theoretical saturation' (Bryman, 2008, p.416).

---

[40] See the Appendix 3 for a breakdown of participants known by name.

A possible weakness in the sample of participants is among younger residents of Blackacre who were very difficult to access, not only for myself as a researcher, but also for organisations targeting this group, often seen as 'at risk of antisocial behaviour'. It may be noted that much existing research into problems on estates tends to focus on these 'types' of young people, and as a consequence risks overlooking the interdependencies between broader sections of a neighbourhood. There may also be a gender bias in that the study was male focused. This was partly a function of the reality of my ability to access participants, and also of the male dominated public sphere that this study has focused on.

Becoming 'Involved'

In *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994, p.75), Scotson's position as a 'respectable outsider' is mentioned. He worked as a school teacher in Winston Parva, and attempted to set up a youth club – an 'experiment *in situ*' (ibid, p.109). I have used several roles to 'fit-in' to the setting, including as a researcher, as a 'resident', as a gym member, as member of the rugby club, and as a community volunteer. At various times and places I have fitted-in as a member of the 'established' community, often as an 'outsider', but what has been fairly consistent is that I have tended to be viewed as 'respectable'. This kind of reflexivity, the consciousness of one's place and influence in the figuration, is important in realist social research. As Sayer (2000, p.53) observes: 'Realist social science requires reflexivity. We are always in some position or other in relation to our objects; the important thing is to consider whether that influence is benign or malign'. Crucially, there is a rejection of the notion that presuppositions that the researcher holds about the world can be unproblematically suspended thereby eliminating any effect that the researcher may have on research, and for realist research, this position is untenable (Matthews 2014, p.64).

There are aspects of my background and personality which have impacted on my position as a researcher. Not least, I lived on a council estate until my late teens, many of my family members still residing there. As a police officer I spent most of my career working on estates, where it was vital to grasp the relationships between residents. On reflection, this is when I became cognisant

of the stigmatisation of council estates. Being a white male, having played rugby, and training in local bodybuilding gyms, have helped me to fit into many contexts within the primarily white, working-class community of Ashmill. Recognising the effect your appearance and social history have as an ethnographer is essential. The cultural capital that working-class men tend to value often involves a perception of toughness; physical dominance and a capacity for violence (Stempel 2005; Monaghan 2002). Physically, I am a 'stout' individual at 178 centimetres tall and 120 kilogrammes. As Monaghan (2002, p.338) highlights 'bodily size (with its implicit suggestion of violence) is symbolically significant'. Similarly, my embodied social history gives me a certain place in the world; I look the same, cut my hair and wear the same kind of clothes, use the same words, do the same things, and eat the same kinds of foods, as the people I studied. I have the same type of tastes (Bourdieu 2010) as the residents of Ashmill, and I aimed to exploit these tastes and characteristics as resources to fit-in. However, my personal characteristics are simultaneously enabling and constraining in terms of my ability to fit-in to the setting, and the roles I am able to assume. On one hand I can pass as an 'insider', as someone who behaves, looks, and talks like the people in the setting, and whose embodied social history gives me some cultural and bodily capital with participants. On the other hand, I am an 'outsider' as a researcher, and middle-aged retired policeman, who lives in a 'posh' semi-rural community.

As a middle-aged man I also needed to consider carefully what settings I may appropriately be seen to inhabit unobtrusively. Ethnography is often associated with 'younger' researchers (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, p.76; Hobbs 2001, p.214). Apart from the physical and cultural differences that age can draw attention to, a researcher also has to be honest about the changes in attitudes about studying reputedly 'dangerous' places that life experiences may bring with age. Henslin (1990, p.69) tackles this issue when he considers researching young homeless people, describing how as a young man this would not have concerned him, but that at the age of 47 (my age at the time I began my PhD), he had a more 'cautious' approach to 'street realities'.

Much of the ethnographic work in this study was geared towards developing relationships which facilitate access to participants with whom relevant

conversations and interviews may take place (Hobbs 2001, p.214). This presents a small element of risk of physical and psychological harm which might affect the researcher, participants, and the community, therefore managing this risk is taken seriously and permeates this study. The distinction between types of risk is made by Lee (1995) who identifies situational and ambient danger, and both types are relevant to some degree in this study. Bloor et al. (2007, p.15) suggest that situational danger relates to danger arising out the presence of a researcher provoking 'aggression, hostility, or violence from those within the setting', and ambient risk relates to studying inherently dangerous places. Stanko and Lee (2003, p.4) emphasize that risks of danger do not necessarily prevent social research from taking place but it must 'be approached with foresight and planning'. However, whilst risk is taken seriously, it can also be exaggerated, leading to difficulties in doing ethnographic research; as Briggs (2010, p.50) notes, the risks of doing ethnographic research on 'dangerous' and 'problematic' populations is becoming more difficult because of intensive ethical and risk assessments. One of the aims of this study is to dispel myths, a view that Briggs (2010, p.57) endorses when he explains that in ten years of researching 'dangerous' groups he had never felt threatened and that 'as researchers, policy-makers, frontline workers, we should not fear them. We should look to dispel myths about them and help policy-makers devise strategies that will improve their position'.

As Yates (2004) discusses in relation to conducting ethnographic research on a similar council estate setting, the broader concern related to the risk of the researcher passing on information about criminal activities to the authorities. This concern may have been amplified by my police background, raising concerns of risk to the safety of participants, to me as the researcher, and the risk to the validity of the research data as a result of unreasonable levels of participant reactivity. There was also a potential risk of harm for participants if they were seen to be 'friendly' to the police, or even as potential 'grasses'. I found that caution about speaking to me because of my background was rare, although I did experience a process of being sounded-out for my 'safeness', or trustworthiness, when I was negotiating access to Kevin, a man in his mid-forties who has lived on Blackacre for many years. This sounding-out, which I also experienced when negotiating access to other men who presented

themselves as 'tough' or 'streetwise', involved a particular type of preliminary conversation. It always involved confirming that I was not still a serving police officer, and then having names of people mentioned to me who I was expected to know, and to respond with some detail about them, providing other names. This confirmed that I was legitimately 'involved', and more importantly, that others in the figuration had spoken with me, thereby reducing the risk of talking to me. Kevin is frequently unemployed and has mental health, alcohol, and drug troubles. After meeting at the back of 'The Shop' we chatted and I explained what I was doing. (The Shop, as will be discussed, was a key location in this study). Kevin was amenable to 'helping me out' and we arranged to go for a coffee to discuss what an interview might involve. Kevin wanted to find out what the study was about before he committed to helping out, and wanted to meet up away from the estate so that he could speak with me comfortably. As he put it: 'I don't want all the crackheads on Blackacre out to rip my head off!' He told me that he had been thinking about the study since we spoke and he would like to get involved. He had spoken with his mother who told him to be careful, not to put himself in a difficult position because of my background in the police and the potential connotations of grassing. He said, 'Thing is, if you want smack, crack or Prozac you go to Blackacre'. I explained that everything was kept anonymous, changing the names of places and participants. I felt like I was being interviewed: Could I be trusted? How risky was participation in the study? What would happen with the information? How would the information be used? Kevin decided not to participate in a recorded interview, this being perceived as a 'formal' and durable record and therefore potentially 'available', but he was happy to 'chat' informally as long as his name was not used.

I have tried to consolidate and legitimise my position in Ashmill through three main routes. Firstly, I managed to get a job volunteering at Ashmill Community Centre, dealing with food parcels on a weekly delivery. This seemed like a sensible way to legitimise my position as a researcher, to gather ethnographic data, and to generate research contacts and participants. I approached the management at the community centre by email, and sought some voluntary work on the basis that this formed part of the necessary requirements for me to proceed with my course at university. I explained that I was 'doing a community study', and I was invited in for a chat the following day, whereupon I was asked

if I wanted to help with the food parcels that were being delivered that afternoon. I later discovered that my request for voluntary work was well-timed, as the staff had been looking for a male volunteer to assist on that afternoon because of some nuisance they had been experiencing with some local youngsters.

Secondly, I was able to get the use of the front room of a house, located in Zone 2, on several days a week to work from, in exchange for doing some shopping, tidying-up the garden, and putting the rubbish-bins out for the elderly gentleman who lived there. From here I was able to appear as a 'resident' of the 'established' community, I was able to 'see and be seen' on a daily basis, to become a regularly visible part of the community. I was able to capitalise on this situation to engage with passers-by and neighbours on the main road on which the house was located, often whilst having a cup of tea while standing at the front gate. This simple and everyday act allowed me to engage in a friendly and informal fashion with neighbours and people passing-by on their way to the local shops and in turn to pick-up on gossip, and to identify and recruit participants. It allowed me to legitimise my position, and develop my pseudo-role as a 'resident' of Zone 2, just a couple of hundred metres from Blackacre.

Thirdly, I visited The Shop on an almost daily basis to buy newspapers. This allowed me to be recognised as someone who was 'local', and by primarily using the entrance/exit at the back of The Shop – the estate side – I was able to engage in conversations with the people who tended to gather there. I explained my study to the shopkeepers – Ian and Donna – who were happy for me to spend time hanging around, chatting, picking up on gossip, and observing people in and around The Shop. I spent many hours simply chatting with Ian in The Shop, and often with other customers, about their experiences of life in Ashmill. By using and being seen in The Shop I felt that I was able to more comfortably enter the heart of the estate, to walk around the 'inside squares' where residents tended to gather and socialise. I have tried to explain my concern to become 'involved', to develop an adequate grasp of everyday life within Ashmill and accumulate reality congruent knowledge. I will now turn to the difficult 'mental operation' of which the aim is to obtain more analytical 'detachment' needed to generate a useful synopsis of the relationships between residents in Ashmill.

A 'Detour via Detachment' and a 'Secondary Involvement'

> The task of social scientists is to explore, and to make people understand, the patterns they form together, the nature and changing configuration of all that binds them to each other. The investigators themselves form part of these patterns. They cannot help experiencing them, directly or by identification, as immediate participants from within; and the greater the strains and stresses to which they or their groups are exposed, the more difficult it is for them to perform the mental operation, underlying all scientific pursuits, of detaching themselves from their role as immediate participants and from the limited vista it offers (Elias 1987b, p.12).

This highlights a key aspect of Elias's methodology: that human beings form pluralities of individuals, or figurations, of which the researcher is necessarily a part. Figurational analysis requires the researcher to emotionally 'detach' themselves, to obtain some analytical distance. The importance of obtaining detachment from the figuration is so that one does not attribute praise/blame, but untangles the structural mechanisms which trap interdependent groups in a double-bind. Detachment is difficult to achieve; it involves highly emotional phenomena which risks threatening the researchers group or personal identities (Saramago 2015; Kilminster 2011). Unlike cases such as Elias's (1983) study of court society which can probably be investigated in a more highly detached way, this investigation perhaps has a greater emotional involvement as it has 'direct relation to controversies of our own time' (Elias 1983, p.233). My personal background involves an identity as someone raised on a similar council estate, a set of values inculcated by my service as a police officer, and importantly, by parents who expressed respect for authority and instilled this in their children: I am emotionally 'involved' and have a position I would want to defend – just as McKenzie (2015) and Hanley (2012) do. My values are not hidden, and I make no claim that the research here is 'value free'; rather, my values are 'suspended'. Elias's (1987b) argument is that social scientific research should not be heteronomous, motivated by personal aspirations and standpoint. Rather, a researcher's values and aspirations must be checked by

procedures which demand detachment from the immediate urgent problem to the wider, less temporally bounded production of generations of theories; it should be autonomous. By striving for detachment the aim is to attempt to generate autonomous, in contrast to heteronomous, evaluations. Kilminster (2011, p.110) states that through the 'detour via detachment':

> A more vivid, all-round, broader and realistic empirical–theoretical picture of human societies needs to be developed. This would enable researchers to correct for the evaluative overstatements about social relations and interdependencies that arise from one-sided 'involvements', including systematic blaming, intruding into the research process.

Another aspect of this theoretical-empirical process is a 'secondary involvement' with the accumulated fund of social knowledge, which should increasingly consist of more reality congruent autonomous evaluations (Dunning and Hughes 2013, p.14). Elias's conceptual tools of involvement and detachment have helped me to understand the necessity of reflecting on my fluid position within the research figuration. The importance of a profound involvement, and the difficult but crucial mental operation to attempt to detach oneself from the research problem, the setting, and participants, in order to create the analytical distance is necessary to generate reality congruent knowledge and begin to formulate a useful theoretical synopsis. Analytical detachment has become more important, and progressively greater, as the focus of the research process has shifted from data collection and development of questions, to analysis and synopsis, and finally, writing-up the thesis. Before concluding, I want to deal explicitly with some of the ethical considerations which permeate this study.

Ethical Considerations[41]

Although Elias and Scotson disguise the location of their study as Winston Parva, and the reader assumes that any individuals are adequately

---

[41] This project is guided by the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2002), and the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (2015), and has been approved by Cardiff University Research Ethics Committee.

anonymised[42], there is no explicit discussion of 'ethical' issues in *The Established and the Outsiders*. This is an important aspect of contemporary social research, with ethical considerations forming a crucial part of initial PhD proposals for ESRC funding which undergo ongoing reviews. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) identify five broad areas of ethical consideration:

- Informed consent

- Privacy

- Harm

- Exploitation

- Consequences for future academic research

These are complex considerations requiring continual reflection and justification. They permeate this thesis, they have been reflexively and iteratively considered to minimise potential harm, and to protect the privacy and anonymity of the participants. In this section, the methods used to disguise the identities of the participants and the research setting not only by using pseudonyms, but also by merging and obscuring empirical data are discussed. These are central issues in the controversies around Goffman's (2014) urban ethnography, in which 'facts' were merged and obscured in order to protect the privacy and anonymity of her participants, and which has subsequently had its integrity and plausibility criticised (Campos 2015).

The methods used to try and overcome these problems essentially involve the merging of data to facilitate a breaking of the link between the data and identifiable individuals and places. Markham (2012) describes this as 'fabrication' or 'bricolage', using empirical data presented to disguise participants and the setting, but not to 'distort' findings. Whilst anonymising participant's identities in order to protect their privacy seems straightforward, the complexity of obscuring 'background' information, such as names, criminal convictions, and identifiable physical characteristics may restrict contextual

---

[42] Although, O'Connor and Goodwin (2013) highlight concerns about participant confidentiality regarding the discovery of Elias's 1,000 life history interviews, which identified participants and their addresses from which O'Connor and Goodwin were able to trace and re-interview them. That said, ethical considerations and the potential for disseminating data represent different potentialities currently, when compared to the early 1960s.

issues through which identities are constructed (Clark 2006). The 'talk' I have collected from recorded interviews and conversations contains sensitive information discussing places within the setting and 'gossip' about residents who may consequently be identifiable. Therefore, places and participants are given pseudonyms. The place names were generated using an online 'place name generator', and the participant's name were selected from data provided by the Office of National Statistics most popular first names for baby boys and girls in England and Wales by year of birth. I was careful not to include nicknames, or as far as reasonably possible, personal characteristics which may identify individuals. These are common methods, which are acknowledged by the British Sociological Association (no date) who advise researchers that:

> Where appropriate and practicable, methods for preserving the privacy of data should be used. These may include the removal of identifiers, the use of pseudonyms and other technical means for breaking the link between data and identifiable individuals such as ʹbroadbandingʹ or micro-aggregation.

However, 'data mining' technology can be used to identify participants (Markham 2012, p.336). Markham specifically discusses the problem of doing qualitative research 'online', however, given the infiltration of mobile data into contemporary everyday lives it is difficult to see how the problems she raises would not apply to most social research. Whilst transcripts of interviews can be anonymised to disguise places and people, the use of social media, such as Facebook or comments attached to online newspapers, if *directly* quoted, may be easily 'googled' and traced. Therefore, data is modified and/or merged, in a bricolage fashion, to convey the gist of collaborative representations and reduce the risk of identification of individual users. This approach is also broadly taken by The Collaborative Online Social Media Observatory (2014).

The traceability of documents collected during the fieldwork, for example the Neighbourhood Action Plan and local newspaper reports also present a risk to anonymity and privacy. The decision was made not to provide references for these documents, and to modify checkable text such as newspaper headlines which could be easily searched online to reveal the identity of individuals or the setting. Ultimately, this is a matter of trust between the reader, the writer, and

the participants. I have tried to present empirical data as honestly and authentically as possible, whilst minimising the risk of harm or further stigmatisation to the people who have helped me in this endeavour.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological framework used in this study. I have indicated that Elias may have rejected the concern with epistemology, ontology, and methodology as unnecessarily philosophical. However, the argument was made that in order to add to the fund of social knowledge, social scientific research needs to be capable of speaking to other research. The importance of the relationship between theory and empirical research in generating reality congruent knowledge was highlighted. The thesis was characterised as 'middle range' theorising (Merton 1968), and the importance of the accumulation of sociological knowledge was emphasised. It was indicated how realist criminology may be constructively integrated with the established-outsider model specifically, and figurational sociology more broadly, to produce an example of sociological criminology. This may help to explain the mechanisms underpinning relationships between residents which simultaneously 'bond' groups, maintaining a 'respectable' status distinction for some whilst stigmatising others, and presenting 'opportunities' for intimidatory power acquisition for a few. The epistemological and ontological basis of the thesis was situated as 'realist', and the methods of data collection, the practicalities of data analysis, and the basis on which the selection of the community, the participants and the theoretical literature were made have, all been outlined. My 'involvement' and the important mental operation of 'detachment' were discussed. Finally, some of the key ethical concerns which have underpinned the development and presentation of this thesis whilst safeguarding the privacy and anonymity of participants and other residents of Ashmill were indicated. In the next chapter, a description of the community of Ashmill and its constituent neighbourhoods is sketched out.

Chapter 4: Overall Picture of Ashmill

This chapter outlines the setting in which the research takes place. The discussion focuses on the community of Ashmill, an urban community in Welshtown, South Wales[43]. Welshtown is briefly situated in geographical and historical terms, indicating how these dimensions have shaped the community of Ashmill, acknowledging its shared history with other British towns which expanded during the process of industrialisation. A map of Ashmill is presented, its construction and potential value in progressing the established-outsiders model discussed. I explain how the community as it is understood by participants was 'Zoned' as in the established-outsiders model, identifying neighbourhoods with different, albeit subtle, characteristics. Some descriptive statistics are then presented to give a rough statistical outline of the community, its demographics, and the experience of crime in the setting. These statistical data are compared and contrasted with observational and interview data to draw out some discordances and commonalities between these sources of data, and in particular to highlight the problem of skewed statistical data encountered in this study. This is achieved by describing and analysing the

---

[43] Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider in-depth, it is worth noting that an established-outsider relationship at the national level is historically evident. This can be traced from relationships between the indigenous tribal Britons emerging from the Bronze Age, being driven westward by successive waves of invaders; primarily Roman and Saxon. Williams (1985, p.3) describes the outsider status of these ousted people: 'They were stuck in their peninsulas behind a great dyke and rampart raised by an alien people who called them foreigners – in that alien language *weallas* – Welsh. By that time they themselves were beginning to call what was left of the Britons *Cymry* or fellow-countrymen'. In more recent history, the Welsh have experienced English domination and subjugation of their national identity, language, and culture for centuries, incorporating into their (our) identities 'a specific type of inferiority complex, a self-questioning suspicion that the Welsh people, as opposed to individuals among them, inherently lack political capacity' (ibid, p.60). In Eliasian terms, a particular personality structure has emerged among 'the Welsh' in the processes of interdependent relationships in which one group, 'the English', hold more power. Mears (1986) employs established-outsider theory to make sense of this relationship, highlighting the relative powerlessness and stigmatisation of Wales and the Welsh people, he notes: 'In the case of English-Welsh relations, the existence of pejorative terms for the 'outsider' group can be traced back to the sixteenth century. The Oxford New English Dictionary has a number of entries under 'Welsh' 'Welsher' etc. Examples include 'To Welsh' - to swindle somebody, 'Welsh cricket' meaning 'a louse', 'Welsh Ambassador' meaning a cuckoo, and 'that's Welsh' meaning 'I don't understand you' (1648 usage). The way in which such epithets, along with more tangible elements of an oppressed status, contribute to the self-image of 'outsider' groups is an important question' (Mears 1986, p.146).

realities of everyday life as they are observed during fieldwork and described by residents of Ashmill during interviews and conversations. This underlines that the experience of everyday life described in this thesis is not assumed, but is found in the analysis of empirical ethnographic fieldwork, and has been stimulated by current sociological issues. The chapter concludes by drawing on the statistical and empirical data presented to summarise the overall picture of Ashmill which emerges.

A Brief Historical and Geographical Outline of Ashmill

The history and geography of a place are directly connected (Driver 1988), and are important elements in the development of personality structure, or habitus, in established-outsider theory. Interdependent relationships are subject to a process of transformation over time as broad social structural changes occur, as Mills (2000, p.158) observes: 'man is a social and an historical actor who must be understood, if at all, in close and intricate interplay with social and historical structures'. A brief, and necessarily broad – to maintain the setting's anonymity – consideration of Ashmill's geographical and historical background is pertinent.

Ashmill is a community of about ten-thousand residents in Welshtown. It is, like many other communities, simultaneously a unique place with its own history and cultural peculiarities, and yet typical in its shared history and common cultural characteristics within the broader national landscape. Having flourished economically during industrialisation, many residents are now suffering from economic and social struggles amid processes of globalisation and deindustrialisation. The early economy of Welshtown centred around a nearby medieval port, and an upsurge in the economic fortunes of Welshtown began in the early nineteenth century, based on the transportation of coal and iron reserves from the South Wales Valleys, initially along canals constructed in the late eighteenth century running from the South Wales valleys, and later by rail. Like the development of Winston Parva, the development of Ashmill can be linked to 'an enterprising man' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.13). A local history

book[44] explains that 'George Cromwell'[45] made his fortune constructing railway lines in the mid-nineteenth century.

Cromwell settled in Ashmill after obtaining contracts to construct railway lines in South Wales during the industrialisation of the region. He purchased the 'Ashmill Estate' in the mid-nineteenth century, renovating the Ashmill Mansion dating back to the mid-seventeenth century which was situated in the area which is now called 'Evendale', and later constructed a mansion in Station Road. This was demolished in the early 1930s to build new houses. A brick and tile factory was established by Cromwell in the late-nineteenth century, with local red-brick houses in the older neighbourhood of Ashmill built with 'Ashmill Bricks'. Many of the streets in Ashmill are named after Cromwell family members, who also donated land for the building of community facilities. This has cemented the Cromwells as a prominent historical family in the memory of locals, as part of the collective identity of residents, many of whom live in houses constructed by the family. Clifford (74, Zone 2[46]) explained:

> CLIFFORD: In 1925 the Cromwells donated a plot of ground for a new church to be built … That church became known as Ashmill Church. That's the church we have today, at the bottom of Station Road … [Clifford shows me a map of Ashmill, pointing out streets with connections to the Cromwell family] …
>
> STEVE: So all these streets bear a relation to the Cromwell family. They are a prominent, important part of the history of Ashmill.
>
> CLIFFORD: Definitely. Take that away and Ashmill has lost an identity.

The process of industrialisation, beginning in the late eighteenth century, was a turbulent time in Welshtown's history, as it was in other British towns. South Wales was a 'frontier society' (Williams 1985, pp.182-219), with settlers

---

[44] This source has not been cited in order to preserve the anonymity of the setting.
[45] 'George Cromwell' is a pseudonym.
[46] The information in brackets indicates the age of the participant and the Zone that they currently live in.

seeking work in the coal fields and iron works (Owen 1991; Williams 1985). Tension between locals and incomers was common, and as Carrington et al. (2010, p.403) highlight, violence between incomers and local men 'who consider themselves as the authentic bearers of frontier masculinity' may have a socially useful function in testing and proving masculinity. Williams (1985, p.192) identifies a collective 'code of honour' among local men in which violent 'self-help' (Cooney 2003) can be seen as a violent political response to the unequal social and economic power structures that prevailed during the period of industrialisation. Owen (1991, p.98) observes that:

> The new working-class-in-the-making clung to such manifestations of the old popular culture as ... the disguise of the 'Scotch Cattle' in its attempts to exercise social control, but became more interested, as the years passed, in the politicization of its struggle for decent working and living conditions, and, ultimately, the attainment of respectability.

This observation is evidence of the process of incorporation of the working-classes (Dunning et al. 1988). This involved the violent struggle for political power, and the emergence of collective representation through trades unions. In the process, disputes were gradually able to be settled through formal industrial negotiations, with less recourse to violence. This is evidence of a civilising process, and the frequently violent industrial disputes of the 1980s as a decivilising spurt.

The novels of Alexander Cordell give us a taste of everyday life at this time in South Wales, with *Rape of the Fair Country* (1959) featuring the violent activities of the 'Scotch Cattle' against the backdrop of the Chartist Rising in 1839. The Scotch Cattle was comprised of iron and coal workers, mostly young men, who enforced the collective will of the workers during the nascent chartist movement in 'conditions which brutalised men and women' (Bidder 1987, p.4). Following hillside meetings, a midnight-visit would be made by Scotch Cattle from another town to avoid identification or the difficulty of 'Scotching' someone they knew. They disguised themselves by blackening their faces, and wearing animal skins or women's clothes, and were led by *y Tarw Scotch* (the Scotch Bull), to the homes of factory owners and workers who were

uncommitted to the collective action (Crowley 2009), or those seen as 'better-off'.

> At the victim's house the Cattle smashed the windows with stones or pickaxes and broke down the door. Once inside they destroyed the furniture and earthenware and set fire to the clothes and curtains of the inhabitants. The victims were sometimes beaten, occasionally given a further warning. The Cattle then disappeared as swiftly as they came, leaving their sign, a bull's head daubed in red paint on the victim's door (Bidder, 1987, p.7).

This collective 'code of honour' and violent 'self-help' among working-class men, was a response to the social and economic structures which prevailed during the period of industrialisation, where 'life was dangerous' (Williams 1985, p.186), 'squalid', 'hard' and 'unequal' (Bidder 1987, p.12). It may be that in contemporary terms, some residents of residualised neighbourhoods experiencing stigmatisation, exclusion and feelings of relative deprivation may develop a 'code of honour', similar to Elias's 'warrior code of honour' which requires violence plus courage (Elias 1997, p.96). This may involve a rejection of the state monopoly on violence, and be informally controlled through a 'no-grassing' rule, contravention of which carries the threat of being ousted from the group and its 'protection', and suffering reputational or physical harm.

In the mid-twentieth century, the economy of Welshtown was boosted by the burgeoning national steel industry, with the establishment of new steelworks nearby, and the growth of associated service industries. Post-war social housing projects and the influx of workers from other parts of the UK to work in the area resulted in the building of thousands of council houses. The Ashmill estate was constructed in the early-1950s, occupying some agricultural land between the older Ashmill community developed along Town Road by the Cromwells, and a few large detached houses situated in Wellmist Drive. This area, the 'proper Ashmill', was known locally as 'Knob Hill', as Clive (78, Zone 2) explained:

> ... it's changed in my lifetime, the Ashmill area ... there were no council houses when I was a kid. So Ashmill itself, the proper

> Ashmill … was regarded as 'Knob Hill'. That's where the well-to-do people lived … Ashmill was regarded as a high-class area, especially the Wellmist Drive end more than where I come from. For instance, back in those days Ashmill always returned a Conservative councillor. Now, since the council houses it's always a Labour councillor. So you can see the change in the area. Which as I say was really brought about when they started building all the council houses in Ashmill.

This indicates threat to the status of the respectable neighbourhood, and a sense of community belonging based on nostalgia of 'how one's place has moved symbolically and culturally away from the values prized by its residents' (Savage 2010, p.23).

By the late-1970s the Conservative government had begun a national, neo-liberal project of denationalisation of state industries. Harris (1987) charts the mass redundancy, unemployment, and recession experienced in South Wales during this process, especially the downscaling of British Steel operations in South Wales, and the industrial unrest which prevailed. Unemployment, or employment in low-paid, service work became the norm. Pearce and Milne (2010, p.9) observe that economic restructuring in the 1980s 'created a new kind of temporary, insecure, flexible and low-paid employment in new service industries … The proportion of social tenant householders in paid employment fell from 47 to 32 per cent between 1981 and 2006'. The effect on redundant steel workers from South Wales is considered by Jimenez and Walkerdine (2011, p.1) who argue that exploring the effects of such changes may help to grasp concerns about disaffection, antisocial behaviour and crime. Here, we see a defunctionalisation of working-class men which may be felt most keenly in those residualised council estate neighbourhoods developed to house steelworkers and dock workers. This process is not unlike the courtisation of the warrior class described by Elias (1983, pp.194-195):

> people whose existence and self-confidence are bound to a certain traditional attitude that has brought their fathers, and perhaps themselves in their youth, success and self-fulfilment, but which now, in a world that has changed for

uncomprehended reasons, condemns them to failure and downfall.

Walkerdine (2016) explains how this 'affective history' has manifested in the refusal of many young men in 'Steeltown' who had never worked as steelworkers to engage in 'feminised' work, primarily in shops. Indeed, the process of the 'demasculinization' of work is identified as a possible mechanism in contemporary forms of 'aggressive masculinity' (Dunning et al. 1988, p.240). Rather than stigmatise these young men as lazy and antisocial 'scroungers', we should 'recognize the fear of annihilation that is embodied within the refusal' (Walkerdine 2016, p.702).

Historically, Welshtown has laboured under a reputation for toughness and roughness, partly perhaps because of its tough traditions of heavy industry and association with the violent early chartist and trade's union movements. It is now a town of great economic and cultural diversity, with areas of both affluence and deprivation. However, despite the flourishing high-tech digital, financial, and hospitality industries on its peripheries, contemporary Welshtown is frequently presented in the media as plagued by unemployment, crime, social decay, and populated by a deprived 'underclass'. This stigmatising and exaggerated perception has entered the personality-structure and self-identity of many residents of Welshtown, as Lee (35, Zone 2) commented:

> It's like, for instance, you go to Welshtown, there's a lot of council estate boys, and you know when they get paid, every other fortnight, they go to town and they're fighting. They rip their tops off, they got steroids pumped into them, proper common boys. They don't go out to have like, enjoy themselves and have a good time. They go out to get pissed up and have a fight.

Images of Welshtown characterised by run-down sink estates and a dangerous town centre tend to exaggerate the entrenched stereotypical understandings of its residents as embracing a 'chav culture' (Nayak, 2006), and as Welshtown being a rough place. This is not to deny the reality that for many residents' life is relatively 'gloomy'. Rather, it is to argue that the enduring reputation of

Welshtown is based on an exaggerated, collective fantasy of the supposed characteristics of a minority of residents who find themselves trapped in 'places of last resort'. Many local people are unable to find meaningful local employment, and are structurally excluded from the well-paid high-tech and financial service sectors which are located nearby; although many find casual and insecure low-paid work carrying, cooking, and cleaning in the associated hospitality industry. They experience generational stigmatisation underpinned by feelings of resentment. It is the generation of these collective fantasies in a micro-social setting, and which may have resonance in similar places, that this study addresses. One of the limitations of established-outsider theory is the relative inattention given to space and in particular the absence of a visual aid in describing Winston Parva. In the next section, a map of Ashmill is presented to tackle this limitation.

Geographically Representing Ashmill

As discussed in Chapter 3, the production of a map has a central place in ethnographic studies of communities (Deegan 2001). However, this raises certain problems. To briefly reiterate the problem, mapping a community may give the impression that it provides an objective and static representation of the place. The complexity of the urban landscape is much too intricate to be projected on 'city maps' (Brunt 2001, p.83). It risks reducing the depiction of Ashmill to objective geographical relationships, bracketing-out transformations in social boundaries affected by power relationships between people living and working within the figuration which have the potential to alter the map of a community over generations, or moments. Rather, we should see maps as representations of processes which have shifting boundaries, internal conflicts, and an 'accumulated history' (Massey 1991, p.29). The schematic map of Ashmill (Figure 1 – see Appendix 4) inevitably suffers from this sense of static objectivity, however, it is a useful way of attempting to represent the layout of the community of Ashmill in terms of the participants accounts and understandings gleaned from residents, and is overlaid with neighbourhood 'Zones' and Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs).

Despite the 'placelessness' that Sampson (2012, p.3) identifies occupying the minds of contemporary sociologists, participants usually had no trouble in describing the geographical boundary of Ashmill; it could be 'placed'. Some regular markers emerged which produced a fairly consistent outline, including main roads, shops, parks, schools, pubs, and residential areas, used by residents to estimate and mark-out the boundaries of 'their community'. One of the aims of producing the map was to indicate the spatial proximity and simultaneous social distance between residents elaborated upon in the participant's accounts and field observations. This spatial proximity and social distance is evident in Elias's (1983) analysis of court society, and also in Young's (2002) discussion of the proximity of the 'underclass' to the 'well-off' families they serve, and may help elucidate feelings of discontent expressed by some participants.

The map was constructed from four main types of information. Firstly, from existing maps of the area found online, in street maps, and contained in documents relating to the area, for example in publicly available council documents such as Welshtown Council 'Ward Profiles', and police documents outlining neighbourhood policing areas. Secondly, statistical data available from the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the 2011 Census, and the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD). Thirdly, in order to begin to understand the community of Ashmill I spent several hours each day walking around Ashmill, and using the amenities. In this way I began to get a feel for the place, to gather empirical data and understand the subtle differences between places within the community and the invisible, taken for granted boundary markers. Finally, participants described a fairly consistent geographical boundary during interviews and conversations, often also locating the community in terms of school catchment areas, or organisations that they belonged to.

This map roughly represents the geographical area that participants tended to describe as Ashmill. It consists of seven LSOAs, and includes areas from two electoral wards: Ashmill, which makes up the bulk of the community including the older neighbourhood, Evendale, and Blackacre; and part of the neighbouring ward of Stonebrook in the east, including the Ashmill estate and Brightfield. This disjuncture in 'official' verses informal boundaries is discussed below. The

ward of Ashmill continues into the south-western quarter beyond Lower Road, however, participants tended to perceive this as a 'racialised' boundary occupied mainly by Pakistani families. Malcolm (48) lives on the Ashmill estate, and Heather (48) lives on Town Road.

> MALCOLM: Before it was only down there ... now they're swooping up here ... they're coming up the hill now, like a wave ... you look at Town Road down there, down the shops, that's all Pakistanis, all the houses, that's all Pakistanis, if there's a white family down there I'll eat my hat.
>
> HEATHER: I live on Town Road, I'm a white family.
>
> MALCOLM: Yeah, but you're at the white end.

This highlights a potential limitation in established-outsider theory, that Elias and Scotson treat Winston Parva as a self-contained unit (Khleif 1968, p.125). Different tensions become more salient if the focus of the study is shifted by just a few hundred metres. If the focus is moved to the south-west racial tensions emerge; moved to the north, class relationships between residents of Ashmill and the relatively affluent village of Discoed becomes the focus. Although Ashmill is viewed as one of the 'better-off' areas of Welshtown, in relation to Discoed it is seen as 'rough'. This is illustrated in this extract from an interview with Jason (24, Zone 2):

> JASON: I went to Discoed [school], but I'm from Town Road ... growing up, because obviously I played football with the Ashmill boys, I went to Ashmill Infants. But I had the stigma, because when I went to Discoed they were like 'Oh, you're a Ashmill boy you are', and all the Ashmill boys were like 'Oh, you go to Discoed you do'. So I had the constant –
>
> ...
>
> STEVE: In Discoed they thought you were –
>
> JASON: A scumbag! And the Ashmill boys who I played football with were like 'Oh, you're posh you are, now'.

This highlights the fluidity of relationships between residents of 'a place', with Jason, a resident of Ashmill going to school in Discoed, simultaneously perceived as 'a scumbag' by one group, and as 'posh' by another.

In the established-outsiders model, the neighbourhoods of Winston Parva are divided into residential 'Zones', constructed through conversations and interviews with residents, and empirical observations, to represent distinct residential areas grounded in the views of the residents. I have also 'Zoned' Ashmill, and in the following sections the characteristics of these 'Zones' will be discussed, firstly in terms of secondary statistical data, and then in terms of interview and empirical ethnographic data. The aim is to draw out some discordances and commonalities between these sources of data, and indicate how an ethnographic study may usefully grasp the nature of tensions between residents.

'Zoning' Ashmill

Elias and Scotson (1994) divided Winston Parva into three residential 'Zones':

- Zone 1: 'the best part' (ibid, p.24) occupied by primarily middle-class residents having professional occupations.

- Zone 2: The Village, occupied by the 'old' (in terms of residence) working-class residents.

- Zone 3: The Estate, occupied by working-class newcomers.

The residents of Zones 1 and 2 formed the 'established' group, the 'respectable' residents of Winston Parva who drew on a shared history incorporated into their collective identities to form a cohesive community. They closed-ranks against the threat to their respectability they feared from the residents of Zone 3, who they saw as rough 'outsiders'. These Zones, like the established and outsider groups, are 'real types', constructed from empirical evidence. However, these relationships are often subtle and subjective, rather than stark and objective. They are sometimes elusive, taken for granted as common-sense, and boundaries are fluid, with people transgressing them – although this may risk some reputational harm.

The map is based on descriptions from participants, conversations with residents, and observations in the community. These often involved value-laden comments; 'good' and 'bad', 'respectable' and 'rough', 'better-off' and 'poorer' areas. Brightfield was seen as a 'posh' neighbourhood and the bulk of Ashmill as a 'respectable' working-class neighbourhood. The Ashmill estate (Zone 3) had a more ambiguous position, sometimes being included in the respectable working-class neighbourhood, and often described as occupied by older people. It tended to be seen as less 'problematic' in terms of crime and 'antisocial' behaviour. A change in ward boundaries in the mid-1990s may also have influenced the image of Ashmill estate. It was shifted, administratively speaking, into the more 'respectable' Stonebrook ward. Some residents resented this change, an exercise in power beyond their control which affected their identities, as Julian, a ward councillor who lives on Ashmill estate comments:

> Well, if you drove up from Discoed and turned left up Wellmist
> Drive it does now say 'Welcome to Stonebrook'. And, it does
> upset a couple of people. When it was put up people didn't like
> it, because they still class it as Ashmill, and not Stonebrook.

Neighbourhood names are often meaningful and symbolic aspects of human interactions, moreover 'communities are primarily symbolic by nature' (Brunt 2001, p.83). Therefore, a change in names can have symbolic consequences. It is possible that the symbolic change in ward boundary improved the status of the Ashmill estate. Blackacre was usually described as rough, and an estimation of these differences in neighbourhoods which form the structure of the community, and a sense of the 'outsiderness' of Blackacre, was highlighted in a comment by Clive (78, Zone 2):

> Of course, the Ashmill area really had three levels, didn't they?
> Because, as I say, it had the non-council estate parts – the
> original Ashmill. Then it had the Ashmill council estate, then it
> had Blackacre. I mean, Blackacre was never regarded as part of
> the general Ashmill council houses, so there was the sort of
> three levels going on there.

I have 'Zoned' Ashmill, following the established-outsiders model, basing the distinctions between areas primarily on conversations I have had with participants and indications I have gathered during fieldwork. Four zones were identified:

- Zone 1 – Brightfield.

- Zone 2 – The older neighbourhood of Ashmill.

- Zone 3 – Ashmill estate.

- Zone 4 – Blackacre estate.

From the map, it can be seen that Zones 2 and 3 essentially surround the Blackacre council estate – Zone 4 – which is located approximately in the centre of Ashmill, with Brightfield – Zone 1 – located in the south-east. Zones 1, 2, and more ambiguously 3, represent the 'respectable' neighbourhoods, and Zone 4 the 'rough' neighbourhood. Indicators of the structural make-up of Winston Parva are considered by Elias and Scotson (1994) who, as noted in Chapter 3, constructed statistical tables based on information gathered from a door-to-door survey of residents, and by analysing membership lists of local clubs and associations. In the next section I present a rough statistical outline of Ashmill.

A Rough Statistical Outline of Ashmill

One of the features which made Winston Parva interesting was that there was little difference between residents other than length of residence. However, other than occupational status, Elias and Scotson's statistical data does not include evidence of dimensions of difference which may have strengthened their argument; some indication of age, ethnicity, and gender structures may have been helpful. Access to online data fifty-years on means that these and other statistical indicators are easily available. Pearce and Milne (2010) considered data in relation to residents' ethnicity, housing tenure status, occupational status, economic activity, qualifications, and dimensions of deprivation, which are relevant and accessible indicators of the structural make-up of a community, and are used in this study to structure the statistical description. Use has been made of four main sources of statistical data: the 2011

census; the WIMD; neighbourhood crime statistics available from www.police.uk; and the NAP conducted on Blackacre by the RSL.

Crime in Ashmill

According to analysis available on www.police.uk, Welshtown has an overall police recorded crime rate of almost 85 per 1000 population, this is towards the upper bounds of 'normal' when compared to similar areas such as Bradford, Stoke, and Thanet. This is compared to the UK crime rate in 2014-2015 of 67 per 1000 (Office for National Statistics [no date]). The local policing priorities for Ashmill indicate that 'antisocial behaviour on the Blackacre estate', and 'drugs – use and supply' are consistent problems in the community.

The 'Ashmill' Ward Profile[47] (2015) highlights that the total number of recorded crimes for Ashmill increased over the previous twelve months with an overall increase since 2011, and the following 'Issues of Concern' for the period April 2014 to March 2015:

- 694 crimes were recorded across Ashmill; a 7% increase compared to 649 in the previous year.

- Ashmill is in the upper quartile ward range and constitutes 6% of all recorded crime for Welshtown.

- The largest number of recorded crimes were for violence and sexual offences (177), criminal damage and arson (130), and burglary (88).

- 177 crimes of violence and sexual offences were recorded across Ashmill – an increase of 172% when compared to 65 offences in the previous year.

- 724 incidents of anti-social behaviour were recorded across Ashmill; an increase of 19% when compared to 606 in the previous year.

- Ashmill constitutes 9% of all recorded anti-social behaviour incidents for Welshtown.

---

[47] The 'Ashmill' Ward Profile (2015) has not been included in the references. This document is publically available online, therefore the source has been withheld to maintain privacy and anonymity.

These concerns indicate a general increase recorded crimes since 2011, particularly in violence and antisocial behaviour. But, how does Blackacre compare to the surrounding community? Using neighbourhood police reported crime data available on www.police.uk, I was able to delineate a boundary for Ashmill on the interactive map, which was approximately coterminous with that described in interviews, conversations, and observations. I was then able to obtain detailed police recorded crime statistics for this area for the period between August 2015 and July 2016, which are reproduced in Table 1 (all statistical tables are located in Appendix 5). I was then able to repeat this process, this time drawing a boundary around Blackacre to obtain detailed statistics relating to Blackacre alone. A crude calculation indicates that on a per household basis, the 4,017 households of Ashmill experienced 797 crimes in total over the period, that is, 0.19 crimes per household. The 300 households of the Blackacre estate experienced 137 crimes during the same period, which is 0.46 crimes per household. Although such statistical data must be viewed with caution, this would indicate that a higher number of crimes were recorded by the police for Blackacre, compared to the surrounding community of Ashmill.

A Homogenous, White, Working-Class Community?

Data from the 2011 census indicates that Ashmill is a white, working-class community. The statistical picture constructed in Tables 2-9 (see Appendix 5) is based on data drawn from the 2011 census, and represents as closely as possible the boundaries which local residents tend to understand as Ashmill. Therefore, data for the 7 LSOAs, made up of the electoral wards of Ashmill (6 LSOAs) and Stonebrook (1 LSOA) are treated as if they make up the area of the community of Ashmill which emerged from fieldwork. It is emphasised that this is not intended to be a conclusive representation of the resident's understandings of the community, rather, it is a construction grounded in the tendencies of residents to identify similar, regular markers of community boundaries. These boundaries shift and transform, but are a useful construction in order to begin to make sense of the community studied. The tables presented here represent data from the LSOAs which make up the community, and the residential Zone into which each LSOA, either wholly or partially, falls has been indicated.

- Zone 1 – Brightfield; located in part of LSOA 2.

- Zone 2 – The older neighbourhood of Ashmill and Evendale; located within LSOAs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

- Zone 3 – Ashmill estate; located within LSOA 1 (within Stonebrook).

- Zone 4 – Blackacre estate; located in LSOA 3.

Importantly, LSOA 3 is bisected by Town Road. Situated to the north is Evendale, a combination of terraced houses facing onto the road, and a small private housing estate consisting primarily of semi-detached and detached houses located behind them. The Blackacre estate (Zone 4) is situated to the south of Town Road and forms the smaller part of LSOA 3. According to the NAP, Blackacre has 300 households. LSOA 3 has 700 households in total, therefore, the rest of LSOA 3 contains just over 400 households. Comparing statistical data, comments from interviews, and observations made during fieldwork it became apparent that the picture generated of LSOA 3 by the statistical data is *skewed by a lack of social homogeneity*. This problem was also noted during conversations with social landlord housing officers managing the Blackacre estate, and presents a problem in using statistical data to describe the make-up of Blackacre, and therefore grasping the issues faced by its residents. However, LSOA 1 is primarily constituted by the older Ashmill council estate, Zone 3, and it is suggested that the data in LSOA 1 may be used as a rough proxy to help construct a comparable statistical picture of Zone 4. Although there are caveats regarding the relative age profiles and tenancy statuses of occupants. As can be seen from the breakdown of gender (Table 2), there is a fairly even balance of male and female residents through all neighbourhoods.

One of the key distinctions drawn between the Blackacre and Ashmill estates is the difference age structure. Conversations with residents and empirical observations suggest that Ashmill is less troublesome in terms of antisocial behaviour because it is occupied by an older population. The age structure of LSOA 1 (Table 3) tends to support this observation, with 24% of the residents aged 65 and over. The perception that Zone 4 is more troublesome because it is occupied by a high number of under 16s is not supported.

Most residents describe themselves as 'White British' (Table 4), the lowest figure being 88% in LSOA 4 which compares with 80.5% of the population in the rest of England and Wales describing themselves as 'White British' (Office for National Statistics 2012). The mean percentage of residents in Ashmill describing themselves as 'White British' is 92%.

The tenure status of residents in each LSOA/residential zone (Table 5) indicates that the majority of rented households in the community are located in LSOA 1, whilst the majority of households which are owned are located in the surrounding community. The greatest number of owned households are located in LSOA 2; this includes Zone 1, regarded locally as a more middle-class area occupied by 'professionals'.

The occupational status of residents (Table 6) suggests that LSOA 1 has the highest number of residents working in caring, leisure and other service occupations (15.5%), and elementary occupations (16.9%). LSOA 3, comprising Evendale and Blackacre, has the same number of residents employed in professional occupations as elementary occupations, both 14.3%. Highlighting these points indicates the lower overall occupational status of residents living on Ashmill council estate, and a potential relative disparity, and therefore a possible source of tension.

Levels of economic activity (Table 7) indicate similar relative disparities, tending to construct residents of Ashmill council estate as less likely to be in full-time work, and more likely to be long-term unemployed, or long-term sick or disabled. The lowest levels of full-time employment are among residents of LSOA 1 at 30.6%, and the highest level of unemployment is among residents of LSOA 3, that is Evendale and Blackacre at 7.1%. It is suggested, in light of the potential for skewed data when contrasted with empirical observations, that this may indicate a high level of unemployment among residents of Blackacre, rather than an even spread throughout LSOA 3. The greatest number of retired residents (18.8%) and long-term sick or disabled residents (11.2%) are in LSOA 1, followed by LSOA 3 (6.9%). The greatest number of residents who have never worked are in LSOA 3 (1.4%), and the greatest number long-term unemployed residents are in LSOA 1 (3.6%).

One of the starkest indicators of difference is the high number of residents (500) of LSOA 1 who have no qualifications (Table 8), and only 84 residents having a professional qualification. If the number of professional qualifications held by residents of LSOA 1, the Ashmill estate, can be used as a rough proxy for the Blackacre estate, we may find that the highest number of residents with professional qualifications (157 residents) are found in the immediate surrounding neighbourhood within LSOA 3. That is to say, that the starkest differences in professional qualifications, employment status, and income potential, may be found within the same LSOA, separated by the width of the road between Evendale and Blackacre. One of the key themes running through this thesis is that relative deprivation is linked to unequal experiences of crime (Lea and Young 1984; Ray 2011; Young 2002), and that these experiences are related to feelings of shame and humiliation.

Relative Levels of Deprivation in Ashmill

The number of households deprived in any dimension of deprivation, according to data from the 2011 census for each LSOA in Ashmill, are shown in Table 9. This table illustrates the higher levels of deprivation[48] experienced in LSOAs 1 and 3 which include the Ashmill and the Blackacre council estates, especially in terms of households in multiple dimensions of deprivation. This also indicates that the most deprived neighbourhood (Zone 3/LSOA 1) in statistical terms is not necessarily the most stigmatised in terms of local reputations expressed in the accounts of participants; that is Zone 4. Although, as noted, the statistical measure of deprivation for LSOA 3 is problematic as it combines Evendale with Blackacre.

The WIMD uses data gathered from LSOAs to measure levels of deprivation in the domains of 'overall deprivation'; 'income'; 'employment'; 'health';

---

[48] 'Deprivation is the lack of access to opportunities and resources which we might expect in our society. The domains listed above relate to both material and social aspects of deprivation. Material deprivation is having insufficient physical resources - food, shelter, and clothing – necessary to sustain a certain standard of life. Social deprivation refers to the ability of an individual to participate in the normal social life of the community ... Multiple Deprivation refers to more than one type of deprivation. An area is multiply deprived if, for more than one of these domains, the area has a concentration of people experiencing that type of deprivation. Generally speaking, the greater the number of domains for which there are high concentrations of deprivation then the greater the overall deprivation in an area. This does not necessarily mean that the same people suffer multiple types of deprivation in the area, although we would expect there to be significant overlap' (Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014).

'education'; 'access to services'; 'community safety'; 'physical environment'; and 'housing'. Each domain is constructed using indicators of deprivation. The domain of community safety includes six indicators using police recorded crimes:

- Criminal damage.

- Violent crime.

- Antisocial behaviour.

- Theft.

- Burglary.

- Fire incidents.

For every indicator of safety, each LSOA is ranked in order, with the most deprived LSOA ranked 1 and the lowest deprived LSOA ranked 1,909 (the number of LSOAs in Wales). Examination of the WIMD data for the seven LSOAs which roughly make-up Ashmill suggests that deprivation is experienced disproportionately across Ashmill. The picture is complex, and again the reader is reminded that no claim to absolute truth is made in using these data, nevertheless, there is a correlation, or reality congruence, between the secondary quantitative data presented here and the primary empirical fieldwork.

The most deprived area in the domain of overall deprivation is LSAO 1, the Ashmill estate (Zone 3), being ranked in the top 10-20% most deprived in Wales. This area is also deprived in terms of income for which it is ranked in the top 10-20% most deprived, and employment for which it is ranked in the most deprived 10%. It is ranked in the top 20-30% most deprived in the domain of community safety. LSAO 3, which includes Blackacre and Evendale, is ranked in the 20-30% most deprived areas in the domain of overall deprivation, and it is in the top 10-20% most deprived areas in the domains of income, and physical environment. Importantly, it is ranked in the most deprived 11% of LSOAs in Wales in the WIMD domain of community safety (UK Data Explorer 2015). The five LSOAs forming Zone 2 are all ranked in the 50% *least deprived* areas in Wales in the domain of overall deprivation. In the domain of community safety

LSOA 2 and LSOA 5 are ranked in the 50% least deprived areas in Wales. LSOAs 4 and 7 are ranked in the 30-50% most deprived; and LSOA 6 is ranked in the 20-30% most deprived. This highlights an area of difference between interdependent groups in the figuration which may influence perceptions of each group as either respectable or rough.

The picture which emerges in relation to levels of overall deprivation in Ashmill is that most of the community is ranked in the 50% *least deprived* in Wales. However, two areas in the community confound this situation. LSOA 1, the Ashmill estate (Zone 3), is ranked in the 10-20% most deprived (overall) areas in Wales, and receives Communities First funding to improve resident's life-chances. LSOA 3, which comprises the relatively prosperous Evendale neighbourhood (part of Zone 2), and the deprived Blackacre estate (Zone 4), is ranked in the 20-30% most deprived areas. However, there is an empirically observable, and locally understood, disparity in experiences of deprivation between the neighbourhoods of Evendale and Blackacre. In reality, Blackacre may suffer from a greater level of deprivation in multiple dimensions than the skewed statistical data indicate. Checking the 'Postcode to geography lookup, March 2016' (StatsWales 2016) confirmed that LSOA 3 is *not* a Communities First area, although LSOA 1 is. Consequently, Blackacre has an ambiguous position in terms of obtaining Communities First funding. This ambiguity was evident during my period of volunteering at Ashmill Community Centre during which time I spoke to community centre and Communities First staff, and other volunteers, who recognised the problem that this skewed data raised. Blackacre was effectively 'piggy-backing' the access to Communities First funding obtained by LSOA 1, comprising the Ashmill estate (Zone 3) located in Stonebrook. Consequently, Blackacre may not be receiving funding it may be entitled to on closer analysis.

Blackacre is socially detached from the surrounding neighbourhood, and feelings of stigmatisation and relative deprivation may be experienced by residents of the Blackacre who are surrounded by residents who claim a superior status. In contrast, feelings of resentment about the assumed 'benefits culture' which residents of the Blackacre estate are imagined to exploit at the expense of 'hard working families' may be most intensely experienced by those

residents living in the surrounding neighbourhood. This develops the argument that an interdependent relationship is evident, and that some residents of Blackacre may resolve this problem of exclusion by maintaining sociologically inherited habitus which transforms this stigmatisation and generates a group pride, a we-identity, based on expressions of mutual respect, loyalty to place and people, and a group ownership of the shared experience of deprivation. It may involve a moral imperative not to 'grass' (Yates 2006; Walklate 1998, 2001). For some residents, it may represent an 'opportunity' to develop status positions, and acquire social power based on exaggerated reputations for intimidation. Having identified and outlined some of the statistical data available which describes the community of Ashmill, and some of the problems it raises, I will begin the qualitative journey expanded upon in the forthcoming chapters with a preliminary 'walk around Ashmill'.

A Walk Around Ashmill

Walking around Ashmill suggests that it is a fairly homogenous, white, working-class, and peaceful community. As Elias (1976, p.xvii) notes, walking through the streets of the two parts of Winston Parva, 'a casual visitor might have been surprised to learn that the inhabitants of one part thought of themselves as vastly superior to those of the other'. As the statistical evidence indicates, whilst ethnicity and social-class, broadly working-class, may be fairly consistent among residents of Ashmill, tenancy status in terms of type and security, standards of housing, occupation, income, and qualifications, and experiences of community safety, varies among some residents. A recent Unified Needs Assessment[49] highlights that in Welshtown neighbourhoods with some of the highest levels of social deprivation in the country abut with some with the greatest affluence. Whilst statistical data tends to indicate this, it also misses nuances in the disparity between neighbourhoods within LSOAs; especially in LSOA 3 where Evendale and Blackacre are combined to present a statistical picture which misrepresents both neighbourhoods. This section presents the first steps in a walk around Ashmill which tries to build a picture of life in the

---

[49] A Unified Needs Assessment underpins the development of a Single Integrated Plan which the Welsh Government requires every local authority to produce. This combines information about service area strategies including those involving communities, health, social care and wellbeing, children and young people, economic plans, and community safety strategies. The source has been withheld to maintain anonymity.

community, the observable commonalities and differences between neighbourhoods, and how residents living in Ashmill get on with one another.

The Surrounding Neighbourhood

The surrounding neighbourhood consists of Zones 1, 2 and 3. Zone 1, Brightfield, is situated to the south-east of Ashmill. As the statistical data suggests, this is a middle-class residential area of mainly privately owned, detached and semi-detached family homes. Participants tended to equate estimations of social class with the type of house in an area, for example Irene and Gerald are in their seventies and have lived on Blackacre for about forty years:

> IRENE: It's just the type of houses that are there, so you think of that … But Ashmill generally, you think of as a good area to buy a house. It's one of the better areas of Welshtown. Well, actually places like Brightfield, places like that are the upper-class.
>
> GERALD: Yes, Brightfield and places like that, they seem to be –
>
> IRENE: This area's fairly working-class, really.

Brightfield has one pub, 'The White Hart', which is located a few metres across the road from the church. In fact, the church, the pub (which closed during the study), and the village hall, form a triangle, central to which is a small war memorial. This indicates the origins of Brightfield as a rural village which has been almost subsumed by the conurbation of Ashmill. Residents of Brightfield tended not to involve themselves with the wider community of Ashmill.

The 'old neighbourhood' of Ashmill makes up most of Zone 2, and comprises a large area of red-brick terraced houses situated along Town Road, developed by the Cromwell family. The majority of shops, health, leisure and community facilities are located in Zone 2. There is a substantial and well-used traditional shopping area located along Town Road, including garages, general stores, doctor's surgeries, chemists, opticians, green grocers, bakers, betting-shops, various take-away restaurants, and a café. Residents tended to see this as a 'community in itself', as Margaret (62, Zone 2) commented:

One thing we noticed when we moved here, Town Road shops is a community ... You couldn't go to the shops without somebody talking to you, whether you knew them or not was beside the point ... they are closing slowly but surely, but that was, or still is a hub of community. And people say 'Oh, I'm just going down to Town Road' you know exactly where they're going. It's not town end, it's not the estate end, it's the shops. And that's a community I think.

An issue which emerged during the study was the rise in homeless people in the shopping area begging and selling '*The Big Issue*'[50]. This coincided with a Public Spaces Protection Order enforced under the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014. This was introduced by the local council and police to deal with public drinking, 'chugging'[51], begging, 'fly-posting', and irresponsible dog ownership, within a defined boundary in the town shopping centre. Whilst it is difficult to prove 'displacement', the appearance of beggars and homeless people coincided with the order and seemed to increase feelings of fear for local residents.

One of the concerns that local people talk about are the 'drug addicts', assumed by some locals to live on Blackacre, who congregate outside chemist shops on Town Road each morning to receive methadone. I spoke with Betty (80), who has lived on Town Road all her life, who explained how afraid she got:

When I go out I try not to make eye contact with anyone. You just don't know who they are. I tend to go out early to get my pension from the post office on a Monday morning, at about eight-thirty. But I hate having to walk past the druggies waiting outside the chemists for their stuff. Of course, they're closing the post office down, moving it to the back of the Spar. The thought of that scares me, it's right next to the chemists. So I'll be coming out with my pension straight into the druggies. The

---

[50] '*The Big Issue*' is a British charity which supports people experiencing exclusion, often in periods of homelessness, funded through the sale of a magazine (see https://www.bigissue.org.uk/).

[51] The practice of approaching passers-by in the street in a persistent manner to persuade them to give subscriptions or donations to a particular charity.

thing is, I have to go out early because of my walking. It's not good and I feel vulnerable. They're waiting for their stuff, you know. They go in and the chemist gives them a little cup that they drink then they go back up Blackacre.

Betty did not know for sure that the people she saw at the chemists were from Blackacre, but made the assumption based on reputational gossip.

There are two pubs which residents tend to consider as in Ashmill; 'The Gladiator', located in Zone 3, and 'The Crown', located on Town Road. Neither of these figured in the structure of community to the same degree that Elias and Scotson describe when the villagers withdrew from 'The Hare and Hounds' to 'The Eagle', 'The Hare and Hounds' developing 'a reputation for noisy behaviour and heavy drinking' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.57). There is evidence that the use of pubs in Britain has declined, with the total number of pubs in the UK decreasing from 67,800 in 1982, to 51,900 in 2014 (British Beer and Pub Association 2015). Snowdon (2014) argues that this is due to taxation, regulation, and the decline in disposable incomes, as well as long-term cultural changes. This may be evidence of a process of privatisation as people tend to spend more time at home or involved in other activities.

Ashmill Methodist Church is situated at the junction of Town Road and Ashmill Avenue. It is a large, red-brick building which dominates many old photographs (circa. 1900) of the area contained in local history books. Like other churches in the area, its activities tend to focus on the very young and the middle-aged and elderly. Since the late 2000s the church, together with Ashmill Baptist church and other local churches, has been engaged in a winter Night Shelter Project which aims to help rough-sleepers overcome drug and alcohol dependence.

Welshpool Road Community Centre is located in one of the back lanes off Town Road, it was formerly 'Ashmill Senior Citizen's Association'. It functions primarily as a nursery during weekdays, it has a pensioner's club which meets several evenings a week, and serves as a meeting room for a Christian Spiritualist Church. Ashmill Scouts are located in Park Street, near Ashmill Park. The large recreation ground has a children's playground, an indoor and outdoor bowls clubs, some large allotments, and the Ashmill rugby club. Nearby is a new

primary school. According to its most recent Estyn[52] report, its current performance is 'good', and its prospects for improvement are 'excellent'. It has about 20% of its pupils eligible for free school meals, which is slightly below the average in Wales.

North-east along Town Road, over Eastern Avenue, you come to Evendale, the site of the original Ashmill Mansion in the mid-seventeenth century. As noted above, this relatively affluent neighbourhood forms, with Blackacre, the statistically problematic LSOA 3. Evendale consists of semi-detached and detached dwellings with private driveways. The houses nearest Town Road were built in the 1970s, further back is a modern private estate built in the early-2000s. As you walk south-east from the junction of Eastern Avenue and Town Road, along Station Road, the character of the houses changes, comprising mainly 1930s semi-detached houses. This is where Cromwell built his manor house, and where Ashmill Parish Church, Ashmill Comprehensive School, and Ashmill Tennis Club are located.

Ashmill Parish Church was built in the early 20th century. It stands opposite what is now Ashmill Comprehensive School, but was originally built as a grammar school in the mid-twentieth century. It had its own school song and was split into boy's and girl's schools, until the shift to non-selective comprehensive schools in the 1960s, about the same time as the Ashmill council estate was developed. It is an impressive building which looks like a traditional grammar school, and is situated geographically in the centre of Ashmill. Its website portrays it as a modern, progressive school with high standards and a strong community driven ethos. Its Estyn report states that about 21% of pupils are eligible for free school meals[53], which is higher than the national average of 17.5% for secondary schools in Wales, and about 25% of pupils live in the 20% most deprived areas in Wales. The school takes pupils from the age of 11-18 years old and has about 1,500 pupils. However, the catchment area for the

---

[52] Estyn is the organisation responsible for school inspections in Wales, and produce reports following inspections. These reports are publicly available, however a reference is not included here as this would risk identifying the location of the setting and thus risk of identification of individuals and participants.

[53] Eligibility for free school meals is commonly used as an indicator of disadvantage. Nevertheless, Kounali et al. (no date), expressed a concern that there has 'been no systematic test of its appropriateness' and in their investigation found that 'it is a coarse and unreliable indicator by which school performance is judged and leads to biased estimates of the effect of poverty on pupils' academic progress'.

school now includes twelve primary schools which cover an area outside Ashmill. It still takes a core of its pupils from the primary school situated on Ashmill estate. As you reach the top of Station Road a stark transformation in the character of the housing is evident, this is where the Ashmill council estate (Zone 3) begins.

The Ashmill estate was developed in the early 1950s as part of the post-war initiative to build social housing, a process extended to house steelworkers migrating from other parts of the UK in the early 1960s. It comprises a large part of the community on the north-eastern side of Eastern Avenue. It was constructed in the mid-1960s and essentially separates Ashmill into council estate housing to the north (Zones 3 and 4), with the exception of Evendale, and private housing to the south (Zones 1 and 2). This sense of dislocation between neighbourhoods located on either side of Eastern Avenue emerged during interviews with members of the local clergy:

> Of course, the big division that takes place in the parish is Eastern Avenue, and you're then into the Blackacre estate, which is again a completely, that's now been designated a Communities First area … the road is the problem. Getting people to come across the Eastern Avenue, it's like a psychological barrier … I've no idea what it is, but it's really difficult to get people from 'over there' to relate to 'over here'. It's almost as if they're in a sort of no-man's land, because they don't relate to Discoed either (Father Stephen).

> Ashmill got chopped in two by Eastern Avenue really, didn't it. It doesn't neatly divide any of the style of housing but there does tend to be a dominance of the Ashmill estate the other side of Eastern Avenue. And it's mostly quite large houses this side (Reverend Andrew).

The Ashmill estate has several community facilities, mostly built as part of the estate. At the top of Station Road is 'The Gladiator', which has tended to have a reputation as a 'rough' pub, although as Malcolm (48), a resident of Ashmill estate and regular at the pub commented:

It's not a problem with anyone who lives around the estate. If
there's a problem up there, it's always a problem with the boys
off the Blackacre.

Alongside the pub is a parade of shops; a newsagent, a convenience store, a post office, a betting shop, a hairdresser, and a second-hand shop, with flats above. This is a local meeting place for children after school and during the evening. Two hundred metres along is a house which was originally a purpose built police station, but was closed about fifteen years ago. The Ashmill Social Club was located just off Wellmist Drive, but was destroyed by fire in the mid-2000s. At the time of the fire the club was closed pending a licensing review following incidents of vandalism and antisocial behaviour. A licensing sub-committee report[54] reviewing the social club's licensing application confirmed this stating: 'The application relates to the prevention of crime and disorder, the prevention of public nuisance and the protection of children from harm'. Local authority sheltered housing was later built on the site.

I initiated my participation in the community through a voluntary role at Ashmill Community Centre, which is located on Wellmist Drive. The community centre had recently shifted from being agency managed to volunteer managed, but there was still a predominance of agency activity. Some of the primarily female volunteers were from the same family who lived on Ashmill estate, and all were from the same social network. Emma (36, Zone 3) a single mother of three children, who works part-time in the office, explained that the community centre covers three areas, Ashmill (she made no distinction between the older neighbourhood and the estate), Stonebrook and the Blackacre estate, although she explained that use of the community centre by Blackacre residents is unusual.

Two examples of unsuccessful attempts to engage residents of Blackacre were often mentioned; a youth club, and the Blackacre resident's meetings. A youth club was attempted for 12-18 year olds, funded by the Crime Commissioner's Office[55] using money seized under 'proceeds of crime' legislation[56], to engage

---

[54] The council report has been published online but the source is withheld here to maintain anonymity.
[55] This money can be used for crime prevention; supporting victims; community cohesion, and; dealing with antisocial behaviour.

them and distract youngsters from antisocial behaviour. However, the organisers found that when the rules for good behaviour were enforced, youngsters stopped attending, and the club was eventually closed. The implication was that young people from the Blackacre estate were the trigger of the unruly behaviour, Emma commented:

> The thing is I wouldn't have let my kids come here to it. So how can you let it continue if you wouldn't let your own come? It's a shame, because it's these kinds of kids that really need the control, because they're not getting it at home.

Mae, one of the staff who had run the youth club, said that youths from Blackacre were not welcomed into places like the community centre, they were not encouraged to attend, and some were banned: 'They couldn't stop it quick enough'.

The community centre is built on part of the old school playground of the neighbouring Ashmill Primary School. According to the school's Estyn report, about 24% of pupils are eligible for free school meals, which is above the average in Wales. When I spoke with Georgina (22), who works as a teaching assistant in a different school, she commented:

> Ashmill Junior School hasn't really got a very good name any more … [the street backing onto it] is full of council estate people now … Mum[57] said that when she's on the yard you can constantly smell weed from the houses, because they back on to the school … I suppose you assume that those people's children go to that school, so you have all the people up there as well.

This highlights Georgina's knowledge, as an ex-pupil, that the school once had a good reputation which has been tarnished by the 'council estate people' who smoke weed. Further along Wellmist Drive is Ashmill Baptist Church, where I spoke with Reverend Simon who explained that the church ethos was 'based in the community'. It was built in the late 1950s with the estate, and has strong

---

[56] The Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 provides for the confiscation or civil recovery of the proceeds from crime (see http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/29/contents).
[57] Georgina's mother, Gill, is a teaching assistant at Ashmill Junior school.

links with the local schools. It is also part of the Night Shelter Project and the Street Pastors Programme[58]. Despite the church being located on the Ashmill estate, and only a couple of hundred metres from the Blackacre estate, Reverend Simon explains that the congregation is drawn mainly from outside the area, with only a few people from the estates. He described the problem of having Blackacre, a deprived area which he sees as being populated by the local council with 'problem families', surrounded by a 'better-off' area. He thought that residents of Blackacre needed more 'input', but 'because they are included in a better-off area they don't attract Communities First Funding'.

The residents of Ashmill estate do not tend to be imagined in the same 'rough' way as residents of the Blackacre estate. Although, some older residents have observed a process of change, in which the Ashmill estate has 'grown-up', as Clifford (74, Zone 2) comments:

> ... the estate in the 1950s, that's when we really started having problems. Because it was a young estate, young children, the more young children the more they got up to ... The Ashmill estate has grown through its adolescent period, it's now a more mature place and you've got older people living there.

There may also be an associated change which occurred in perceptions of the Ashmill estate when the Blackacre estate was built in the mid-1970s. Emma (36, Zone 3) told me about when she moved to the Ashmill estate with her parents from a house in the older neighbourhood during the 1980s. She had been told:

> ... how rough it was by some people I knew at the old place, but when I moved in the people living there said that it was okay now because all the rough families had been moved out onto the Blackacre estate.

Ashmill estate suffers from similar social issues as the Blackacre estate, yet there is a feeling from locals that it's not quite as 'bad', as Peter (60, Zone 3) put it:

---

[58] "Street pastors are trained volunteers from local churches who care about their community. They patrol in teams of men and women, usually from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. on a Friday and Saturday night, to care for, listen to and help people who are out on the streets" (see http://www.streetpastors.org/about-us/what-is-a-street-pastor-/).

I would say it was a more reserved area up here. I know it's quite snobby thing to say … I would have said, yeah, it was a little bit more reserved up here.

This illustrates the claims of 'charisma' and 'respectability' which were common among residents of Ashmill estate when drawing comparisons with Blackacre. Walking around the Ashmill estate I observed that many of the residents, as the census statistics suggested, seemed to be older people, and that there were areas of housing set aside especially for older people to live. There are the council flats for over-fifties, two sheltered accommodation complexes, a local authority nursing home, and an area of bungalows set aside for older people opposite the community centre. Many of the houses on Ashmill estate had been purchased by residents in the 1980s, whose families had grown-up and moved on, leaving a core of aging 'respectable' residents with 'porches', as Clive (78, Zone 2) commented:

You could always tell which [house] was being bought by the occupier because all of a sudden the porch would appear! That was the sort of status symbol. If you were buying your council house – build a porch!

The Blackacre Estate

The Blackacre estate tends to be seen by residents of the surrounding community as a 'rough' place. It was built on some allotments and a pond in the mid-1970s. Some older residents recall how there was some resentment about the estate being built:

When it was built over forty years ago, no one wanted it. And I think that still remonstrates a little bit with the older people, they didn't want Blackacre built here. Because it was an area where there was a load of allotments, there was a fishing lake here and everything, that all went (Donald, 70, resident of Blackacre).

We didn't want it … It was an open space and we were getting more 'closed in', if you know what I mean? People objected to it

126

> … I didn't want it. And I think that's the reaction, it's taking away something that we've got (Clifford, 74, resident of Zone 2).

Residents were moved to Blackacre from some older neighbourhoods in Welshtown with 'rough' reputations, which were undergoing substantial renovation when traditional terraced streets were redeveloped; essentially a slum clearance. In this sense, there is a more direct parallel between the 'established' older community, and the newcomers as 'outsiders' observed in Winston Parva.

Blackacre estate is perceived locally as a place which has become isolated from, and stigmatised by, the surrounding neighbourhood. A frequently expressed perception among residents of the surrounding neighbourhood was that Blackacre was a place occupied by 'people with problems': problem families, drug addicts, alcoholics, criminals, and paedophiles. It has a reputation as a rough place, plagued by drug related crime and antisocial behaviour. As noted above, a NAP was conducted on the estate by the RSL in the early 2010s to identify issues that residents of Blackacre saw as a priority. This involved housing officers conducting 'walkabout' surveys on the estate gathering the views of the residents about issues which affected their lives. The NAP has been a useful document in understanding the issues faced by residents of Blackacre. The aim here is not to evaluate the NAP, rather, its value is in highlighting the perception that Blackacre is a place which suffers from a reputation for being 'rough', and to grasp the nature of what symbolises this 'roughness'. It also illustrates that the problems on Blackacre are not simply imagined, but are *real*, even if they tend to be exaggerated in gossip. The two main areas of concern were 'environmental issues' and 'antisocial behaviour and community safety'. Environmental issues related to problems of vandalism, fly-tipping, and graffiti, creating an unsightly environment, and property in poor condition was identified. Particularly problematic is damage to communal doors leaving them insecure. Intensive management of this problem through cataloguing incidents and using Geographic Information Software to map incidents was identified. Regarding antisocial behaviour, the NAP identified spatial and temporal dimensions, that residents were concerned about groups loitering in subways

and alleys, especially after dark, creating antisocial behaviour 'hotspots' that involved alcohol and drug misuse. Seasonal variations in antisocial behaviour was also identified, particularly around school holidays, and Halloween and Bonfire night, and joint patrols between social landlord officers and the police were proposed. Information sharing was also seen as important. A common means of sharing information is through community notice boards, and a stark difference was observed between the notice boards of the surrounding neighbourhood which continually had notices and events advertised, and the single notice board on Blackacre which was empty, save for some obscene graffiti, for the entire study. Monthly meetings between the social landlord and the neighbourhood policing team were introduced, ceasing for the majority of the study, but being restarted just prior to its end as issues around antisocial behaviour once again began to escalate.

The NAP indicated that antisocial behaviour was to be addressed through 'intensive management' and situational crime prevention measures. This involved cataloguing incidents, installation of CCTV, and 'hardening of the landscape', for example by putting railings on walls to prevent people sitting on them. It was also acknowledged that many of the problems on the estate were caused by known 'prolific offenders', and the NAP suggested that these individuals should be identified in order to share information and 'review periodically'. Improving the reporting of antisocial behaviour was seen as problematic, and various methods of reporting were unsuccessfully promoted to encourage this, such as; through the 'Looking Local' TV channel; emailing the social landlord; telephoning the Neighbourhood Police Officer or Community Safety Team; and by membership of the online Neighbourhood Watch scheme. This highlights a theme which emerged in this study in which residents were frightened to contact 'authorities' for fear of being labelled as a 'grass', and the consequences this may entail.

Much of the approach employed in the NAP is underpinned by improving the physical appearance of the estate. This may be cynically viewed as simply improving the view from the outside-in; a position which potentially adds to the stigmatisation of Blackacre residents as 'rough'. However, this would miss the important point that residents of Blackacre prioritised this improvement which

is as vital to their well-being and self-esteem as residents of other areas (Pearce and Milne 2010, p.6). Conversations with local housing officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) tended to emphasise the importance of 'nipping problems in the bud' using antisocial behaviour orders, particularly where they could be seen to be taking firm action, and therefore hoping to instil a sense of reassurance between 'decent' residents and the police and social landlord, such as when 'problem families' are evicted following antisocial behaviour or drug crime. Crime 'crackdowns' are sometimes reported in the local press. During the course of this study, an operation which included the eviction of residents from houses on Blackacre, and metal shutters with police notices pasted onto them being placed over doors and windows, was the focus of a feature article in the local paper titled:

DECENT FOLK DO NOT HAVE TO ENDURE MISERY

I observed numerous 'boarded-up' windows on the estate, with one entire block of six flats having been boarded up for several years, following evictions for using and supplying controlled drugs. Single residency flats were frequently seen as the source of Blackacre's rough reputation by residents from the surrounding neighbourhood, as places where alcohol and drug dependent people, people with mental health issues – there has been a mental health group home on the estate for many years – and ex-offenders were 'put'. A housing officer explained that housing is allocated in accordance with the Common Housing Allocations Policy. Those registering for housing are allocated a 'Banding' and allocated points according to their need. The individual is then advised of the type of property they can bid for. A social landlord can request that a 'local letting plan' be introduced in an area to redress social issues such as antisocial behaviour, which has to be supported with evidence. This was done several years ago in respect of Blackacre, and the plan is still operational. The local letting plan is specific to the allocation of one-bedroom properties, and it entails the social landlord undertaking in-depth interviewing with potential residents to assess suitability. So interestingly, Blackacre has a *more* rigorous assessment in respect of certain property types than other areas.

There are observable signs of disorder on Blackacre which do not tend to be experienced as intensively in other areas of Ashmill. The communal entrances to

many of the flats smell of a combination of stale beer, urine, and cannabis, and are littered with 'roach-ends'[59], 'snap-bags'[60], and beer cans. The communal door locks are often broken, forced by youths to allow shelter in the communal areas and drink alcohol and smoke cannabis out-of-sight. This was a common problem acknowledged by Dawn, the local PCSO, who explained:

> We had a problem with kids who broke into a block of flats … they forced the communal door. Then they were using the communal landings to smoke cannabis and take other drugs. One of the residents there confronted them and things escalated, they played up even more just to get back at her. They even put used needles around the door handle.

Other signs of disorder and crime are empirically observable; such as the broken fences, and the parking bays occupied by broken-down cars. Some cars are incongruous and raise suspicions, for example when expensive new cars stop briefly and the back of The Shop and lads conduct furtive transactions through the window whilst others act as look-outs. Some doors bear the damage of boot-marks and holes inflicted at kicking level, and there are several smashed and boarded-up windows. These indicate higher levels of disorder than in the surrounding neighbourhood.

Some of the houses which back onto the estate have walls with broken glass cemented into the top, fences topped with barbed wire, and six-inch nails driven into the tops to prevent people climbing them. There are windows with iron bars bolted on, and back doors and garages have steel sheets riveted on to them. These situational crime prevention measures, the fortification of 'defensible spaces' (Newman 1972), indicate the feelings of fear which permeate the lives of those living in the surrounding neighbourhood. They also serve as a daily reminder to residents of Blackacre of their positioning as outcasts, potential intruders into the lives of 'respectable' residents. The point here is to highlight some of the observable signs which tend to entrench stigmatising images of

---

[59] A roach-end is the remains of a cannabis cigarette.
[60] Snap-bags are small resealable plastic bags commonly used to contain small amounts of controlled substances. Some have pictures of dragons/mystical creatures and/or cannabis leaves printed on them.

Blackacre as a rough place, 'outside' of Ashmill; although, ironically, geographically central.

One of the observations made when selecting the Blackacre estate is its roughly central geographical position within the community of Ashmill. Blackacre is, like the estate that Walkerdine (2016, p.704) considers:

> a world unto itself ... its sense of self-reliance was probably a threat ... treated with fear and suspicion ... The estate is the centre of considerable deprivation, often ignored, dismissed and opposed in what is otherwise a wealthy town.

It is encapsulated behind older residential housing on three sides and a main road on the fourth side: it is effectively an urban island physically separated from the rest of Ashmill.

> It's like an estate on an estate ... and it seems as though sometimes there's this boundary between Blackacre and Ashmill, or Stonebrook. I don't understand it, but I've been to police meetings and they seem to, Blackacre seems to be an island on its own, if you like (Peter, 60, Zone 3).

This spatial dimension may help to facilitate the generation and maintenance of Blackacre and its residents as outsiders. Blackacre has three-hundred households, consisting of single-occupancy flats, houses, and a few bungalows occupied by older and disabled residents. The impression it gives is summed up by Aaron (19), who lives on the Ashmill estate:

> I don't think it's just boarded up houses that give that sort of impression that it's a dodgy area – for me, if I was to walk straight through the centre of Blackacre, just looking at more the style and design of the houses, and the layout is, it looks, I can't think of a ... it looks sort of like a gloomy place in a way, and you associate that with trouble.

The estate, like St Ann's in McKenzie's (2015) study, is based on the Radburn design, whereby the fronts of the properties face each other with communal green spaces and paths running between them, and the backs of the properties

open out onto the access roads. As such, the estate has its back turned to the rest of the community – literally and figuratively. The design was intended to address road safety by separating traffic and pedestrians, however, estates designed around the Radburn model have been heavily criticised as they seem to suffer high rates of crime and antisocial behaviour (Hope and Foster 1992; Welch 2009). The design of the estate creates secluded spaces, underpasses and enclosed green areas, which are the focus of the social landlord's efforts to reduce crime and antisocial behaviour on this and other local estates. Blackacre is, perhaps, a kind of 'gated community' in reverse, where the 'dangerous' are residualised and have become contained behind invisible walls. It is not unlike the enclaves that Mennell (1989, pp.126-127) discusses in relation to de Regt's (1982) study in Amsterdam, built in the 1920s to house 'antisocial' families, who were closely supervised, receiving 'rehabilitation' and 'education', and consequently compounding their stigmatisation. Although the figuration in Ashmill was unplanned and emerged in a long-term process.

There are no facilities such as shops, community centres, or play areas located on Blackacre. After receiving a grant from the 'Big Lottery Fund'[61] in the mid-2000s, Ashmill Community Centre hosted a workshop exploring hip-hop music and urban culture. An article published on the community funding website 'j4bcommunity' explained that the project would target young people from Blackacre as the estate has problems with antisocial behaviour and high crime rates, and a lack of activities for the youngsters living on the estate. However, there has been limited success in engaging young people from the estate at the community centre, as Tomos (22) who is a resident of Blackacre and a Communities First worker explained:

> I remember one of the projects I worked on was, going back a
> while I ran a football session on a Friday night at the
> community centre for kids seen as at risk of anti-social
> behaviour, and Welshtown Homes would run a minibus from
> the Blackacre estate to the community centre just so the kids

---

[61] The 'Big Lottery Fund' is distributes money from the National Lottery to community groups and charitable projects around the UK (see https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/).

had no excuse. They ran a four-week pilot and not one kid got
on the bus.

The only facility that residents of Blackacre have access to is the back entrance
of The Shop which is located on Town Road. The owner at the time that the
estate was built capitalised on its location by creating a 'back entrance' allowing
residents of the estate convenient access without having to walk to either end of
the row of terraced houses behind which the estate is located. However, the
space behind the shop has become a notorious place, a gathering place for
generations of youngsters on the estate which is out of site of the main road.
The Shop is a key location in this study, which will be discussed further in
Chapter 5. It represents a Janus-faced space, a microcosm of the relationships
which structure the community, with its traditional shopfront on Town Road,
the side that 'respectable' residents tend to use, and the back of The Shop which
leads out onto Blackacre.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the setting in geographical and historical terms, to
understand something of the 'background' which continues to shape Ashmill
and its residents. A map of Ashmill has been constructed (Appendix 4),
highlighting how the residents' understanding of the community differs from
'official' constructions of the area, and how other boundaries exist within the
setting. A statistical outline of Ashmill has been offered which indicates that
crime in Welshtown is in the 'upper bounds of normal' when compared to other
'similar areas'. It also indicates that Blackacre's reputation, whilst it may be
exaggerated, may not be entirely fantasy. The homogeneity of Ashmill was
examined in statistical terms, however, the problems of skewed statistics when
trying to understand neighbourhoods has been highlighted, particularly in
relation to Blackacre which is combined into the same LSOA with the relatively
affluent Evendale. Empirical observations highlight tensions between residents
of this predominantly white working-class figuration, and the struggles for
power and status which underpin these interdependent relationships. This
gives rise to feelings of resentment and injustice. The argument was developed
that the impact of differences in relative affluence and deprivation may be
obscured unless statistical evidence is supported by empirical qualitative

evidence. Observational and interview evidence has been presented, introducing the setting from which the empirical data forming the following chapters was drawn. Differences in the understandings of participants, and the commonalities and conflicts in perceptions with statistical data were described, and some of the ways in which residential groups imagine each other, and the processes through which these perceptions may have emerged and been reproduced have been highlighted. The argument was developed that the concept of relative deprivation as Lea and Young (1984) employ it may be useful in developing established-outsider theory when explaining the processes through which Blackacre may have come to be seen by the surrounding neighbourhood as 'rough', and this may resonate theoretically with other similar figurations. In particular, it was indicated that boundaries exist in the perceived standards of behaviour between the surrounding community and the Blackacre estate, and it is these 'boundaries of civilised behaviour' which are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Boundaries of Civilised Behaviour

Behavioural boundaries, which Elias and Scotson (1994, p.1) describe as 'barriers to social relations', are central in analysis of established-outsider relationships in Winston Parva. This chapter is about identifying the 'demarcation of the rough/respectable boundary' (Watt 2006, p.794) which emerged from the empirical work in Ashmill. The concept of a 'boundary' is not conceived of as fixed and immutable, although it should not be viewed as a concept which is so relativistic and fluctuating that it is impractical; the aim is to produce reality-congruent knowledge. The boundaries described in this chapter represent a set of complex and interconnected ideas which emerged from discussions, observations, and documentary data. How distinctions between these boundaries emerge in the understandings and everyday life of residents in Ashmill, and how they influence the image of Blackacre and its residents as 'rough', are explored. I aim to make the experiential dimensions of these boundaries more explicit than those described in Elias and Scotson's study, and to continue to integrate figurational sociology with realist criminology to explain how Blackacre has come to be seen and, for some experienced, as a 'rough' place.

The boundary between public and private spheres is important, especially in the privatisation of violence (Cooney 2003; Ray 2011), and whilst this chapter focuses on boundaries of behaviour in the public sphere, shifts to more privatised behaviour are also observed. The boundaries which emerged have been organised into four types; social, spatial, temporal, and emotional. It is impossible to consider all of the many instances which illustrate these boundaries, therefore just one or two examples in each category are considered. The first section is organised around the perception of residents of Blackacre as a place for 'problem' people, a social boundary between the surrounding community and the estate. The next section builds on the overall picture of Ashmill by focusing on The Shop which is situated on the geographical and social boundary between Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood. The third section considers temporal boundaries, in particular the impact of seasonal changes and traditional autumn celebrations. Finally, the 'invisible'

emotional boundaries that participants articulated, especially around feelings of fear, resentment, and shame, are discussed.

The position has been developed that decivilising processes may be experienced by residents of relatively deprived communities of which Blackacre is an example[62]. A process of residualisation since the mid-twentieth century has transformed the reputation of council housing from being occupied by 'respectable' working-class residents, to become stigmatised as residual 'tenure of last resort' occupied by 'problem tenants' (Watt 2006, p.789). In the first section, I explore how these 'problems' which feed collective fantasies are characterised.

Blackacre as a Place for 'Problem' People

Blackacre tends to be seen as a place of 'last resort' for 'problem' people, a perception which has troubled it from its initial construction in the mid-1970s. Clive (78, Zone 2) commented:

> When they first built the Blackacre and they put people in,
> whether it was true or not I've no idea, but the rumour was
> that they filled it mainly with problem families from other
> estates.

This indicates how, as in Winston Parva, distinction may be drawn between the established/respectable residents of Ashmill, a place which had historically enjoyed a relatively high status, and the 'rough outsiders' who had been relocated from other estates. The established group in Winston Parva:

> experienced … a threat to their own moral standing … Rightly
> or wrongly they, like many other established groups, felt
> exposed to a three-pronged attack – against their monopolised
> power resources, against their group charisma and against
> their group norms. They repelled what they experienced as an

---

[62] This is a particular form of decivilisation among generations of relatively deprived and excluded residents of residualised places who are grappling with particular problems and finding meaningful resolutions. This does not imply that the 'lower strata' of society are the only places in which figurations experiencing decivilisational processes may be found. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis, further investigations may focus on 'white collar' figurations involving violation of safety regulations, tax evasion, and corporate criminality (Lea and Young 1984), where significant harm and violence is produced at 'arm's length'.

attack by closing their ranks against the outsiders, by excluding and humiliating them (Elias 1976, pp.li-lii).

Perhaps this focusing of local attention on the 'new' Blackacre estate may help explain the more ambiguous status of the Ashmill council estate. The residents of the Ashmill estate now tend to be imagined as 'less problematic', usefully able to assist in closing-ranks in order to exclude the 'rough' incomers to the Blackacre estate from the 'respectable' community of Ashmill. Julian (50), a steelworker who lives on the Ashmill estate and one of four local Labour councillors, made an insightful and highly relevant comment in our interview, in which he theorised why residents of the Blackacre estate were seen as 'outsiders':

> ... a lot of the people on the Blackacre, seems to me, have been put in there. They're not from the area, they're outsiders, from maybe outside of Welshtown, getting social housing, coming in and being put into that area. Which I suppose, people, because they don't know each other, it's very hard for people to mix, isn't it? You've got the people, I suppose, who've bought houses there and have lived there for a long, long time, since the estate was built, who are happy and whatever, and get on with people they know. And then you got these people who are brought in, and, I suppose it's hard to mix ... And that's what the people think 'Oh, the Blackacre, its rough as hell up there. You must be rough if you come from there'. That's what people's perception is. I don't think you're ever going to squash it ... it always has been. I can remember the estate being built, I can remember when it was fields, then when the estate was built, and I suppose right from the off that's where the so called 'problem families' were put.

Julian astutely identifies the problem central to established-outsider theory: the conflict-situation which emerges between incomers who are perceived as rough, and the threat to reputation, status, and power felt by the respectable established community. He reflects on the resistance to the estate being built on the fields, how the estate was purportedly filled with 'problem families' from the

outset, acknowledging how difficult it is for new residents who do not know each other and who are 'put' into an area to form a cohesive community. This image of Blackacre as a place for 'problem' people, and the distinction with the Ashmill estate as a place for more respectable families persists some four decades later, as Ross (24, Zone 2) commented:

> All they stick in Blackacre is just like, youths like pregnant teenagers who need somewhere to live, and people who are like alcoholics, and people with drug addictions, that's where they whack them. They don't put them in Ashmill ... The Ashmill estate is more like, for families who are trying to look for a house.

Ross's comment describes many of the social problems, the boundary markers between 'us' and 'them', that residents of Blackacre are imagined to present. Other categories of problem people were also imagined to occupy Blackacre, such as people with mental health problems and recently released prisoners. Edward (65, Zone 2) is a sociable man who goes out of his way to talk to people in the street, he told me about a conversation he had with another resident:

> I was talking to a man who had recently moved into a bungalow just off Station Road, and he was talking about somebody from the Blackacre estate that he had a run-in with. He spoke about the Blackacre as a totally separate unit; 'that place', where ... the thieves, the violent people, and the druggies, they're all congregated in that area. That was his mentality for Blackacre ... There's a young couple who walk up and down this road, they're both a bit odd ... He ... has long hair and a straggly beard, baseball cap, got a limp, and is very skinny, looks like he's been on drink or drugs; she looks like a 'Goth'. You can see they wouldn't fit into general society. Now, they have hassle on the Blackacre estate from other Blackacre estaters because they're not quite the same as everybody else ... But they live on the Blackacre estate so they would be tarred with the same brush ... rough looking, fits into a pattern of weirdos on the Blackacre estate.

Edward explains how the man he had spoken with saw Blackacre as a 'totally separate unit', which was occupied by disreputable people, all of the same ilk. In contrast, Edward offers experiences he has had with people he knows from Blackacre, acknowledging that there is some 'truthfulness' in the stereotypical image of some residents. However, the people Edward has encountered have been troubled by mental health issues, physical disability, and/or addiction, or are easily stigmatised because of their unconventional lifestyles and, crucially, their relative powerlessness to refute this stigmatisation, tending to confirm a stereotypical image of Blackacre. These perceptions are not restricted to residents from the respectable neighbourhood, as Craig (45), a member of the 'Evans' family from Blackacre, explained:

> There's a lot of afflicted people living here, up the top ... Afflicted by their own circumstances ... Cannabis, or other alcohol or drugs, or whatever. They get caught up in difficulties with a drug addiction or drink addiction. I don't drink myself, but some people, they have a bottle of Bacardi a day or something. But, when they're down, they're down ... That's when they're trying to survive in their own circumstances. Their mental health is not marvellous; their physical well-being is not great ... Some of them live in squalor. My mother said to me 'Don't go up the top and bother with those people'.

Craig has incorporated the sense of stigma of being 'from Blackacre' into his personality structure, although while we were talking he detached himself from this totalising Blackacre identity, identifying a specific part of the estate, 'up the top' where a lot of 'afflicted people' live; that is, residents with drug and alcohol addictions, and poor mental and physical health. Craig distinguishes himself from the 'afflicted' residents, describing 'them' as living in 'squalor'[63], and being warned by his mother to stay away. Craig performs the same type of mental operation that is observable in the wider setting of Ashmill, whereby 'all' residents of Blackacre are stigmatised. Craig attributes this group inferiority

---

[63] Elias highlights the historically reproduced stigmatisation of outsider groups as unclean; citing Shakespeare's 'leane unwashed artificer'; the industrialised working-classes as the 'great unwashed'; and the Japanese Burakumin 'their old stigmatic name "Eta" meaning literally "full of filth" ...' (Elias 1976, p.xxvii).

upon the residents who live 'up the top', and by implication within an interdependent relationship, group charisma on his own, un-afflicted, part of the estate. In this way, it is evident that the insider/outsider distinction observable in the wider community is also at work *within* the estate, at a lower street-based level. This may not only indicate that the universal neighbourliness on council estates reported by other studies (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010) may be overstated, but also develops established-outsider theory to consider lower-level interdependencies within community figurations.

Accounts often emphasised 'individual responsibility', particularly around working and not claiming benefits, which were linked to feelings of self-respect, and respect for other 'respectable' people in the neighbourhood. This image was common in the conversations I had with residents in the surrounding neighbourhood, involving a group-charisma which was often contrasted with the 'rough' habitus of Blackacre. However, similar concerns about presenting oneself as hardworking and respectable were observed among Blackacre residents. Gerald (72) a married man who has lived on the Blackacre estate since it was built, reflected how he took work as a cleaner when he was made redundant during the 1980s, despite experiencing feelings of humiliation because of his lowering of status (having served in the armed forces) and the demeaning process of going to the job-centre daily. Jordan (19) also a lifelong Blackacre resident, explained how important work was to him. He abrogated stereotypical perceptions of the 'minority of the worst', expressing pride when explaining that he worked twelve-hour shifts as a builder, and how he looked up to his hardworking uncle. He also explained how he has friends on the estate who have earned a contrasting 'respect' as local drug dealers:

> I don't bow my head to no one. These people ain't a role model to me; my role model is my uncle. He works fucking hard, he's a hardworking man, they don't make them like him no more … He is my hero, because he works hard and provides for his family and his kids. Like, you know, in real work. Not these people who can spend twenty grand on a weekend and think nothing of it. But people younger than me and my age, that's

their dream. And I got friends who make a lot of money from
selling drugs, but I make a lot of money myself and I haven't got
to look over my shoulder … I work really hard for my money …
They look up to these guys and think they can afford to fly out
to wherever they want every weekend – well I can't afford to
do that. But they got a shelf life.

Despite Jordan apparently disconnecting himself from the drug-culture that
some of his friends are embroiled within, he recognises the lure of the 'dream'.
This self-sufficiency, making their own money through criminal activity when
routes to success through legitimate work is difficult, may be evidence of
'strain'[64]. It may also be evidence of the self-helping entrepreneurship which is
endorsed in the kind of competitive individualism highlighted by Lea and Young
(1984) and Winlow and Hall (2013), and may be perceived as less problematic
if, as discussed below, the use of some drugs is now more 'socially acceptable'.
Jordan, superficially at least as he wears clothing, cuts his hair, and displays
tattoos which indicate otherwise, rejects the imprudent wasting of money which
is frequently associated with the 'lifestyles' of the 'underclass'. However, the
excessive consumption which is associated with 'chavs' (Hayward and Yar
2006) may also be understood as a struggle for status. 'Conspicuous
consumption'[65], as Elias (1983) observes among the aristocracy in Versailles in
contrast to the emerging professional bourgeoisie and their more prudent
money economy, indicates social rank within the court, or within the estate in
this context. As Elias (1983, p.72) observes 'one could say that in some respects
the rich live today as the poor did earlier, and the poor live like the rich'. This
has implications for feelings of discontent and resentment among residents,
where extravagant consumption using 'undeserved benefits', supplemented by

---

[64] Merton's (1938) strain theory hypothesises, based on the assumption of a consensus of social
values which prioritise individual competition and the accumulation of wealth, that when these
culturally defined goals cannot be achieved through legitimate means, individuals may try to
achieve them through illegitimate means. Elias (1994, pp.177-188) criticises Merton's polar use
of the concept of social structure as organised and 'good', and of anomie as chaotic and 'bad'.
The thrust of Elias's argument is that to view social structure-anomie in this way is to resort to
heteronomous evaluations of social phenomena, rather than autonomous evaluations in which
extraneous evaluations are subordinated (see also Elias 1987).
[65] Sayer (2011, p.200) also highlights this behaviour: 'This is why people who have little income
often engage in quite expensive conspicuous consumption – to show they are worthy of respect'.

'drug money' by some, may be perceived as the prevailing immoral economic reality by working residents living nearby.

Blackacre tends to be perceived as the hub of local criminality, particularly drug dealing, and antisocial behaviour. 'They' are imagined as a tight-knit, self-protecting community of thieves, drug dealers, and villains, only leaving the estate to target victims in the surrounding neighbourhood. However, this exaggerated image, reminiscent of the 'respectable fears' that Pearson (1983) discusses, should be contrasted with the argument that street-crime tends to be perpetrated by the poorest (mainly young men) against their peers (see Lea and Young [1984], and Hallsworth [2005]). This was illustrated in a conversation I had with Jason (24, Zone 2) who was explaining how he imagined the life expectations of his peers on Blackacre to become drug dealers:

> What makes me laugh though, is that they all deal and stuff, but
> they just sell to each other, it's just a vicious circle up there.

Drugs emerged as one of the main problems associated with Blackacre. It also represents a significant transformation in the structure of British society since the study in Winston Parva. Blackacre was seen as 'the' place, locally, to obtain drugs, and stories of drug related violence on the estate were common in gossip and the local press. These views were not only expressed by residents from the surrounding neighbourhood, but were real issues for some Blackacre residents also. In Chapter 3, I explained the reticence that Kevin had in speaking to me 'officially' about life on the estate because of his fears about repercussions from drug dealers he knew. I also spoke with other residents of the estate, like Donald (70), who has lived on Blackacre since it was built. During our interview at his home Donald explained that he felt fearful about the drug problem and the associated violence:

> In the corner there … two drug houses which are dealing drugs
> and have been reported to the police. There's another drug
> house in the flats opposite us, there are about five or six
> different drug houses … If they ever get raided and they got a
> Staffy outside the front door, it's going to take that much longer
> for the police to get through the door. And I know that's a fact.

> They do keep these dogs for protection. As you know, a drug
>
> family they can be very violent.

During my fieldwork most dogs I encountered on the estate were 'bull breeds', usually controlled by young men representing a tough masculine status[66]. Donald understood that drug dealers kept aggressive dogs for protection against the police[67], reinforcing his belief that 'a drug family they can be very violent'; and he could point to what he believed were up to six such houses surrounding him. It is impossible to verify Donald's belief, nevertheless, gossip I have heard, behaviour I observed, articles I read in the local press, comments on social media, and the local policing priorities, all suggested that there is a real drug crime problem on the estate, feeding into the perception of a social boundary between Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood.

During the period of the study, several accounts were posted on the 'Blackacre Estate' Facebook page, by politically active and concerned residents of the estate, regarding the finding of drug paraphernalia, needles and heroin cups, around the estate. Articles have appeared in the local press concerning the persistent littering of the estate with drug paraphernalia and the risks it represented for local children. This is not to suggest that Blackacre is the only place in Ashmill that 'drug litter' can be found. There were several other places, particularly the lanes at the back of Town Road where I observed similar discarded items. Rather, it emphasises how this information was used to highlight the plight and real risks of harm faced by residents of the estate, but simultaneously entrenched stigmatising images. In other neighbourhoods of Ashmill, some groups of residents have formed 'litter picking' groups to clean-up, but not on Blackacre. Perhaps this is evidence of a lack of community cohesiveness and disinterest. Or, perhaps actions are constrained by fear of being perceived as 'grasses', cooperating with authorities to change the social environment and reputation of Blackacre. What next? Talking to the police? In this sense, the tension experienced by many residents of Blackacre may not be

---

[66] See Hughes et al. (2011) for a comprehensive discussion of 'status dogs'.

[67] My own experience as a police officer supports Donald's understanding, having had to negotiate aggressive dog's on several occasions when executing drugs warrants. Occupants made it clear that these dogs were kept to deter and frighten, and impede access to their premises. However, the primary protection was against other drug dealers, rather than the police.

with the surrounding neighbourhood, but with more powerful groups on the estate against whom they may not be organised enough to retaliate.

Public drinking also emerged as a boundary of civilised behaviour; as a signal of antisocial behaviour. Some afternoons, particularly on warm days during the school summer holidays, I saw small groups of usually women sat outside on the communal green areas on Blackacre, drinking alcohol while their young children played. I did not observe this behaviour in the surrounding neighbourhoods. The design allowed this kind of public sociability on Blackacre, which may be viewed, paradoxically, as 'antisocial'. In a conversation with Rhys (20) and his father Adrian (46), who live in a private house which backs onto Blackacre, they explained how street-drinking symbolises deviance from the respectable moral values that they see themselves as possessing, and link this behaviour with feelings of fear and intimidation:

> ADRIAN: You've got them walking around with their cans of cider in their hands and things like that … What is morally or ethically right to you, probably wouldn't be to them. And *vice versa* … certainly not legal as far as I'm aware. A can of Coke is one thing; a can of alcohol is another.
>
> STEVE: So what does that say to you about that person?
>
> ADRIAN: They don't give a damn.
>
> RHYS: Well, they're clearly not behaving well, are they? If they're walking around, even if they're not drunk yet, they're misbehaving, or aiming to, or don't care whether they misbehave or not in the first place.
>
> ADRIAN: It's intimidating, it's not right, not how I was brought up.

Drinking alcohol in the street is restricted in Welshtown town centre under a Public Space Protection Order[68], which invokes an 'alcohol exclusion zone', among other restrictions on public behaviour. However, this does not apply in Ashmill. What is interesting here is the 'legal' behaviour which Adrian and Rhys

---

[68] A measure available under the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014.

have erroneously assumed applies generally, and the assumption of inherent 'antisocial behaviour' symbolised by people drinking alcohol in the street on and around Blackacre.

Michelle Smith (40) moved from Blackacre because she could no longer tolerate the 'antisocial' behaviour she experienced from her neighbours and their network of friends who would gather outside their house. She explained that groups often:

> ... sat along the wall of this house, sat along my friend's wall, up her steps. She used to have to ask them to move so that she could go in her front door. Sat along there, cans just thrown ... these [her children] couldn't go out then because they were just into absolute all sorts. But this went on from afternoon, right through to early hours of the morning. These people didn't have to go to work – we did.

It needs to be emphasised that the behaviour that Michelle experienced was probably exceptional on the estate, as it concerned a long-standing dispute in a particular part of the neighbourhood in which two 'troubled' families were situated; the Joneses and the Williamses (see Chapter 7). Nevertheless, this represents a boundary, both between how residents of the surrounding neighbourhood imagine *all* residents of Blackacre to behave, a collective fantasy, and the experiences of some 'respectable' residents of Blackacre. Michelle went on to describe the differences in the parties she had experienced both on Blackacre, and now as a resident of the Ashmill estate (Zone 3):

> The difference is, anyone who has a party along here, it's a different type of party. When Reese couldn't sleep in her bedroom it was because there was violence, the language was disgusting, there was glass being smashed all the time. When they have a party next door there's laughter, they're having fun. They're drunk, you know they're drunk, everyone has a drink ... I can sleep through their party, because you can just hear people enjoying themselves, you're not thinking 'My cars going to be smashed in, my windows are going to go through'.

145

> Nothing like that at all, they got respect, they have respectable parties. They could go on until early hours of the morning, we'll have one that will go on until early hours of the morning, and we're still friends, you know, because we have respectable parties. There is a difference between an Blackacre party and a party in this street.

This is about the fear of things spilling over, anxiety about violence, and tensions generated by incompatible ways of life. Michelle explains that in her new neighbourhood, situated only a few hundred metres from Blackacre, they have 'respectable' parties which do not escalate into violence. This distinction in habitus is about manners and behaviour, about the respect for neighbours' privacy and the self-restraint and control that people exercise. Michelle explained that:

> This family basically lived outside, they'd eat their food outside – the children would run around naked outside … They'd come over and wee up our front door. They were just known as this kind of family.

Other participants also highlighted these differences in public behaviour in distinguishing 'them' from 'us', and I observed swearing, drinking, and urinating in the street on Blackacre. This illustrates the perceived 'lack of shame' and self-restraint, and poor socialisation, which *some* residents of Blackacre displayed, and which came to typify the behaviour of *all* residents in the collective fantasy. The contrast between Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood in the smashed and boarded-up windows, forced locks on the communal doors of flats, the smell of stale urine, cannabis, and beer, the abandoned sofas, discarded televisions, the litter of alcohol bottles and cans, and drug paraphernalia, and the dog mess which is left by 'irresponsible dog owners', are not imagined. These issues may be more prevalent on Blackacre than in the surrounding neighbourhood, but this prevalence is often exaggerated, and incidents of violence sporadic. Sensitivities about disreputable behaviour tended to be observed more frequently in the surrounding neighbourhood where, for example, I saw people confronted when they failed to clean-up after their dog, and saw Facebook posts 'naming and shaming' frequent offenders. These mark

observable boundaries of behaviour which affect our increasingly 'civilised' sensitivities. In Chapter 2, the importance of spatial and environmental factors in the perception of danger was highlighted, and in Chapter 4, the layout of the Blackacre estate was identified as a relevant factor in its reputation. One of the key spaces on Blackacre is behind The Shop; used as a meeting place by generations of Blackacre youngsters.

The Shop

The Shop, run by Ian and Donna, represents a Janus-faced space, a microcosm of the interdependent relationships which structure the figuration, a place where 'respectable' and 'rough' residents mix. This was not simply my observation, but one articulated by staff and participants. Mae (mid-20s), who works as a shop assistant, explained that she sometimes sensed tension if some 'boys' from the estate came into the shop when there were 'front door customers'. The front entrance is located on Town Road and is used primarily by passers-by, and some residents from the surrounding community. This is the 'respectable' entrance, which has a well-lit, traditional frontage and it is kept free of litter and obstructions. It rarely has groups hanging around. In contrast, the back entrance is used almost exclusively by residents from Blackacre and to bring stock into The Shop. Access is gained via a narrow, partially covered alley which is locked up when The Shop is closed by a heavy-duty, multi-locked door. When it is raining, the alley offers convenient shelter for young people who gather here, but makes entering and leaving the shop intimidating for some customers. When it is dark, the only light is a strip light in the alley and the orange sodium street-lamps. Barbed wire covers the roof of the storeroom, a converted garage, and customers using this entrance have to negotiate steps and a small yard where rubbish bins are located. There is usually litter on the road outside, consisting mainly of drinks cans, plastic bottles, and 'snap-bags'. Tomos (22), a lifelong resident of Blackacre, recalled a visit to The Shop:

> I was in there about six months ago, I don't go in there often … I was driving and pulled in on the Town Road side to go in, and when I walked in there, there was three or four people already in the queue, and it was just carnage, just kids causing mayhem, there was shouting, it was middle of the afternoon,

there was all alcohol being bought and you're thinking 'Wow!' You know? But then, I've come in from that side, despite being a resident and just thought 'What is going on here?' But if that's someone just pulling up on their drive to work they'd be massively taken back by it. And then the way they engage with the staff in there, to the way I would do it is different as well, you know, no 'please' and 'thank you', they just chuck their money ... I think the time that hit home to me was, probably when ... you'd see a parent going in with a few younger children for 'breakfast'. They're already late for school, their breakfast is, whatever they want from the counter, usually chocolate, and you think to yourself, no wonder there's a stigma.

Tomos's relatively detached reflection illustrates what it may be like for someone not from Blackacre to use The Shop, and the impression they may get of the residents of Blackacre. On this occasion he had entered The Shop from the 'respectable' side, and imagines what it would be like for an outsider. He highlights the impolite manner in which some customers talk to the staff, and of alcohol being purchased in the mid-afternoon. He also recalls seeing children being taken to The Shop and given chocolate for their breakfasts. Tomos's experience corresponds with my own when I first began visiting The Shop. I observed some women who called into the shop most days after collecting children from school and purchased one-litre bottles of vodka. One afternoon, I was talking to Ian as he served some customers and sipped from a bottle of German lager. A woman came in from the estate side with a child about five-years old. I recognised her from the community centre, where she had received food parcels. The child wanted some sweets and began climbing on the display, she shouted 'Fucking get down, will you! I told you. You got fucking sweets at home. You're not having any more!' She bought vodka, an energy drink, and cigarettes.

Differences in clothing were easily observable in The Shop, with people using the front door tending to be dressed in 'work clothes', and occasionally suits. Although a general trend of informalisation is evident in the more 'casual'

clothing being worn, there is also an intensification of self-restraint, and pressure to wear the 'right kind' of clothes; as Hughes notes 'On the face of it, we are "free" to wear a tracksuit to work, but what might "they" think of this? And what would we think of those that did?' (Hughes 2003, pp.118-119). 'Back door' customers tended to be, but were not always, dressed in hoodies and baggy-jeans or jogging bottoms, as Hallsworth (2013, p.138) observes: 'the *de facto* uniform of the urban street warrior: hoodies, baggy jeans and trainers'. Sometimes women came in wearing pyjamas, and on several occasions, weather permitting, I saw young men around the estate, and in The Shop, bare-chested. This was behaviour I did not often observe in other neighbourhoods of Ashmill, and are images which feed into the stereotypical representation of estate residents, although they may actually only be a few very conspicuous residents.

Like many of the residents of Blackacre that I spoke with, Tomos does not use The Shop frequently, often shopping elsewhere because of the reputation it has. The Shop tended to be used by the same group of customers from Blackacre, an observation confirmed by Ian and Donna. Some of the youngsters who hang around in the road behind The Shop are aware of the power they have to control the area. Several times I observed the following behaviour: A car, with two or three occupants, would be parked near the back of The Shop, surrounded by, usually three or four, lads on bicycles. People would arrive at the car, 'shake hands' with one of the passengers, then leave. From my experience surveilling similar activities as a police officer I recognised that these were probably drug deals. I noticed that each time a car visited the estate along the road behind The Shop the lads on bicycles would begin circling in the middle of the road, thereby slowing the car down. The lads on the bikes and the occupants of the car would conspicuously watch the passing car, resuming 'business' when they assumed no further risk. Having been subject to this 'control', I found it uneasy, and grasped a flavour of the everyday intimidation that some residents described.

Drug use was not restricted to residents of the estate. Ian and Donna described how, apparently 'respectable' professional people that they knew from Evendale would come into the shop, using the front entrance, browse for a few moments, then ask for 'Silver Slim' cigarette papers, commonly used to smoke cannabis, and 'grinders', used to mill cannabis resin. This indicates how social boundaries

are permeable and sometimes transgressed, and how an expectation that cannabis smoking paraphernalia would be available in The Shop, based on its proximity to Blackacre and its reputation.

> IAN: I don't mind admitting I used to smoke weed … but it's become socially more acceptable …

> DONNA: … they're in their suits and things and they'll come in and look at all the chocolate, and then they go over to the drinks, and you can see them looking, and then they'll go over and pick up a 50p bar of chocolate and a Lucozade, and they put it on the counter and you ring it in, and I'm like I am 'Oh, that's two-twenty darl'. 'Do you sell any grinders?'… These are people from Evendale –

> IAN: They live down here, you know, they're business people with their suits and ties on. But Silver Slims used to be the best because … I smoked for 25-30 years … fags[69] and weed, and the only thing I've ever seen a Silver Slim paper used for is making a spliff[70] … We get through boxes and boxes of Silver Slims, it's our biggest selling fag paper … It's like Donna says, you get these people who'll come in all prim and proper … or a husband and wife will come in 'Can we have a bottle of wine. Um, do you have any of those Silver Slims?' … It's bonkers, you know, pulling up outside in their Jag[71], coming in with their suit and tie on. This is why I'm not sure if it's become more socially acceptable … But if you took a cross-section of society, it's weird how some people, especially from the generation before us, you say to them 'Oh, weed head' and they automatically think of some little scumbag in the gutter. But you go and work in there for a couple of days and you'll actually see a cross section of who's buying the paraphernalia, like Donna said,

---

[69] 'Fag' is British slang for a tobacco cigarette.
[70] A 'spliff' is a cannabis cigarette.
[71] A Jaguar motor car. The implication is that these are affluent people.

who's buying the grinder, or who's buying Raw's[72], or Silver Slims, and it's from the top to the bottom … And what you got to remember as well is we see the cars pulling up outside the back, now I don't know exactly what they're buying, but I know one or two of the boys out there who are dealing weed, and one or two boys who are dealing coke and things like that … There's a lot of heroin flying around out the back, but that's never dealt on the street that's always done through a dodgy deal in somebody's flat … The actual dealers who pull up in the cars out the back are dealing weed and coke. And we see the cars pulling up, and I know who's buying what … whether it's coke or weed, it's pretty much a damn good cross-section of society that's buying both.

Ian and Donna's accounts, mutually supporting one another in their collective representation ('like Donna said'), not only illustrates the permeability and transgression of social boundaries, but also indicates the process of change over time in which the use of cannabis and cocaine may have become more 'socially acceptable'; at least for some people, in some places. It also illustrates the familiarity that Ian has with the drug dealing 'out the back'. In fact, these dealers and their customers represent a significant proportion of Ian and Donna's customer base; to report the dealing would risk not only their livelihood, but their personal safety.

Ian and Donna are relatively new owners of The Shop, which is the only 'community facility' on Blackacre, taking over after the previous owner had retired after over four decades. It was the previous owner who had capitalised on its location by creating a back entrance for ease of access to the shop from the estate. Over the years The Shop has become a community hub, where some residents of the estate meet, gossip, and 'do business'. The previous owner lived above the shop and ran it with his family, they were seen as 'locals'. But in a conversation with Jordan (19), he explained that initially Ian was seen as an 'outsider' by some residents, primarily the lads who gathered behind the shop,

---

[72] A brand of cigarette papers which include cardboard inserts and 'cones' to shape cigarettes; allegedly marketed at cannabis users.

who felt that their group integrity and illicit activities were under threat. They resented the intrusion and reacted with violent words:

> When Ian took over the shop people were like 'I'm not fucking having that! We'll burn the shop down! We'll do this. We'll do that.' ... If someone new is here 'Who are you? Where you from?' You know, I want to know, so does everybody. I think that's natural. I want to know who is around me.

Not all young people living on Blackacre were so violent in their response. In our interview, Tomos also explained a sense of Ian being an outsider, albeit in more balanced terms:

> The shop has changed ownership, and I think, when it was run by the previous owner he knew a lot of the young people, he'd been there for years, he knew their families. The gentleman running it now, his family, I think that – because Ian, he's off Town Road ... and I don't think that he's got the same relationship with the people ... the old owner lived above ... They'd employ some individuals from the estate to work in there ... overall, everyone knew him and, he was ... your local man sort of thing. Because it is the only thing on the estate other than a house or a flat.

Ian and Donna are aware of their 'outsiderness', although they also feel they have a limited acceptance, but not 'respect':

> IAN: I know they were grateful, because at one point it was an Asian family who were going to buy it ... everybody hated it ... So, everybody was more than happy that we took it over, because we were still white.

> DONNA: Not that that says anything towards their respect, because they don't have respect on Blackacre. They come in and talk to you to your face and rob you blind.

The Shop is frequently used as a thoroughfare by residents of Blackacre who get off the bus on Town Road; there is no bus service into the estate after buses

152

were attacked with bricks. Ian and Donna see it as good customer service to allow residents to use this short-cut, and most tend to ask permission to cut-through. However, Donna explained that the shop was also used for less benign purposes:

> I know of two young lads that'll cross the main road two or three times a night, walk through the shop and say 'just walking through', do their deals out the back and walk back through, and say 'see you tomorrow'; don't buy a thing. And they've got respectable jobs.

The back of The Shop is also a strategic space as it is useful for drug dealers who need to escape other dealers and the police, as Ian explained:

> Blackacre is a cracking little place to deal, because there's no access over there. You got a big spinal path running down the middle with rat runs running off ... The boys like The Shop, because they know ... that if anything happens out the back of the shop they just got to run through the front and they're onto Town Road and gone.

Ian and Donna are powerless to stop this use of the shop without risking harm to themselves and their livelihood; although they have issued warnings. Chatting to Ian in the shop one evening a young man entered the shop from the Blackacre side. He was in his mid/late teens, slim, wearing a coat with the hood up. Ian interrupted our conversation to speak to the lad. He said 'Any more of that like the other night and you can fuck off, right! You keep that shit out of here! I don't want no knives and shit in here!' The lad replied 'Sorry. They were trying to nick my phone. They had a knife they were trying to put me in the boot!' Ian said 'I don't care. You keep it out of my shop, right!' After the lad left Ian explained that a couple of nights previously the lad had run through the shop from the front entrance with a slash across the front of his shirt and cuts on his head. The lad was shouting for staff to call the police as he ran out through the back onto the estate. He was followed by the assailants who offered staff 'a grand to wipe the tape'. The fact that the lad was shouting for the police has implications not only for the veracity of the 'no-grassing' rule, but also for

153

the legitimacy of the police in reality, 'even' among young lads on council estates.

Ian's perception of life on Blackacre is framed around his experiences in The Shop; the reputation that the estate, and particularly the space at the back of The Shop has, and his daily contact with the relatively small number of people who habitually use the space as a focus of social activity. Although he has lived in Ashmill most of his life, his views of the estate changed dramatically when he took over the shop. In our interview Ian explained:

> I knew one or two people off the Blackacre because I used to smoke weed and I used to go and get it off some of them. But that was an eye opener … When you think, it's just the other side of the road, behind that row of houses is Blackacre … And to think of the difference in how we perceived; these people down here … they haven't got a clue what goes on up there. They think they live in a nice little place … they've got no idea what goes on … But we get a different perspective because we see them coming in the shop all the time, we get to hear the stories of what's going on out there. Massive eye opener. Like I say, I've worked all over the country, I've lived in squalid little places in London and god knows what … even though I've been all these places and seen all these places I've never actually mixed with people like that over there. It's only since we've had the shop that we've actually met these people and we know who they are and what they are, and what they get up to.

When I interviewed Ian, after about a year of talking in The Shop, he was looking to sell-up. Ian's experiences were with a relatively small group of customers who have such a starkly different social and psychological habitus to his own. This intensive experience of such a small, yet relatively powerful network of people – who are not all from Blackacre – may exaggerate the extent and depth of the delinquency which Ian perceives, and which enters the collective fantasy.

Several other locations in Zones 2 and 3 were mentioned in conversations with residents as 'problematic'; but these were never expressed in terms of a 'boundary'. These included local parks which were used occasionally by young people to drink alcohol, and the lanes which ran behind the houses on Town Road. When I visited these areas, I frequently saw litter which included evidence of group drinking, sexual activity, and drug use. In an interview with Richard and Dawn, the PCSOs who cover Ashmill and the Blackacre estate, they identified the lanes as problematic, Richard explained:

> We had a problem with kids smoking cannabis in the subway at the bottom of the road. We were patrolling the area and they stopped, but when we stopped they went back. So we got a dispersal order to stop them from gathering there. Then they started using the other lanes around that part of Ashmill, so we got a dispersal order to stop them from using any of the lanes. It seems to have resolved the issue … I think that once they get broken up for a while they lose interest. The main ones move on and the hangers on sort of drift away then.

While this dispersal/displacement may be reasonably effective in the surrounding neighbourhood, where young people may be able to move to a different gathering place for a while, its value to deal with similar problems within the boundary of Blackacre is less clear. As this study argues, young residents who are involved in street-life on Blackacre tend to remain on the relatively 'safe' estate. People tend to sort themselves into spatial as well as social habituses (Watt 2006, p.779). For some residents, Blackacre is a safe place, where they are unseen by 'outsiders' who have no need to pass through the estate, or are too fearful to enter. They are able to gather in relative security; that is, they know and trust each other, and 'outsiders' can be easily identified. They can observe, and to a limited extent control, people moving around on the estate and, should they need to, they can disperse quickly through the many paths and alleys which constitute the estate. They have real – if locally bounded – power, supported by exaggerated, but not fabricated, reputations for intimidation and violence, and embodied in their 'street warrior' (Hallsworth 2013, p.138) image. The Shop is 'their hub', a strategic place used to gather and

155

socialise, to conduct business, and to escape. It tends to be avoided by most residents, whether from Blackacre or the surrounding neighbourhood, and has become a place dominated by a small number of Blackacre residents who represent the 'worst'. It presents a skewed picture of the reality of life on the estate. It feeds into the collective fantasy which amplifies respectable fears, and empowers the otherwise powerless lads on the estate who capitalise on exaggerated reputations for criminality and violence.

After Dark

A temporal boundary articulated by participants, and indicated in the NAP, was that represented by 'darkness'[73]; when drug dealers, rapists, and muggers are imagined to emerge into the public sphere, and 'respectable' people retreat into the private sphere. At night-time, Blackacre is a relatively dark place, with its design creating areas into which the street-lamps cannot reach. This problem was amplified by the street lighting being switched off at about ten o'clock at night. Donald (70, Zone 4) discussed the inadequate street-lighting on Blackacre:

> Once them lights go off we don't go out the front … we let the
> dog out two or three times a day, or night, it's out that side
> because we got lights. We go out the back side, we won't go out
> the front of the house after ten o'clock.

However, it would be simplistic to assume that fear of danger 'out there' was simply overcome by staying inside at night. Doreen (78) a widow who has lived on Blackacre for over forty-years explained:

> Half-past eleven the night before last they were all out there, a
> dozen of them. I don't go to bed until half past one or two
> o'clock in the morning to make sure that there's nobody
> around here, because you just don't know … we never went to
> bed early because we knew what the area was … anyway up
> until this last couple of weeks now, it's been quiet because of
> the weather, but two nights ago they all started to sit on their

---

[73] According to statistics from the Office for National Statistics (2017), 53% of violent incidents occur in the evening or during the night.

wall, and part of mine; because I've had mine built-up as you see. And that was half-past eleven when they come, so I thought, well, if they're there by twelve I'll start getting ready for bed. They might go somewhere else. They did do, I was watching from the bedroom and couldn't see which way they went ... Half-an-hour later ... they're back here.

Unlike many participants in the surrounding neighbourhood who may imagine the dangers of Blackacre, the fear that Doreen experiences has invaded her life and altered her behaviour. The time of day, dark, late at night, and the seasonal changes which brought drier warmer weather, allowed a large group of youngsters to gather. Times of day, and seasonal variations are temporal boundaries which allow periods of exciting social interaction, which sometimes risk spilling over from exuberance into conflict; and sociability may be misinterpreted as 'antisocial' behaviour. Traditional seasonal events, like Halloween and Bonfire Night, can provide excitement for some but can escalate fears for others.

Halloween and Bonfire Night

Halloween[74] and Bonfire Night[75] are traditional celebrations falling within a week of each other; 31st of October and the 5th of November each year

---

[74] At Halloween, it is customary for children and young people to frighten neighbours with threats of 'tricks' if they refuse to 'treat', usually giving sweets. Modern Halloween celebrations have their roots in the Pagan Celtic festival of Samhain celebrating the end of summer, and the predominance of darkness (Rogers 2002). In Britain, for centuries, dressing in costumes and calling from door-to-door 'mumming' and 'guising', or 'souling', and the lighting of bonfires at this time of year have been associated with the appeasement and warding-off of returning souls as the summer ends and the darker days of winter begin (Hutton 1996). In a process involving a shift from pre-scientific, magical-mythical forms of thinking (Elias 1987), modern versions of these celebrations tend to be associated with more superficial consumer representations. Participants more commonly associated Halloween with the North American custom of 'trick-or-treating', which also carries risk of harm, with stories of fruit and sweets being laced with razor-blades and such like (Rogers 2002).

[75] Bonfire Night commemorates the failure of the Catholic gunpowder plot in 1605, which schemed to blow up the Protestant Parliament. The first celebration took place on November the 5th 1606 (Hutton 1996). Participants in their forties and older remembered street bonfires being constructed, and children making effigies of Guy Fawkes out of old-clothes and masks. These effigies, or 'Guy's', would be taken to busy streets and money requested by the children 'Penny for the Guy', which would be used to buy fireworks when they went on sale. The 'Guy' would be burnt on the bonfire. In the past two or three decades, celebrations have transformed from small-scale neighbourhood and street-level celebrations to larger 'organised' events. I saw no street bonfires in Ashmill, most people tending to attend larger events organised, or having small displays in their own back-yards.

respectively. They coincide with the adjustment to British Summer Time[76], 'putting the clocks back' by one hour, abruptly making evenings dark earlier. They also coincide with autumn half-term in most British schools; a week long break from school, the first one following the six-week long summer break. This represents an exciting time of year for many young people, with the prospect of a week off school to be with friends in the run-up to two exciting seasonal events.

These celebrations now tend to merge, and have become more privatised, with public presentations perceived as acts of antisocial behaviour, and often sensationally reported:

> FLASH POINT COPS PELTED WITH FIREWORKS IN TWO SEPARATE HALLOWEEN NIGHT HORROR ATTACKS (Christodoulou 2016).

For some, there is a release of tension and relaxation of self-restraint[77]. For others, a rise in tension and the expectation of antisocial behaviour during this part of the year is anticipated by communities throughout Britain. Advice on 'how to stay safe' is given in newspapers and on police social media platforms. In Ashmill, the focus of community tension and fear tends to fall on youths from Blackacre. In a conversation with local PCSOs leading-up to Halloween they explained:

> RICHARD: Halloween is always a problem. Its building up now. Last year we didn't have too many problems though …

> DAWN: No, but we had given ASBOs to three of the lads from Blackacre so as they couldn't be together … So they went to Station Road and caused problems, throwing fireworks and stuff like that.

---

[76] The Summer Time Act 1916 provides that, in order to maximise use of daylight, primarily for agricultural purposes, clocks are advanced by one hour at 02.00 hours on the last Sunday of March each year, and 'put-back' one hour at 02.00 hours on the last Sunday of the following October.

[77] Presdee (2000) employs the concept of the 'carnival', arguing that historically the mundanity of life was interrupted by carnivals, during which time the dominant social and moral order was turned upside-down.

RICHARD: The thing is, they know that the police are going to target estates like Blackacre so they stay away from there. And we get other kids that we don't normally get trouble with. It's like an excuse to get up to no good.

This illustrates how estates like Blackacre may be 'targeted' by the police, and that other less 'troublesome' kids get involved. There is a sense of a mischievous crossing of boundaries and a relaxation in self-restraint by 'respectable' kids, in contrast to the 'problem' kids on Blackacre, who may be unfairly targeted on the basis of reputational assumptions. Participants have told stories of fireworks being thrown under passing cars and into shops; of youths 'ambushing' police officers with fireworks as they drive past The Shop; of gangs of up to fifty kids 'terrorising' Ashmill and then running and hiding in Blackacre; of fireworks being thrown into an occupied telephone kiosk and the door being held shut, the explosion shattering the glass; and of rubbish bins and cars being set alight on Blackacre. These accounts are often supported by local newspaper reports, and similar accounts on social media. In an interview with Michelle (40) she explained that when her family lived on Blackacre:

Halloween, we would have to go out all night regardless whether we had anywhere to go, we'd have to go out all night and take our two cars with us. Because the year before ... About fifty youths came along and were rocking my car to try and push it over. So the lady across the road, she came out with her dogs to threaten them off, which fifty of them it wasn't going to. Probably ten of them scarpered ... No way was either of us going to go out and take on forty.

One particular Halloween was mentioned by several participants. This has become part of local folklore, and was reported in the local newspaper as an act of 'terrorism'. A comment[78] following the online article said;

A gang of about twenty teenage boys and girls held Blackacre hostage last night. Rubbish bins kicked over, cars vandalised, fireworks aimed at houses and residents threatened and

[78] As noted in Chapter 3, comments from online sources have been merged, in a bricolage fashion, to convey the gist of collaborative representations and reduce the risk of identification.

abused. They had the run of the place for over two hours … The police said they couldn't see the gangs. It's a busy time of year for the emergency services but it is only having coppers out on the streets that is going to stop this street violence culture. People in Blackacre were terrified last night and were left without protection because they are just not there as they should be. These idiots break the law but would expect the law to be there for them if someone gave them some painful vigilante justice.

The final sentences of this comment indicate how fear induced tension between groups might escalate into 'righteous' violence: 'the fear of each other built into the situation of human groups in one of the main causes of hostilities' (Elias 1990, p.230). This is an example of how a particular event can linger in the collective memory, affecting the reputation of a group of residents. A Facebook post by a young man involved in 'that Halloween', written on a subsequent year, reads as a 'call-to-arms':

The chaos and terror we caused was frightening. Hope you younger generation do us proud. If you don't make the front page of the paper or have the police knocking at your door you're doing something wrong. So make sure next year is an improvement. After all life is all about making yourself better each year. Go ahead young'uns'.

This illustrates a process of growing-up, of refraining from 'childish' and antisocial behaviour, and simultaneously of passing the baton on; a sociological inheritance. The fantasy of Blackacre being a 'dangerous' place is fed by these exaggerated tales, and lingers on as a kind of reputational lag. In an interview with Elliot (25), one of the lads from Blackacre involved in 'that Halloween', he explained how the newspaper article had blown things out of proportion:

At Halloween everyone goes out, as kids messing around, we've all been there, pranking people, fireworks being thrown about, whatever. Like I said, all people come from all different areas

and then, on that article ... It made it sound like there was this

big crew formed ... and like, it was sixty yobs going around.

These tales are exaggerations, but not fabrications: fireworks were thrown by gangs, people were frightened, property was damaged. I was invited to participant's Halloween and Bonfire Night celebrations in Zones 2, 3 and 4, and while I did see a boisterous behaviour, such as fireworks being thrown, in the streets of all neighbourhoods, most residents seemed to get on with their celebrations in a well-mannered and considerate fashion. When I walked through Blackacre at Halloween on two consecutive years, I saw just a few small groups of teenage 'trick or treaters' wearing masks. When I spoke with residents of Ashmill, few people had been bothered by trick-or-treaters. In contrast, on peripheral middle-class estates in Welshtown, I saw several groups of young well-behaved children, dressed in elaborate costumes and chaperoned by adults, knocking on doors with carved pumpkins placed outside, politely asking for sweets.

As is discussed further in Chapter 8, some young people in the surrounding neighbourhood see Blackacre as exciting, and may cross boundaries seeking this excitement. Scott and Jason explained that they sought excitement in this way, believing that life was always like Halloween for lads on Blackacre:

SCOTT: But I think that would be just their chance to come out

and do the same things they do every day ...

JASON: To them, Halloween ... it's probably just another day.

This feeling of excitement represents an invisible emotional boundary which is temporarily transgressed by some youngsters. Emotions, particularly fear, shame, and resentment, permeate analysis of established-outsider figurations, and are central to the concept of relative deprivation. These are emotions which formed part of the distinction between residents of different neighbourhoods in Ashmill; they often marked out boundaries of difference, helping to sustain collective fantasies.

Invisible Boundaries

In their study of estates in Bradford, Pearce and Milne (2010, p.34) found that 'people navigate invisible boundaries within the public space of the estate when they decide where to walk and at what time of day'. However, this tends to focus only on life within estates, largely overlooking the interdependent relationships between residents of the figuration. The argument running through the figurational analysis presented in this thesis is that the fear expressed by residents of the surrounding neighbourhood is largely premised on a stigmatising and exaggerated image of everyday life on Blackacre. However, this fear is not entirely the product of a collective fantasy, and may have a significant degree of reality-congruence. This was powerfully explained in an interview with Heather, a degree educated, 48-year-old, single-mother of two children, and Malcolm, a 48-year-old redundant steel-worker, and 'amateur' (unsanctioned) boxer.

Heather has lived in Zone 2 for most of her life and went to school with Malcolm. Malcolm was brought up on the Ashmill estate, before getting a flat on Blackacre when he moved out of his parents' house. He now lives in a council flat in Zone 3, having previously lived on Blackacre for many years. In the extract below, the fear that Heather describes as an 'outsider' on Blackacre, is supported by Malcolm's experiences of living on Blackacre; as an 'insider'. We were talking about Blackacre's enduring reputation:

> MALCOLM: … it'll never change. It won't change because it's got no reason to change. It's surviving the way it has done all these years because of the way it is and it's not ever going to change, because of the people on there.
>
> HEATHER: And it's got invisible boundaries.
>
> STEVE: That's interesting, what do you mean?
>
> HEATHER: Yeah, they're there. There's big letters that say 'Don't come in here'.
>
> STEVE: In what way, Heather?

HEATHER: Because of the people. I walk my dog up around there and there's places I can't go because it's evident you're not allowed to go there. It doesn't 'say' I can't, but there are boundaries, but they're not 'there', but um –

STEVE: How do you know then?

HEATHER: By the people, by the people that are out in the street, by how they are, by the way they act, by how they look, by what they're saying to each other, by their manners – or lack of them. So, those boundaries are invisible, but they're there, and they say 'Don't come in here'.

This was perceptive of Heather who was able to reflect upon and articulate eloquently the nature of the invisible boundaries she had experienced as an 'outsider' on Blackacre. Heather observed a difference in manners, specifically the lack of manners, she experienced in her interaction with a few residents of Blackacre. Heather understood these presentations as hostile, generating a sense of fear, and a warning not to go any further. In response, Malcolm explained that as an 'insider' he recognised and understood these boundaries:

MALCOLM: I was picking up on that when I was telling you about things when I was living there, because I know exactly that those boundaries are there. But it didn't affect me because I wouldn't accept them, you know, I didn't have to accept them.

HEATHER: But I'm a woman, who doesn't know all those people ...

MALCOLM: Like I said to you myself before, for a stranger going on there ... you were treated like shit. I mean, that's when things happen to you ... So, what Heather is saying is right, where these invisible boundaries are, to anyone that's not from around there, or doesn't know anyone on there. And, if you're in the wrong place at the wrong time –

Malcolm supports Heather's impressions that 'strangers' entering the estate took a risk, that they were treated like 'shit', and that someone 'in the wrong

place at the wrong time' might suffer some harm. This implied that there were times and places which were riskier than others. I asked Heather if she could walk through the central path of the estate:

> HEATHER: Oh, I couldn't handle that.
>
> STEVE: But what's stopping us?
>
> HEATHER: Fear.
>
> STEVE: Fear of what?
>
> HEATHER: Of the people, of the place.
>
> MALCOLM: Fear of what's around the corner.
>
> HEATHER: It's a fear of a violation of personal rights, isn't it? That's what it is. Because the likelihood is that if you did walk through the tunnel, nothing would happen … but because it's got the reputation that it does, we learn from, we're a product of our experience. My kids know where those boundaries and all because I've told them where they are. I've said 'Don't go there, because see that line?' And my son will say 'No', and I'll say 'But it's there, and you mustn't touch it. Don't go over that'.

Both Heather and Malcolm acknowledge that fear is the key emotion at play in the reputation of Blackacre, and in negotiating the estate, or at least parts of it. Heather acknowledges that, in rational terms, she would be unlikely to experience harm, that her feelings are substantially based in reputation; or collective fantasy. However, based on this reputation she warns her children about the boundaries, the lines that they must not cross. We may view this as a form of sociological inheritance, an illustration of the way in which the exaggerated 'dangerous' reputation of the estate is passed-on through generations of residents in the surrounding neighbourhood. Heather was also able to locate some of her fear in her experiences:

> They're people based boundaries, and litter based. You can see what's gone on before and that it's not a good place, and that it's something that you wouldn't get involved in … there's

> activities that have gone on there, that have taken place, that aren't appropriate, that aren't in line with my values, and my moral code … shooting-up[79], and having sex in the middle of a tunnel … The evidence is there, and that creates the boundary … which also comes along because of the manner of the people who are there … I've witnessed first-hand … when I took the dog I didn't take him that way ever again. There were syringes on the floor, and people on the corners looking at me and didn't know who I was. And actually, after that I said to my daughter, who is now twenty … I went that way with the dog; 'Oh don't go that way, you mustn't go that way. It's not very nice down there'. And she won't have seen anything, she'll have just heard about it.

Heather understands these signs of drug use and public sex as evidence distinguishing her 'values' and 'moral code' from residents of Blackacre, implying a higher group status. She understands this litter, and the hostile manners of people staring at her as warnings, marking out a boundary that it would be dangerous to cross.

In Chapter 4, I explained how some older residents of Ashmill recalled a feeling of resentment about the Blackacre estate being built; depriving established residents of their allotments and a fishing pond. Residents of Blackacre have tended to be viewed as newcomers who threatened a way of life and the status of established residents of Ashmill. However, the nature of the resentment expressed about Blackacre has transformed. It no longer tends to be framed in terms of 'newcomers'; Blackacre and its residents have become incorporated into the figuration of Ashmill, albeit with a slurred reputation. Resentment now tends to feature elements of the more general collective fantasy of council estates discussed in Chapter 1. Expressions of resentment tend to highlight dissatisfaction about perceived inequalities between 'hard-working families' and the 'benefits-dependent' residents supposed to inhabit places like Blackacre. Ian, the shopkeeper, commented in interview:

---

[79] Injecting a drug into the bloodstream using a hypodermic needle.

They are affecting us those people out there [Blackacre] they are the ones who are coming around smashing your car window, which it's not insured for, to get your iPod out because you accidentally left it in there last night. So they're affecting our standard and quality of life as well. And you look at these people out there and you think 'Well, you've never held down a job in your life. You're never going to hold down a job. All you're going to do is smoke and drink all day long, and take drugs … the difference is that most of the people out here work … So they get up in the morning whether it's for six o'clock in the morning, or eight o'clock in the morning … most of these people out here work … So they know what it is to have to get up, go and earn your living, pay your taxes, come home, keep your house tidy, bring your kids up, do this … They used to come in the shop and say 'Oh, I couldn't have a packet of fags? I get paid later'. 'No, 'pay' is a wage you earn, you get a 'handout' mate, you don't get paid … I get paid in here because I earn a wage. You get a free handout'. And that's the difference is they don't give a damn because they know the money is there. Next week, and the week after … my neighbour, lives three or four doors up here, he works in the steelworks … he's shitting himself. He's got about four years to go until he retires, they got a massive pension deficit and he could lose his job anytime now. He's not going to get another job … the pension he thought he was going to get he's not going to get … The poor bugger's probably worried to death. But his counterpart who's the same age out the back of the Blackacre 'I don't give a fuck, because it's still there next week'. And it's still there the week after, and the week after, and it's always been there. Do you know what I mean? This is where you don't get the respect, is that most of these people out here work and contribute to society. They don't just sponge off society.

This powerfully expresses the sense of resentment, of 'downwards' relative deprivation, which was common in conversations with residents of the

surrounding neighbourhood, and also many residents of Blackacre estate who felt the sense of group shame, and resentment, that they were unfairly stigmatised as 'skivers'. This highlights an important aspect of the double-bind conflict relationships evident in residential figurations where one group is stigmatised because of a fantasy-laden image, which creates tensions and divides residents who largely hold essentially the same values, based around hard work and respectability. This was eloquently explained in a group discussion with members of Ashmill Methodist Church, Michael (57, Zone 2) commented:

> The association is there because it's in the press, it's on the news, and we build those up ourselves as well. We look at it and think 'Well they can't be doing any good. What good are they doing society then? What good?' You know, 'I go to work, I pay my taxes, I do this'. You know, people in that situation don't do any of those things, and rely on money to feed what then people see as a habit which is not, you know, they shouldn't have gone there in the first place ... so if anybody with a drug issue goes into an area then it's not only the drug issue that goes with them it's all the association that goes with them 'Oh god, you'd better lock your car up now because someone is going nick that. You'd better lock your house up because somebody's going to be robbing you to pay for their drug habit'. You know there's all these associations that goes with it. And that works both ways, I mean people in that situation, in drugs used to look at me and say 'What do you know about it? You got a bloody good job, you get paid well, you got a house' ... So it works both ways, there's this two-way thing. And we do build these issues up, and I think that's part of the thing that pushes us apart. Because we all, you know, you can get people together from this area maybe, and probably the majority of people would say exactly that 'Oh god, Blackacre'. And you know, the people that live on Blackacre would be viewed as somebody maybe not to be involved with on those

167

associations, they won't even know the person, they won't know anything about them.

Here, the collective fantasy of council estates is contrasted with the resentment that Michael imagines may be felt towards members of better-off neighbourhoods. In identifying the 'associations' around council estates Michael develops a relatively detached theory: 'So it works both ways, there's this two-way thing. And we do build these issues up, and I think that's part of the thing that pushes us apart'. Michael's observation not only identifies the relational nature of relative deprivation (Young 1999), but powerfully makes the link between feelings of resentment through structural mechanisms and the important group mechanisms which can trap residents of a figuration in a conflict relationship. A sense of 'upwards deprivation' was expressed by Jordan (19, Zone 4) who, while we were discussing Blackacre's reputation, explained that:

Just opposite Blackacre is Evendale, look at the standard of houses there, that's not a council estate, where it's a lot nicer. Me as a kid, I think probably when I was about seven, that was a whole new world to me … Going down there was something special. They had the nice big houses and the nice big fancy cars. Then, because your friends had never seen that before they'd throw stones at it and scratch it do something to it. I think that's the sort of thing that's built it up. Then kids from the Blackacre get the reputation for being menaces, or whatever you want to call them … When me and my friends used to go down there it was just like an adventure. We'd go about, it was like something new, it was like being in another town or something, because we'd never really been out of Ashmill. It still is Ashmill, you know? It's a couple of feet apart. It was something completely different though … because it's private housing. They were bigger, like five or six bedroom houses, and a brand new BMW outside.

This extract supports the argument that images about a minority of residents of Blackacre have some reality congruence, and that resentment may be

experienced about perceived social and economic inequalities both 'upwards' and 'downwards'. The image constructed about the residents of the tormentingly close relatively affluent neighbourhood of Evendale may be equally fantasy-laden. The picture Jordan describes of Evendale is also an exaggeration; the houses on the new part of the estate are detached, although the largest is four bedrooms, and there do seem to be more new cars, but not every driveway has a BMW parked on it. The resentment and dissatisfaction that Jordan describes feeling about living just a 'few feet' away from what seemed like enormous wealth compared to his life on Blackacre, was vented by damaging property. Implicit in his description is the injustice in the immediate disparity, and the sense of exclusion and stigmatisation he, and his friends, felt. They are pushed into becoming a group, developing a sense of belonging.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on some of the boundaries of civilised behaviour which emerged from the empirical data. These boundaries have been organised around the social, spatial, temporal, and emotional dimensions that participants implicitly recognised, in order to grasp the distinctions between the habitus of Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood. The fluidity and permeability of these boundaries has been emphasised, whilst arguing that they endure sufficiently in the personality structures of residents to create meaningful 'barriers to social relations' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.1). By highlighting these boundaries, I hope to have progressed the argument that the enduring image of Blackacre as a dangerous place is exaggerated, whilst also highlighting that crime and bullying are a reality of everyday life. Exaggeration of the reality generates unnecessary feelings of fear for many residents, both in the surrounding neighbourhood and particularly on Blackacre. This reputation may be capitalised upon by a minority of socially excluded and stigmatised residents, representing an 'opportunity' for empowerment based on reputations for intimidation. I have also argued that the concept of relative deprivation is useful in understanding and explaining these interdependent relationships. This complements established-outsider theory in grasping the ways in which feelings of resentment and shame may have amplified since the study in Winston Parva, in light of the significant transformations in respects of the continued

individualisation of personality structures, the residualisation of council estates, and the social and economic changes experienced as a result of deindustrialisation and globalisation.

Blackacre residents, like those on other estates, were often seen from the 'outside' as a close-knit community, protecting 'themselves' from state intrusion. 'They' are imagined to threaten the order, civility, and respectability of the surrounding neighbourhood which, ironically, is occupied by increasingly relatively estranged residents; certainly in comparison to the established community in Winston Parva. It is probably the case that less bounded choices about association are available to many residents in the surrounding community. People are able to choose who they associate with more readily, and with fewer stigmatising connotations, than residents of Blackacre. The highly fantasy-laden respectable-rough boundary which emerged between residents of the surrounding neighbourhood and Blackacre focuses on the exaggerated differences of a small minority of residents. A more reality-congruent representation acknowledges that intimidating people, times, and spaces exist without exaggerating them. The exaggeration and proliferation of stigmatising reputations which foreground antisocial behaviour and violence as characterising *all* residents of Blackacre facilitates opportunities for empowering status positions for a minority of residents, which may be generationally reproduced in the processes of socialisation. The concept of 'gossip' is developed by Elias and Scotson (1994) as a mechanism of social control among established residents, and to explain how stigmatising outsider reputations are reproduced. In the next chapter, I explore gossip in Ashmill, and develop the concept of 'grassing' as a corresponding mechanism of social control.

Chapter 6: Observations on Gossip and Grassing

In Chapter 2, gossip was identified as a key causal mechanism through which group charisma and disgrace are generationally reproduced among residents in established-outsider theory, and that the relative power structure of a community may be grasped through analysis of gossip. In the first part of this chapter, forms and practice of gossip in Ashmill are explored in order to test Elias and Scotson's (1994) observations, and to develop the concept of gossip as it might apply in Blackacre today. Where gossip takes place, who gossips, what kind of talk gossip involves, and what functions gossip may have, are explored. A theoretical proposition of this thesis is that the 'no-grassing' rule may have similar social control functions to gossip developed in established-outsider theory. However, rather than maintaining 'respectable' values and group charisma, the 'no-grassing' rule may function to partially reject and invert these values and help demarcate social boundaries. The 'no-grassing' rule is prevalent on British council estates (Evans et al. 1996; Yates 2004, 2006; Walklate and Evans 1999), and intrinsic to the common narrative of the violent and criminal character of everyday life. The second part of this chapter explores the nature and extent of the 'no-grassing' rule which operates among some residents of Blackacre. The 'no-grassing' rule may be part of a wider figurational decivilising process which empowers a minority of Blackacre residents who capitalise on stigmatising images of 'roughness' implying an exaggerated capacity for intimidation and violence, transforming stigma into pride in the process. Rejecting gossip may not simply be a 'blunt weapon' as Elias and Scotson (1994, p.137) argue, but may be a mechanism in producing potentially empowering reputations for intimidation. Consequently, greater feelings of fear, particularly for socially weaker residents of Blackacre, and a weakening of trust between the community and the police (Lea and Young 1984), may be suffered.

Gossip

The concept of gossip, as discussed in Chapter 2, operates as a mechanism of informal social control through the sharing of reputational information. It has both integrating/charisma building, and rejecting/stigmatising functions which

maintain reputational boundaries, potentially over generations, and tends to produce exaggerated or untrue – fantasy – knowledge. In Winston Parva, the close-knit Village 'gossipers' had well-established conduits for gossiping in contrast to the 'loosely-knit and less highly organised neighbourhood of the Estate' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.94). Gossip was done primarily face-to-face, between family and established residents networks, in places controlled by established residents. Gossip was a phenomenon I frequently encountered in a variety of settings in Ashmill, often involving perceptions of Blackacre as 'rough', its residents as 'antisocial' and involved in drug crime; resonating with Scott et al. (2011) 'crime talk'. It is this type of gossip I have focused on in this study.

Residents often used phrases such as 'from what I can gather', and 'the rumour was', indicating the power of talk in the process of developing representations of places. In an interview[80], Sandra (54, Zone 2) explained that her knowledge of life on Blackacre consisted largely of 'word-of-mouth', and, in an interview with a church group Beverly (55, Zone 2) commented:

> It's got to be on hearsay more than anything hasn't it, what
> you've heard about an area.

Gossip can be spread directly and indirectly. I overheard two elderly people talking in a shop on Town Road who clearly had not encountered each other for some time. The man said that he had lived in Ashmill for thirty-years and that he had 'had ten-years at Blackacre', but had to move because he had trouble with the family next door. The woman he was talking with agreed that it had 'become a terrible place'. The man then explained that 'they keep themselves-to-themselves now', the lady agreeing that it was 'the best way. You don't get no trouble then'. In this example of gossip, the act of boundary marking can be observed between Blackacre which had 'become a terrible place' and the rest of, implicitly 'respectable', Ashmill. Blame and praise gossip were often simultaneous and implied, the couple here were not only expressing their commonly held opinion, but were confirming their we-identity in contrast to the

---

[80] As noted in Chapter 3, recorded interviews with residents may reasonably be characterised as a type of 'gossip'.

outsiders of Blackacre. Also evident was the tactic of keeping themselves-to-themselves thereby avoiding potential public confrontations with neighbours.

Neighbours Keeping Themselves-to-Themselves

> To keep oneself to oneself was in part an attitude of self-protection against people who, although neighbours, had customs, standards and manners which were different from one's own. (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.73)

Neighbours keeping themselves-to-themselves was observed primarily on the Estate in Winston Parva, and understood as a barrier to gossip. However, a kind of neighbourly respect for privacy in keeping themselves-to-themselves was a theme which emerged among respectable residents throughout Ashmill. This may indicate a process of privatisation, whereby increasing self-restraint is a controlling mechanism between 'civilised' neighbours; a kind of respectable neighbourhood scale of 'civil inattention' (Goffman 1966, pp.83-88). Gossiping, becoming 'too familiar' and 'over-involved' with neighbours, was understood as crossing a boundary which breached a 'more reserved' respectability that Peter (60, Zone 3) understood distinguished the Ashmill estate from Blackacre, suggesting that it was:

> a little bit more reserved up here ... People ... keep themselves-to-themselves more ... not too much gossiping going on, and stuff like that.

In an interview with the Smith family, Michelle contrasted her experiences of neighbour familiarity on the Blackacre and Ashmill estates:

> It's 'good morning' and that's as far as it goes ... and nobody's offended, just a polite 'good morning' ... We're not in and out of each other's houses. That's your choice and I'm not that type of person anyway. But that's what they're like down Blackacre, in and out of each other's houses then they start accusing each other of things, and that's when they start fighting.

Michelle's experience of the close-knit community on Blackacre was that neighbours became over-familiar, becoming privy to each other's private

business, with the potential for humiliating gossip to spread and contempt to develop, potentially escalating into violence. In contrast, her experience on the Ashmill estate is one where residents are more detached, exercising greater self-restraint in their interaction with neighbours. Privacy is respected, and the potential for personal information to become publically known, and humiliation to escalate into violence, is reduced.

Liam (25) and Paige (19) had recently moved onto Blackacre. They explained that they tended to keep themselves-to-themselves in order to avoid danger in the part of the estate they live on:

> PAIGE: I think different parts of Blackacre … Along the front, where my auntie and uncle live … most people along there have lived there a long time … So they're older, but they all seem more relaxed, older, settling down, that side. But this side they got the youngsters out the front, and –
>
> LIAM: We're right at the middle of it, really.
>
> PAIGE: This is the side where they're all noisy and, really loud. Like earlier, I came home from university, trying to have a nap, and the house right opposite, down the bottom … I can hear them blasting music! I was thinking, why don't anyone say 'turn it down a bit'? I was thinking, I'd love to go out and tell them, but you kind of hold back because you got dangerous people still living in this area.
>
> LIAM: Yeah, you don't want to approach anyone.
>
> PAIGE: I keep myself-to-myself around here.

Liam and Paige explained that they were frightened by the estate's reputation gleaned from family members who had lived on the estate, and supported by some 'antisocial' behaviour they had experienced. They identified differences in reputation between parts of the estate, some were more 'settled', and other parts, such as where they live, were where some 'noisy' and 'dangerous' people lived. Fear of their neighbours in this part of the estate has isolated them. They do not have the channels for face-to-face gossip that residents in other parts of

174

Blackacre may have in order to collectively challenge the 'antisocial' behaviour they experience, and thereby exercise informal social control.

What has emerged, is that 'respectable' people tend not to involve themselves in their neighbour's business; they exercise self-restraint by not gossiping. A process of privatisation may therefore be evident, whereby opportunities for face-to-face gossip with neighbours are closed down, and the inclination to engage in gossip may be constrained. In contrast, an unplanned consequence of the residualisation of council estates may be that it is in these 'outsider' neighbourhoods that relatively 'established', neighbourly figurations may be emerging. Edward and Shirley, who have owned their home on Town Road (Zone 2) for over thirty-years, explained the contrast in relationships with neighbours between their home on Town Road and their experiences when temporarily housed on the Ashmill council estate (Zone 3) while modifications were made to their home. Edward described an incident which happened shortly after they moved back to Town Road. A new neighbour had fallen on the pavement outside their house late one night, and Edward had tried to assist her. She was drunk and refused his assistance, so he went back into his house and observed her from his window. No other neighbours had offered their assistance. He thought people were afraid to get involved:

> EDWARD: ... I think its fear of getting involved, and the fear that getting involved might result in you getting hurt. Because you often hear or read of stabbings and things like this. I remember Gary got stabbed over the road, you know, it came from nowhere. But you often hear or read of events where people get injured as a result of trying to calm situations down or whatever. So people, for their own safety's sake, tend to keep away. Now on an estate, I think the mentality is different. For some reason, I can't explain why. But on an estate –
>
> SHIRLEY: They look after one another.
>
> EDWARD: You'll get people coming out and saying 'Now there's no need for this' and you'll try and calm things down and separate them if they're having a blazing row. Not everybody,

175

> but a few will come out and do this. But on the main road everybody seems reluctant, 'It's none of my business', you know, that kind of attitude.

Shirley and Edward's account indicates that a process of privatisation, and feelings of relative isolation, may be observed emerging between residents in Zone 2. This may have the effect of reducing channels for gossip to occur, and therefore reduce the potential to maintain 'respectable' values, and to collectively exercise informal social control. In contrast, Edward and Shirley's experience of life on Ashmill estate was one where people tended to 'look after one another', and were more likely to 'get involved' in public incidents; informal social control was observed. This relative lack of reticence to become more involved with neighbours may mean that channels for gossiping, and the potential for neighbours to engage in gossip, are therefore more likely to be developed or maintained. This tends to support claims of 'neighbourliness' which other studies have presented as general features of council estates (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010); although the idea that this is neighbourliness is universal or unproblematic is rejected. It also seems to overturn one of the key observations of established-outsider theory, in that the older, relatively cohesive and established neighbourhoods of Ashmill may now be less closely-knit than the estates. It is possible that Ashmill estate (Zone 3) now represents the highest level of community cohesion in Ashmill, with Zone 2 experiencing a process of relative disintegration and disorganisation. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, most community facilities, such as the primary school and community centre, are situated on Ashmill council estate, and so possibly the greatest number of opportunities for gossiping to occur among residents may be in this neighbourhood. This may help to explain why it does not suffer from the same degree of stigmatisation as Blackacre (Zone 4). Some of the main gossip channels which emerged are now considered, one of which was through networks of school relationships.

'Playground Mums and Dads'

The school yard, and the networks of acquaintances associated with the school community, is a recognised gossip conduit (Wilson 2013). In an interview with a

church group, Margaret (62, Zone 2), a retired local primary school teacher, commented:

> Part of your community … are your playground mums and dads, well it was more mums then, although I know there's dads now. And I'll often see somebody now and we'll have a chat and my husband or my daughter will say 'Who's that?' and I'll say 'Oh, we were playground mums together', but you still know each other … I think they're part of community as well … that was a little community of its own. Which I don't know that any of us went out to form, but you almost couldn't help it.

The school playground is a place where parents and children from all neighbourhoods in the community have an opportunity to meet and talk. 'Little' communities form from the ground-up. They are an important place to gossip and, from conversations with parents and teachers, of status sorting. That is, residents from the same neighbourhoods will habitually gather together, not mixing with 'rougher' or 'posher' residents[81].

Most of the teaching assistants at the local schools are women who have, or have had, children at the school. They tend to be part of common friendship networks, socialising with each other and passing information between one another. As locals, they also have wider networks of friends in the area, and gossip is passed between networks. Thus, because of their intimate local knowledge and connections they are able to understand and entrench boundaries of respectable and rough behaviour. In an interview with Duncan (44, Zone 4), whose wife is a teaching assistant, I asked how he thought people formed their opinions of the community:

> … my wife will get this through the school network, from parents and colleagues speaking to her. You get to know what happens in the area, people to avoid, you know.

---

[81] It was impractical for me to conduct ethnographic observations of parental groups on the playgrounds of local schools without attracting suspicion. However, the accounts of parents and teachers I talked with tend to correspond with the findings of an ethnographic study of this site of social interaction. Wilson (2013 p.625) found that the school playground is 'a site of 'panoptic force', where on-going conflicts over class, religion, race and competing interpretations of morality are played out and reinforced … the fragile associations, friendships and mechanisms for social learning that develop within the prosaic spaces of the playground'.

Duncan's comment illustrates how networks of playground 'mums and dads' and work colleagues at school form an important figuration through which information about which 'people to avoid' is transferred. Ashmill Community Centre is also located on the Ashmill estate and is, like the school, a female dominated environment. The staff, both paid and volunteers, also represent a friendship network of women who have grown-up together on the Ashmill estate and socialise together, supporting Boyce (2006) who found that it is primarily women who undertake the role of facilitators on the estate she studied.

Ashmill Community Centre

Five women 'run' the centre: Angela (51, Zone 3), a married mother and grandmother, who works as a carer in a local nursing home and is voluntary manager of the community centre; Caroline (50, Zone 3), Angela's sister, who is married with teenage children; Carol (49, Zone 2) who is divorced, has a teenage son, and cares for her mother; Emma (36, Zone 3) single mother of three children who works part-time at the centre as a secretary; and Fiona (38, Zone 4) a single mother of four children who worked as a cleaner at the centre. Wayne (48) is Carol's partner and lives in another area of Welshtown. He is the only male staff member. Wayne is 'officially' employed as part-time caretaker at the centre. However, he explained that his main job is to look after the centre when activities are running at night. He saw his 'real' job as security, moving groups of youths away and ensuring the safety of female staff[82].

I assisted as a volunteer with taking delivery of, and distributing food boxes from a local charity. Recipients were asked to complete an anonymous form indicating why they were entitled to a food box. Often recipients were unable to read the forms, so we would assist them. This involved discussing sensitive and possibly humiliating admissions about their relatively low social and economic status, which potentially makes them available to be gossiped about. Power was subtly exercised by staff, a relatively closed friendship network, to exclude and

---

[82] This is evidence that whilst a process of functional democratisation may be observed, traditional gender roles continue to endure. It may also indicate how Wayne reinterpreted his role in order to resist potential connotations of feminisation. Perhaps, by presenting his 'real' role as security he was able to justify his presence in a female dominated environment, seeing himself as a 'protector'.

stigmatise individuals perceived as inferior, such as using denigrating terms to label some residents. On one afternoon, recipients arrived soon after we had taken delivery of the food boxes. Emma told me that they were from the flats opposite and that these residents are referred to by some staff as 'the smellies'. It was assumed by the staff that these residents acted as look-outs, alerting their Facebook friendship-network to the fact that delivery had been taken, as without fail, the same old faces would arrive at the centre within minutes of delivery. Power was exercised over these residents by staff using tactics such as keeping the door locked until 'we' were ready to let them in, and allowing little consideration for individual circumstances such as substance addiction or disability. In contrast, the over-sixties exercise group were always spoken about in positive terms by the staff. These were largely retired professionals and their partners who were mostly residents from the periphery of Stonebrook (Zone 2) nearest to Brightfield (Zone 1). Following their self-funded class, they would sit with staff in the foyer of the centre. Staff would make tea, and this 'respectable' group would share home-made cakes with us.

A 'rule' which Angela insisted on being kept, was 'one box per household'. One afternoon a young man (mid-twenties) and woman (mid-forties) each came to collect a box, but before doing so the man presented a document from the Job Centre[83]. 'Someone', known to them but who they did not name, at the community centre had been spreading rumours on Facebook that they were living together, and therefore only entitled to one food box. The man was agitated and wanted to verify, by producing the paperwork to prove his residence, that he was not a 'scrounger'. The woman he was with explained that the gossiper was jealous because the man had received substantial compensation after an injury, and had taken his friends out for the evening, failing to invite the gossiper's son. A confrontation had taken place between the young man and the gossiper's son, who had 'offered him out'[84]. They were angry about the power to shame and exclude them from resources (a food box) which had been exerted over them by the relatively powerful network of friends at the

---

[83] The Job Centre (officially Jobcentre Plus) is a UK government-funded employment agency and social security office which aims to help working age people to find employment. It was formed merging the Employment Service and the Benefits Agency in 2002, and is part of the Department for Work and Pensions.
[84] Challenged the man to a fight.

community centre, leaving them feeling humiliated and powerless to defend themselves. They had been the subject of stigmatising gossip against which they were unable to fight-back. The couple spent ten minutes expressing their resentment to us before leaving. Emma, who knew them personally, confirmed that they were in fact living together, and that an arbitrary rule had been invented by Angela – the 'gossiper' – asking for proof of residence before handing out parcels. Emma thought that this was unjustified, as the forms from the charity did not ask for proof of residence. Stigma is supported when gossip about Blackacre can be empirically observed, and The Shop was a place where such stereotypes could be observed and encountered fairly intensively.

The Shop

The Shop's customer base is relatively small, consisting of regulars from the Blackacre estate, who are often associated with drug dealing activities at the back of The Shop, and occasional passers-by, and locals from the surrounding community. In Chapter 5, Tomos explained how despite living on Blackacre, he tended to avoid The Shop, and explained how prejudicial impressions of Blackacre residents may be generated. This indicates how the impression that customers may form of assumed Blackacre residents they may encounter in The Shop could deepen the exaggerated reputation of the estate.

The Shop is a place where staff and customers gossip about who is dealing what drug, who has been sent to prison, who is having an affair with whom. Customers talk openly about issues which 'respectable' people would not. Often Ian (the shopkeeper) would serve other customers and when they left would he tell me stories about them, or pass judgment; a function of gossip (Merry 1981). One afternoon, after a thin, pallid, clammy, nervous looking young man left The Shop Ian said to me:

> Smack head[85]! They come in here and buy lemon juice instead
> of ascetic acid … We sell loads of Jif lemon! When I took over
> the shop three years ago I didn't know what it was for, so I
> looked on YouTube and they had this doctor saying how they
> use ascetic acid to dissolve the heroin in water.

---

[85] A heroin addict.

Apart from the generation of gossip, the encounter had the features of 'wilful disattention' (Smith 2011). Ian, and to a more marginal degree, I, had entered into an interaction which disavowed the problematic and risky characteristics of the man in order to negotiate the interaction. It was only after the customer had left that Ian felt comfortable in engaging in gossip with me, with whom he assumed a common value position. Another time, after a pregnant teenaged girl had left The Shop Ian remarked:

> She's fourteen and she's pregnant. That's what you've got on
>
> this estate … It's rampant.

This moral judgment was used to impute a 'rampant' lack of self-restraint among all residents of Blackacre. Rumours about women from Blackacre neglecting their children and being involved in prostitution, and men dealing drugs were commonplace. This gossip served to distinguish between 'respectable' and 'disgraceful' people. I heard this kind of denigrating gossip frequently in The Shop, often from Ian, but also from other customers. Ian was also gossiped about, with suspicions among some residents of the estate that he was a 'grass', and among some residents in the surrounding neighbourhood that he was involved in dealing drugs and illegally selling alcohol. A housing officer remarked:

> He knows his customer base. You can get 'slush puppies' there,
>
> and for an extra 50p you can get a shot of vodka.

Both neighbourhoods saw him as a risk, as colluding with the other, however I saw no evidence of Ian being involved in any criminal activity. My usual excuse for using The Shop was to buy the local newspaper, often picking on some article to start a conversation, however, I found that online news was also a good source of gossip.

Online News

Articles and reports in the national media have informed national collective fantasies about council estates (see Chapter 1). They are a source of knowledge which seeps into our I- and we-identities, and are used in distinguishing 'us' from 'them', and in learning how to present ourselves to avoid potential misidentification. Articles and reports in local news may also embed

stereotypical understandings, reproducing stories which tend to confirm expectations about the behaviour of stigmatised groups of people. In an interview with Donald (70, Zone 4) he remarked:

> When you get anything going on here, like someone gets injured or murdered or anything, its headlines in the paper … And then you get … 'drugs on Blackacre' … but you don't see it about the rest of Ashmill … Blackacre has got a very bad reputation.

Although Elias and Scotson (1994, p.55) used 'press cuttings' in their research, there has been a massive transformation in the volume, type, and availability of information. This technological development needs to be incorporated into the development of established-outsider theory, as van Krieken (2001, p.365) observes in discussing the development of contemporary figurational sociology:

> Computer-mediated communication and social interaction can thus be seen as exercising a particular kind of civilizing, and decivilizing, effect, constructing a corresponding 'net-habitus' among increasing numbers of people around the globe.

Online articles and reports are not only a *source* of gossip but are also a *site* of gossip production as readers are able to add 'comments' to articles. In an online article from the local newspaper reporting arrests following drug raids on Blackacre the following comments were added:

> Comment 1: Blackacre? Well I never!

> Comment 2: Dreadful place. Full off tracksuit warriors with filthy nails.

> Comment 3: You can't judge everyone by the actions of a few. I know there's lots of decent respectable people living on these estates. Don't label them just because of where they live!

Another article from the same online newspaper reported antisocial behaviour on Blackacre:

> Comment 1: Where are the parents?

Comment 2: Drinking cheap cider at Chantelle's flat while latest boyfriends are outside smoking weed and talking about ways to claim more benefits and deciding whose gonna burgle Sports Direct cos there trackies need replacing.

Comment 3: Or perhaps they're too busy glugging Chablis and snorting coke because their jobs don't involve anything to do with their 'precious little angel', and deciding where to take their next foreign break away from their little darlings …

These examples illustrate an important site of gossip production, and the potential to harvest collaborative representations. Also, the possibility of information technology shifting the relative power balance towards more parity in interdependent figurations in a process of functional democratisation, potentially empowering stigmatised residents to 'fight back', as the final comments of each of the examples above illustrate. Social networking websites, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and Instagram, may also represent important sources and sites of gossip. Elias and Scotson (1994, p.91) recognised that in 'all it various forms gossip had considerable entertainment value', and this may be amplified in relation to 'virtual gossip' (Gabriels and de Backer 2016).

Virtual Gossip

The 'world wide web' has undergone a transformation, from 'informational' to 'interactional', with the potential of 'studying social processes as they unfold' (Edwards et al. 2013, p.245). I was therefore able to include a level of ground-up, empirical figurational interaction and construction not available to Elias and Scotson, which may usefully augment[86] and develop the established-outsider model. I realised early in the fieldwork that membership of 'online communities' which were associated with Ashmill and Blackacre may help legitimise my position and be a source of data. Volunteering at the community centre it became apparent that communications with residents were conducted

---

[86] Edwards et al. (2013) identify three potential effects of the shift to the interactional web for social research: as generating methods and data which may act as a surrogate for traditional research design; as re-orienting social research around new objects, populations and techniques of analysis; and as augmenting traditional methods.

primarily through the centre's Facebook 'profile'[87]. I approached my membership to these online communities strategically: by 'friending' the Ashmill Community Centre and becoming a member of the Ashmill Rugby Club group I had some checkable provenance as a legitimate member of the 'real' community in relation to other 'groups' I asked to join. There are seven Facebook identities with an explicit reference to 'place' as a theme of membership relating to the Ashmill area (see Table 10 in Appendix 5). This is a reproduction in the 'virtual' world of the distinction that emerged between Ashmill and Blackacre as discrete places within the 'real' world, despite Blackacre being geographically situated roughly central in Ashmill. This indicates that the separation between residents of Ashmill and Blackacre has a figurational 'reality' which emerged from the empirical data. Although internet gossip forums can give their participants a sense of belongingness, satisfying the human desire to belong to a group (Dunbar 1996), they may nevertheless represent a relatively weak and abstract form of social bond. However, the impact of internet gossip can be 'real' and harmful. Michelle (40, Zone 3) explained how her family moved from Blackacre after suffering bullying from a small group of residents forming a network around two powerful families on Blackacre. She described how Facebook was used by this network to cast a slur on her family's reputation, to classify them as 'outsiders', and as a threat to the friendship networks 'deviant' values and way of life.

BAILY: We were seen as the problem to them ...

MICHELLE: I've got friends who are their 'friends' and somebody let me see it: 'Thank god they've all gone. Now the trouble have left it'll be a much quieter and nicer place to live now they've gone'.

---

[87] There is a distinction between the nomenclature used between various Facebook identities. Briefly, a Facebook 'Profile' is used by individuals to maintain contact between 'friends'. Friends need to request to be 'added'. A 'Group' is a discussion forum for a common interest such as a neighbourhood, a club, or a cause. Groups can be 'public', 'closed', or 'secret'. Various levels of gatekeeping apply. In 'public' groups anyone can join or be added or invited by an existing member. In 'closed' groups anyone can ask to join or be added or invited by a member. 'Secret' group members have to be added or invited by an existing member. Facebook 'Pages' are an official Facebook presence of entities such as a business or celebrity. Pages aim to promote the subject and acquire 'likes', indicating popularity.

This powerful friendship network used Facebook gossip as a weapon to stigmatise Michelle's family. Blame gossip was used to oust a 'respectable' family from Blackacre, inverting the observed behaviour in Winston Parva. A transformation in the balance of power between residents at the micro-social level is therefore empirically observable through the mechanism of global technological transformations.

Social network sites are also used by professional organisations to communicate with the public. Welshtown Police used their Facebook page to promote an 'Antisocial Behaviour Community Engagement Day' on the Blackacre estate held in July to deal with 'ongoing issues'. This was the only event in Ashmill, and therefore potentially fed into the collective fantasy of Blackacre as problematic. It is unclear if this was in reaction to an increase in 'antisocial behaviour'[88]. It involved a leaflet-drop to inform residents that a mobile police station would be situated on the estate to report concerns and seek advice, and that a temporary CCTV camera was being installed to capture antisocial behaviour. Following the event photographs were posted on the police Facebook page showing the mobile police station, police officers and partner agencies, and the installation of the CCTV. Comments were added, such as:

> Lol! It don't change much over the years I see. (A former resident)

> It's Blackacre the camera is gone tonight. (A current resident)

The organising police officer commented in an online review of the event that residents should not 'have to live suffering from daily anti-social behaviour issues', and that their aim was to reassure residents that they were working to make communities 'free from intimidation and fear'. Whilst the intention is to reassure residents, the danger is that people viewing these public posts may

[88] Since October 2014 a 'Community Trigger' has been available to individuals and communities suffering repeated antisocial behaviour to request a review of actions taken by agencies if they feel the actions have been inadequate. On the face of it, this represents a democratisation of power in favour of communities. The explicit rationale stated by the, then, Home Secretary Theresa May was 'We want to empower victims and communities' (Home Office 2012, p.3). However, a review by the charity 'ASB Help' found that there was confusion on how to use the Community Trigger; there has been limited publicity of the Community Trigger meaning potential users are unaware of it; it may not be available to all victims; and usage data is difficult to obtain and compare (Herrera 2016). It is unclear from the information available whether the 'Antisocial Behaviour Community Engagement Day' held on Blackacre was activated by a 'community trigger'.

have the reputation of the area confirmed, potentially proliferating reputations and fear.

In contrast to neighbourhood policing involving frequent face-to-face contact, 'online' responses may be less capable of generating the necessary feelings of trust (Walklate and Evans 1999; Evans et al. 1996) between police and local residents which Lea and Young (1984) argue are necessary for consensus policing in which substantive trust between police and community is generated. The argument here is that consistent face-to-face community policing may engender trust between neighbourhoods and police, allowing information to be passed relatively discretely, and neighbourhood problems addressed without drawing unnecessary attention which may feed collective fantasies. Nevertheless, social media is an important aspect of contemporary life and, as Williams et al. (2013) highlight, the monitoring of 'cyber-neighbourhoods' for signs of increasing tension – such as that prior to the 2011 riots – may be an area of online policing which is imperative to develop.

Gossip functioned in Ashmill to delineate and maintain boundaries between neighbourhoods, sustaining images and reputations of the rough Blackacre estate and, albeit to a lesser extent than in Winston Parva, the respectability of residents living in the surrounding neighbourhood. Economic and social transformations may be partly reducing the capacity for previously established areas, such as Zone 2, to maintain group charisma through gossip, whilst simultaneously, a process of relative cohesion may be taking place in previously less established neighbourhoods, like Zone 3. Blackacre (Zone 4) remains the focus of denigrating gossip, and some families and their network of friends may be able to reproduce power by capitalising on exaggerated reputations for intimidation. In the next section, a theoretical proposition in this thesis is developed by arguing that established-outsider theory may be usefully developed in a more criminological direction by understanding the 'no-grassing' rule as a comparable if deviant form of social control to gossip. The rule helping to maintain reputations of intimidation reproduced in blame gossip, thereby acting as a mechanism in a process which sustains power among some residents who, on the one hand, most acutely feel exclusion and stigmatisation, and on the

186

other hand, capitalise on 'opportunities' to reproduce social power based on these exaggerated reputations.

Grassing: The 'Cardinal Sin'

> Approval of group opinion ... requires compliance with group norms. The penalty for group deviance and sometimes even for suspected deviance is loss of power and a lowering of one's status (Elias 1976, p.xl).

Elias considers the potential for a member of an established group to be controlled by other group members. Where a member represents a threat to the group's status, they risk becoming subject to blame gossip and having access to power resources and group charisma constrained, thereby maintaining 'respectable' group standards. A similar process may also apply to some residents of Blackacre, where the legitimacy of the police and other agencies of state control may be largely rejected, and 'grasses' subject of blame gossip. This may indicate a decivilising process in which residents may come to rely on informal social control based around an alternative moral code. The 'no-grassing' rule may be part of a 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96) functioning to maintain the reputation of some residents of Blackacre based on intimidation. This power may be used to bully weaker residents or those who reject the code, and also to provide 'protection' for those who accept and engage in the code. Either way, this may significantly constrain communication between residents, and between residents and the agents of state control for fear of repercussions if they are branded as a grass, supporting the findings of Evans et al. (1996) and Yates (2006). Collective fantasies then proliferate that all residents of Blackacre, like all estates according to the dominant stereotype, accept the 'no-grassing' code, and reject the legitimacy of the police and other authorities. In terms of the civilising process theory, the rejection of the state's monopoly of violence in the form of the police, and now other agencies, may result in a greater likelihood of informal problem resolution using inter-personal violence.

The 'no-grassing' rule may be better understood when viewed as a generationally reproduced figurational, rather than subcultural, phenomenon. It may act as a mechanism of informal social control, of status building and

maintenance, and of boundary marking, among this relatively small group of residents who stereotypically characterise the behaviour of 'the minority of the worst'. The 'no-grassing' rule, whilst it may not be unproblematically and unequivocally 'accepted' by most residents on Blackacre, is a pervasive and coercive control mechanism among the stigmatised outsider neighbourhood. Participants often expressed a latent threat of harm if they communicated with the police or social landlord. As such, the 'no-grassing' rule may involve intimidation, politicisation, and socialisation (Evans et al. 1996).

Fear of Reprisals

One of the main findings of the NAP (see Chapter 4) conducted by the social landlord on Blackacre, confirmed that many residents were unwilling to report crime and antisocial behaviour for fear of reprisals. The 'no-grassing' rule is a barrier to police community relations and effective policing (Evans et al. 1996), in which pseudo-information based on neighbourhood prejudices, rather than 'real' information, may form the basis of police investigations (Lea and Young 1984). The legitimisation of a 'no-grassing' code based on latent threats of fear tends to close-down lines of communication between residents, and relatively uninhibited communications with the police and other authorities. This helps to empower small networks who capitalise on exaggerated reputations for intimidation and violence, constraining neighbourhood cohesion. The 'Antisocial Behaviour Community Engagement Day' involved parking a mobile police station on Blackacre to encourage communication between residents to and the police. However, the success of the mobile police station was questioned in an interview with local PCSOs, Dawn and Richard:

> RICHARD: We do make an effort to engage the community, but they don't really want to know ... I mean, we've taken the mobile police station up [Blackacre] lots of times and parked up for a couple of hours and no one has come to speak to us. Stopped a few drugs deals mind you, you see lots of cars driving off!

> STEVE: No one?

> DAWN: That's right, no one. They would rather speak to Welshtown Homes, because then there is less chance of being seen as a grass and there being repercussions.

Arbitrary efforts of engagement, or those responding to problems, may be inadequate if a closer relationship with residents of a neighbourhood sought. It may even entrench and legitimise the 'no-grassing' rule as it becomes 'normal' not to engage with the police. Residents are afraid to visit the mobile police unit in full view of the estate in case they are branded as a 'grass', and the police become convinced that the neighbourhood simply rejects them: a double-bind is evident between the community and the police. Underpinning Lea and Young's (1984) thesis was the requirement for frequent contact with police officers who were present in the community to develop mutual trust. The absence of a frequent physical police presence may enable intimidating groups on Blackacre to claim power, and more easily enforce the 'no-grassing' rule as contact with the police is relatively rare.

A further distancing of the community and the police is observable with contact now being more likely through social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, and other digital platforms. Ashmill Neighbourhood Watch (NHW) is now entirely computer and telephone message based with no face-to-face resident's meetings. Leslie (70, Zone 3), one of the Ashmill NHW co-ordinators, confirmed that there were only two or three members from Blackacre. Walklate (2001) argues that NHW organisations indicate a 'frightened' community attempting to defend itself from outsiders, in contrast to 'defended' communities where residents may find ways of negotiating life without involving the police. Leslie's experience was that Blackacre residents would not join NHW because they were frightened to talk; construed as a formalised type of grassing[89]. Therefore, the idea of 'defended' communities as close-knit self-policing communities relatively free from fear may be inaccurate.

The introduction of PCSOs as a link between the community and the police was intended to overcome the barrier to effective communication. However, conversations with residents in Ashmill tended to reproduce the common image

---

[89] Neighbourhood Watch schemes are inextricably linked to the police, as Hope (1995, p.75) observes: 'Neighbourhood Watch has often been described in British police circles as the "eyes and ears of the police"'.

of PCSOs as 'plastic police', having little respect and authority[90]. Ian recalled a situation at the back of The Shop:

> Half the problem is these PCSOs – plastic police. We had three lads out here that had ASBOs not to be together on the estate. They were out the back when a couple of PCSOs turned up in an unmarked car and sat opposite filming to catch them. A couple of them ran through here so they wouldn't be seen. Before you knew it there were about thirty kids out the back and the real police had to come and rescue the PCSOs! They're a waste of time! More problems than they're worth! They try and talk to the kids out the back and they tell them to fuck off! And they do! What are they going to do? Nothing. And these kids know it. They'd be better off getting some real police out here.

There are real and potentially harmful consequences in confronting unruly residents and reporting incidents, particularly for residents who are unable to rely on a local family network or a strong and cohesive network of neighbours. This group of residents may be doubly excluded: both by residents in the surrounding neighbourhood who stigmatise all residents of Blackacre as rough and antisocial, and by the small but powerful group of residents on Blackacre who have intimidating reputations. Consequently, some may withdraw from contact with other residents, keeping themselves-to-themselves. Therefore, a distinction may be observed in some of the more vulnerable residents of Blackacre keeping themselves-to-themselves out of fear and intimidation, compared with many residents of the surrounding neighbourhood who keep themselves-to-themselves out of a kind of respectable neighbourhood 'civil inattention' (Goffman 1966, pp.83-88).

Participants from Blackacre feared reprisals from the small group of residents who may sense a threat to their intimidating reputations, and therefore power. Michelle (40, Zone 3) and her neighbour were prepared to challenge the

---

[90] This is in contrast to Paskell (2007) who found that PCSOs were having a more positive impact in the low-income areas studied. Paskell argues that although PCSOs have fewer powers than police officers, this actually enhanced their ability to engage with local residents, promoting order and reassuring local people.

behaviour of the small powerful network on Blackacre. However, despite initial indications of support from other neighbours, they were ultimately too fearful to act, as this would involve giving their names which would leave them at risk of being branded as 'grasses'. Michelle explained:

> My friend and myself didn't want to put up with it and we fought them; they didn't like it, that's why they tried to make our lives hell ... We did fight to have something done and they said they'd put CCTV down there, cameras on the flats. Because a lot of people congregate outside the block of flats ... the cameras went up, just happened to put it on the wrong wall though, so it wasn't showing where the trouble was, and when you phone up and say 'Do you not realise on this camera that there's thirty people hanging around outside this flat, and it's now three o'clock in the morning'. 'Oh we didn't have the camera on', or 'Oh, you need to phone us to put the camera on'. And then 'What's your name, because if you want to take it further we have to name you' – don't bother then. Because you know what's going to happen when your name comes out ... A lot of neighbours would have spoken out, me and my neighbour spoke to them, they would have spoken out if they hadn't had to give names.

Michelle explains the 'everydayness' of the struggle she faced on Blackacre. This was a daily power struggle with the small but powerful group that Michelle and other 'respectable' neighbours regarded as troublesome, contravening respectable civilised behaviour and failing to exercise self-restraint. Michelle's account also highlights the fallibility of some (but not all) situational crime prevention measures, and ultimately, the powerlessness of neighbours who feared reprisals for grassing. In this part of Blackacre, a code which maintained the social power of a small group of residents operated.

The 'No-Grassing' Rule as part of a Code of Honour

A key argument in this thesis is that by using a figurational approach to understand interdependent relationships between groups of residents in

Ashmill, a struggle by a few of the most socially and economically excluded residents to capitalise on an opportunity to obtain a limited social power emerges. Their power is locally bounded; it only works because other residents in the neighbourhood are afraid of them. It requires the propagation of exaggerated reputations for intimidation, largely conferred on them by residents of the surrounding neighbourhood. Blame gossip maintains distinctions between respectable residents of the surrounding neighbourhood and the disreputable Blackacre residents. In doing so, respectable but fearful residents may be complicit in the empowerment of this small group. Part of the process by which the small group of residents of Blackacre maintain and generationally reproduce this power is through the 'no-grassing' rule, which may form part of a 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96).

Lee (35) has lived in Ashmill for most of his life. He has habitually associated with 'notorious' families from Blackacre, and has been imprisoned for drug dealing and burglary. In an interview, Lee explained:

> LEE: If you're associating with a group that break the law and all, you grass on them and you're dead, sort of thing. You got grief for a long, long time. You'd have to move out of the area to stop people remembering that you're a grass. If you got beef with anyone it's basically, sort it out. It's mainly fighting, because that's how guys deal with stuff. Women are different, women are more like, devious ... But then, it could be someone across the road who is not bothered with these people, but having to walk past these people, who got the right morals and have got a bit of beef with them, they would have to talk it out and resolve the situation, rather than escalate to where it could get out of hand and violence has happened, or the courts are getting involved or the police. Know what I mean? You get those people then, which is right. That's the right society of people to be around. But then, like I say if you're in a circle of crime and things like that, they're the people you don't grass. It's like different categories of people.

STEVE: How about here, what category of people would you put them in?

LEE: Say, on Town Road, now, around here, I would put them in the category of people where they're good people, like. You know, where there will be fairness. You can have a debate without any violence erupting. Where, you can go up Blackacre, you have a similar debate over something, and there could be a group of people there, even if there's a debate one-one-one, tempers could flare-up and before you know it you're fighting. Or some aggressive words are coming out and you have to leave the property, know what I mean? It's the circle of friends, basically it's the criminal circle of, it's that sort of people, they're the ones who can't grass, sort of thing. In any way, whether it's just to ring up the council 'Next door are causing trouble. Next door are blasting music'. Just that alone is classed as grassing ... one of the neighbours for instance, someone might have smashed a bottle by their house 'Who smashed that?' Someone says 'Oh, yeah, it was 'him''. Sounds stupid, but they're a grass. And that person would beat you up over something like that. And all the others watching, as far as they're concerned, you're a grass then, this is what happens to a grass. It might be just because you said someone smashed a bottle. Know what I mean? Small minded, really. But like, that's the difference with people say, up Blackacre, to where people on Town Road. It's only a small distance, you know a short distance, just how people 'are' like.

Lee explains the reliance on personal violence, especially for men, to resolve problems rather than involve the police, or other agencies of social control, indicating a greater reliance on self-help (Rosenfeld et al. 2003). Lee's explanation (and others discussed below) resonates with the code of *omertà* that Blok identifies in his study of a system of *mafia*. When legal authority is rejected 'respect' is accumulated by remaining silent about criminal behaviour. This 'silence' may have relatively tangible and direct benefits for powerful

members of a figuration, but may be enforced on relatively weak members. In this way, the estate may be isolated from 'external rival powers' (Blok 1974, p.212), in this case, the police. Consequently, *omertà*, or in this case the 'no-grassing' rule, may inevitably become entrenched in the everyday lives of people in the figuration, even for 'honest people, because the law is unable to offer protection. Those who seek redress by law can be sure to be affected by serious injury sooner or later' (Blok 1974, p.51). Although it is explicitly not intended to suggest that the degree of fear or violence on Blackacre is similar to Blok's Sicilian village, the same processes are at work. Lee explains how being labelled as a grass by the group can have devastating and long-tern implications for your reputation. Lee also usefully distinguishes between the moral code he understands applying to neighbourhoods a short distance off Blackacre; close in terms of spatial proximity, but huge in terms of social distance. Losing the respect of your we-group is a key element of this code, and the rule against grassing, a form of gossip which threatens the values and structure of the 'established *as* outsider' group, may be seen to have integrating and rejecting functions. It is integrating in that it binds individuals within the bounds of a deviant moral conduct. It resonates with the 'warrior code of honour' which requires violence plus courage, and carries the threat of being ousted from the group (Elias 1997, p.96). Individuals living on the estate who do not accept this code are branded as grasses; outside the moral code. The code also largely denies the legitimacy of the state's monopoly on violence exercised through the police. For adherents to the code, it is important that you resolve problems yourself, which requires either physical and/or social power. In order for the code to work, an individual has to be socialised into a mode of thinking, a personality structure or habitus wherein 'respectable' values based on a more civilised, or 'pacified honourable code' (ibid), are rejected, or at least suspended, and an alternative form of 'respect' can be earned.

Although obtaining access to members of this 'rough' group of residents on Blackacre was difficult, I managed to develop a friendly and 'safe'[91] rapport with some young men from Blackacre who I had met in the local bodybuilding gym

---

[91] 'Safe' here implies not only researcher safety, but also that I was regarded as 'safe', or trustworthy by the participants; at least, as far as I was aware. This had important implications for my negotiation of other residents of the estate, as I was seen as 'safe' by association.

and at the rugby club. Most were reluctant to engage in 'official' interviews, but they were happy to talk to me as long as their names were not mentioned. Kieran (24), agreed to participate in an interview. He explained that 'respect' among lads on Blackacre was closely linked with the 'no-grassing', or 'snitching', rule:

> Respect on the council estate area is not being a 'snitch'. Not doing each other over. Being loyal ... Let's say one of the older lads would say 'Do this. Go and do that.' I'd think 'Oh yeah, they like me.' But looking back now if someone was to put me in that and say 'Do this. Do that. Go get this for me. Hold this for me' I'd think 'You're a shithouse! You're a coward! You're using me!' So, what I thought was respect was most certainly not respect, its disrespect. I would be very disrespected if someone was to try that with me now. 'Who do you think you are? You done this. You take the rap, not me. Just because you're older than me. Don't try and bully me to do something that you've done'.

Kieran indicates that a strong sense of loyalty, of belonging to a group with a code of honour is inculcated from a young age by doing favours for older lads, and earning 'respect'. On reflection, and crucially, having moved to a house just off the estate, Kieran now perceives this process as a form of bullying. Jordan (19, Zone 4) elaborated how the 'no-grassing' rule and the associated code of honour works.

> STEVE: Let's say there was some problem that needed sorting out, would you ever call the police?
>
> JORDAN: No.
>
> STEVE: Why not?
>
> JORDAN: Umm, that's sort of the number one rule up here. Never go to the police, you take it into your own hands. You'd never live that down.
>
> STEVE: Under any circumstances?

JORDAN: I'd say three quarters of them.

STEVE: So most of the time it's your responsibility –

JORDAN: Yeah, I mean if you heard someone saying, if I was to hear someone be like 'Oh the Joneses have rung the police', it wouldn't be that they rung the police, it would be 'They are grasses; they done this, they done that'. You would never live down from that word. So you just simply don't do it.

STEVE: What is it that's stopping you?

JORDAN: I think it's just always better to do it, you know, off your own behalf. Not have the follow on consequences of police showing up at your door and, it's just that other people do look down on that. For me, I was always brought up to believe that. To me ... if I was to be out on a night-out and I had my head kicked-in I wouldn't think twice about in the morning of ringing the police. Because, in all honesty they're not very useful. I could probably do a lot more myself. I could probably find them before the police could.

Although Jordan can envisage circumstances where he might need to rely on the police, so their legitimacy is not entirely rejected, breaking the 'number one rule' by 'ringing' (gossiping to) the police would bring shame on the family name from other people on the estate; they would be regarded as 'grasses'. The stigma of this could remain attached to the family name for generations. In this way, gossiping about grasses, even past 'dead' members (Gluckman 1963) of a group, may be used as a social weapon by an 'established *as* outsider' group to both reject grasses, and to integrate the group by confirming the 'no-grassing' rule as part of a code of honour.

In practical terms, Jordan explains that informal social control represents a more efficient and satisfactory means of problem resolution. That it is his personal responsibility as a 'Jones'. It is also an opportunity to potentially develop his and his group's tough status, and maintain social power. As a matter

of principle, to report an incident to the police would be to commit a 'cardinal sin':

> JORDAN: … I call it a 'cardinal sin' … You know, up Blackacre that's how it works. Something ever happened, if you were found out, there'd be other people involved, if you rung the police. Your windows would go through for the next ten years. Until you went off the estate … There was a paedophile that used to live on Blackacre. Every day he would have 'NONCE' written on his door. Nobody looked down on that, they'd say you done right. The police would come to someone's house and say 'criminal damage – blah, blah, blah.' And you'd say 'Off the record, am I wrong?' Copper would go 'No'. Go away then. You know, what's so criminalising about beating a paedophile up? Nothing in my eyes … like there was one on Blackacre and he had to go, absolutely had to go. It was either that or he was going to end up dead … So he would have had it written on his wall, then on the stairway – people would write it there. He couldn't walk anywhere without having it screamed at him.

> STEVE: So that's how these problems are sorted out?

> JORDAN: Yeah, nobody wants a paedophile living on the estate do they? That's the sort of thing like … some people would say a grass is as bad as a paedophile … so, if there was a grass amongst you, they had to go. That's how I been brought up to look at it. I don't see the wrong in it to be honest, I completely agree with it.

This is not just 'idle gossip'. Words and a tough demeanour alone are not enough to sustain a reputation; reputation maintenance requires action (Hobbs et al. 2003). The victims of intimidation are usually those residents of the estate, rather than the surrounding neighbourhood, who are weakest[92], either

---

[92] Fletcher (1997) argues that the persecution of weaker and inferior outsider groups was evident in the treatment of Nazi concentration camp guards. He points out that most of the guards were drawn from the 'bottom of the social hierarchy. Then, relatively suddenly, they had people below them for the first time in their lives, while at the same time they were compelled

physically or socially. In the case of 'the paedophile', there is a moral weakness which prevents other residents from defending the individual for fear of being regarded as tolerant, or even complicit. Such weakness is often exploited by groups to develop their status; 'attacking the weak' (Collins 2008, p.9). Jordan even suggests that his group were exacting a righteous justice in the informal social control exercised through humiliation and threats of violence; something that the police were unable to do. To emphasise his revulsion of grasses, Jordan suggests that 'a grass is as bad as a paedophile'.

> STEVE: That attitude, although perhaps not so strong, is held by lots of people …
>
> JORDAN: I think that's something every area has in common.
>
> STEVE: Do you think that feeling is stronger on council estates?
>
> JORDAN: … I can't think of any reason why simply living on a council estate should bring people closer; people should be like that anyway … but I think that people from a council estate do seem to come together more. Because they're all sort of in the same boat. We all got the same difficulties. As where like, people on Evendale, who make like forty or fifty grand a year, their sort of problems would be they're not going on four holidays this year. You know, things like that. As where people from a council estate, their problems would be they need money for Christmas for their kids. Everybody is really in the same boat; nobody can really look down on each other …

This reflects Jordan's experience as part of a locally well-known family and network of associates. For other residents the estate may be a lonely and socially fragmented place, where they suffer a double exclusion; from the surrounding community and from the relatively 'established *as* outsider' group on Blackacre. Jordan explains his understanding in terms of 'being in the same boat' when contrasted with relatively affluent residents of Evendale. This indicates the importance of feelings of relative deprivation both as a way of

---

to exhibit *Kadavergehorsam* (blind obedience) to the *Führer* and his representatives. The resulting tensions were let loose with cruel consequences' (Fletcher 1997, p.164).

understanding resentment, but also as potentially having an integrating or bonding effect, especially among some young men who may convert group stigma into pride.

> STEVE: Let's say somebody came along and screwed your car … on Blackacre. First of all, is that likely to happen?
>
> JORDAN: Not if it's my car, no … I think if someone on Blackacre turned up in a sixty thousand pound BMW X5 jeep, by the morning it would be scratched, out of jealousy.
>
> STEVE: Do you think so?
>
> JORDAN: Yeah, they'd want to know where it came from. They'd want to know where this money had suddenly come from. You know, there are still people up there that people don't bother with, people wonder who are they? And, where did they come from? What's their story?
>
> STEVE: So these people then are on the margins then, are they?
>
> JORDAN: Yeah, I mean not everybody up here is as close as my family and other families. We just had new next door neighbours, it turns out they're lovely people, but when the moving trucks was coming we thought 'Who the fuck are they?' My mate went 'Who are these, Jord?' I went 'I dunno. We're going to have to find out, aint we'. Only time will tell, you don't know who they are, you don't know who's living next door to you. You want to know. It's a natural instinct to know. They come from another estate, so everyone was like 'Oh, scum'. You can't say that, they're lovely people. But if somebody new turns up on the Blackacre everybody's eyes just go like that [looks sideways], they have to know everything about them …

Jordan explains that his car would be safe, the implication being that it would be protected out of respect for his family's reputation on the estate. However, if the owner was unknown, it is possible that resentment would be expressed by damaging the car. This indicates potential for harm arising from resentment,

and the importance of 'knowing people' on the estate, where outsiders are treated with suspicion and caution. The experiences of two middle-aged men living on a 'rough' British council estate were contrasted in Hollway and Jefferson's (1997) study. Bob, a middle-aged unemployed man, felt fearful after being burgled, and had few links with the community in which he lived for the previous six years and wanted to move out. In contrast, Joe, also middle-aged and unemployed, came from a large local family and was known and respected by everybody. He acknowledged the high level of crime and violence on the estate, but had 'a history of feeling connected; to a large family, many of whom still live locally; and to a community which has provided the parameters of his whole life' (Hollway and Jefferson 1997, p.264). Jordan acknowledges that 'not everybody up here is as close as my family and other families' indicating the special relationship between some kinship based groups, and a separation between residential groups on the estate. Thus, the idea that there is a universal 'neighbourliness' on Blackacre, as claimed about estates in other studies (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010) is undermined. Jordan explains the suspicion with which new neighbours on the estate were held, and indicates his role as a powerful person in finding out who they were. This suggests a 'defended community' (Walklate 1998; 2001) through informal social control, and contrasts with the feelings of insecurity described by some residents in Zone 2 who felt that they were becoming more isolated as older established residents died and many houses were rented-out. Jordan went on to explain how 'boys' were manipulated into a 'system' of favours:

> STEVE: My understanding is, that if an older lad is being targeted as 'the offender', that older lad will recruit some young lads to go and do a bit of work; to go and put those windows –
>
> JORDAN: Yeah, absolutely. A hundred percent.
>
> STEVE: Now, what's interesting for me is the way that those lads are being –
>
> JORDAN: Manipulated.
>
> STEVE: Yes, manipulated.

200

JORDAN: These boys up Blackacre, a hundred percent, you know, I'd put everything I own on it. I could walk up there now and say 'Boys, that car over there, set in on fire for me'. No offer of money, no offer of anything, they'd just say 'Yeah'.

STEVE: Why would they do that? What's in it for them?

JORDAN: A favour for a favour, I'd say. If they have trouble down the line, they'll come and ask you. And you'll think that'll be alright, because they done something for me. It's a protection for them I suppose. They're young, they want you to look after them now; you want them to look after you when you're older. That's something my brother always says to me. You know my brother is only twenty-five, he's a hell of a boy. But he knows now, he couldn't touch me, there's nothing he can do. He says 'It's time for you to look after me now'. No worries. As when I was a kid in year seven, he's already done everything to look after me, I never ever had to worry.

STEVE: So this is a sophisticated, complex system of building trust and repaying?[93]

JORDAN: Yeah. I wouldn't say its 'using' people but it's definitely a system. I don't think these kids do it because they, you know, someone else has said they're cool, they think they're this, they think they're that. In their head they know that you will help them out. I would, I most definitely would.

Jordan describes a system of doing favours and group protection which is passed on from one generation to another. Doing these favours, often 'holding'[94] drugs for dealers, or performing retributive acts, disperses culpability among

---

[93] In reviewing this thesis, a commenter reticently asked: 'I hate to sound like a snotty academic but do you think he knew what you meant by this?' To clarify the position, whilst Jordan is no stranger to violence, he is also an articulate and intelligent young man. Indeed, at the conclusion of our recorded interview he confided in me that he would have liked to study English literature, but left school to get a job.

[94] McKenzie (2015) identifies a system operating on St Ann's estate whereby children as young as six or seven will be employed to look out for the police or rival drug dealers, and thirteen or fourteen year olds will be given small amounts of drugs to hold, making, by her estimate, £50-£150 a day. These 'carry the most risk of being arrested as they are the most visible, and are 'holding' (carrying drugs) around the estate' (McKenzie 2015 p.164).

members of the group and trains members to observe the 'no-grassing' rule for both self- and group-protection.

Subjugating Your Moral Code

This process of socialisation involves a generational inheritance of trust building, or integration, between similarly stigmatised young men. However, the code has implications for other residents of the estate. Donna and Ian described their experience of having to subjugate their own moral code in respect of the drug dealing, criminality, and gossip that they are privy to, in negotiating the 'no-grassing' rule to run their business in The Shop.

> DONNA: Your skin thickens because you got to close your eyes to a lot of things over there. Which you would want to grass about but you can't, because you know it's dangerous.
>
> IAN: I could go out there now and I could probably give you registration numbers and names of at least ten people who are driving cars out there who haven't got a licence ... I could give you all the names. You're going to hang yourself doing that ... I done my fair share of drugs and my fair share of dodgy deals and things like that, I'm not whiter than white. That's basically how Blackacre runs. I went in there with the attitude of I don't want the police in here all the time asking questions. I don't want to be tarred with the brush of being a grass or an informer ... I've had the police in there half a dozen times, 'You haven't got a camera at the back have you? 'No mate I haven't'. Suicide! Absolute suicide to put camera's outside. Stupid.

Here Donna explicitly acknowledges the danger inherent in being construed as a grass, and the moral dilemma they are faced with every day. They understand that a moral code, based on the 'no-grassing' rule underpins the lives of many of their customers. The issue of CCTV cameras as a deterrent to the drug dealing which takes place at the back of The Shop is addressed by Ian, which he describes as 'Suicide ... Stupid'. Cameras installed inside The Shop present less of problem in terms of Ian and Donna's status as 'safe' because they are understood as protecting their legitimate business interests. However, installing

cameras at the back of The Shop would represent a direct threat to the drug dealing economy which is known to take place here. This is not only an economic threat, but also a challenge to the power base of those who conduct business here.

Donna suggested that grassing may be used as a means of retaliation that only operates between people who adhere to the code when they feel some resentment about others:

> DONNA: But from conversations we've had from the Blackacre, the people that grass, are the people that are grassing on their own, because 'You've had more than me. I don't like that'. Or you won't give somebody a hit one day, and to piss you off the next day they phone the police, because they know you're dealing in the flat and they get your flat raided. They think that's cool.

> IAN: You can tell who the grasses are –

> DONNA: They grass within their own community. They bitch with each other.

> IAN: Right, and you can tell who the grasses are, right, because they never get done for anything. They get pulled all the time and never get done for anything …

> DONNA: … it's a vendetta … say you've been going to this fella for your deals, then all of a sudden you can't pay but you want your deal, and they say 'No', 'But I've had it off you for –' 'No'. They walk away and … they think 'Right, fucking have you done over, I know you're dealing'. Phone the police … I know two people who have done it over there. And do you know who the worst ones were for phoning the police? Fat Sal. She was renowned for it 'Don't piss her off mind, she'll have the cops on you'. Social services, cops, everything. Terrible for it …

> IAN: It's their own people that grass on them.

DONNA: Yeah.

IAN: And invariably it's one dealer because someone –

DONNA: Arguing with another one.

IAN: Yeah, because somebody's treading on their toes.

DONNA: You stab me in the back, I'll get my own back on you. It's just there to piss them off.

STEVE: It's a means of retribution?

DONNA: Yeah.

IAN: 'I was making a nice little living selling my weed down here and you come along. Right, that's it! I'll have you' … Which is why I say, you know, the likes of Nosher and people like that, everyone knows who it is. One of the biggest ones is Monkey Harris … How come he gets away with it all? Because he's paying them … He's [inaudible] with the coppers he is. Without a shadow of a doubt he's paying somebody. No doubts at all.

Donna and Ian explain that it tends to be those residents involved in illegal activities that adhere to the 'no-grassing' rule. However, grassing may be used as a weapon where resentment is felt, thereby contravening the 'no-grassing' rule. Indeed, Ian suggests that some of the most successful drug dealers on Blackacre are notorious grasses; on one hand controlling less powerful members of the network of dealers and users on the estate, and on the other hand collaborating with corrupt police officers to conduct business relatively free of interference. This may support Rosenfeld et al. (2003) who suggest that the 'no-grassing' rule may function to gain leniency with the police or punish other individuals. This was also supported by Jordan who recognised a 'pyramid' system in the ranking and relative power of individuals in his friendship network on Blackacre:

It's a pyramid, you know? There's people that are above me, and there's people above them, there's people down from me. It's all about money I suppose and the reputation … You got

204

money, you're someone. So there's a guy above me because he got a lot of money. They deal whatever they deal, and people are frightened of them because they done this, and they done that. But if he come to me and he said 'I want you to do something' my answer would be 'Fuck off!' Because as much as he can threaten me, I'd threaten him more. And then the guy above him, you know, he's got more money, he does more business … so you get to a stage where… I know coppers who are bent … I've given money myself to coppers to fuck off and look the other way. And I know coppers who take a lot of money yearly off people … I know coppers who will give phone calls and that phone call will save someone from doing twenty years in prison. It's just, to me it all boils down to whoever got the most money is in control. But … there's no one that controls me.

Whilst this hierarchy was ostensibly based on money, the money represented power. The power of the most successful dealers to control the flow of information from lower ranking group members to the police through intimidation, and to control the police by paying off 'coppers who are bent'. This kind of 'bad boy' gossip is pervasive, and may function to strengthen reputations and weaken already precarious relationships between the community and the police. Whilst the grassing narrative should not be overstated (Evans et al. 1996), its reality also needs to be acknowledged. However, the accounts given by Jordan, Kieran, and Lee in this chapter should also be read cautiously; they were aware of my police background and may have been exaggerating their street credibility to some extent. This point also relates to Lea and Young's (1984) argument that 'real information' rather than prejudice based pseudo-information – or collective fantasy, in which the police also play a part – needs be the basis of closer relations between the police and the community. There is a danger that some police officers may also be seduced by the fantasy, and enter into a 'Hollywood' relationship with 'villains'.

Conclusion

This chapter has described and offered an explanation of how the 'no-grassing' code may operate in conjunction with blame gossip to entrench collective fantasies of group charisma and group disgrace. Residents in the surrounding community tend to understand Blackacre as a place where drugs, crime, and 'antisocial behaviour' are rife, where the legitimacy of the police is rejected by residents who rely on intimidation to resolve problems and protect themselves. The argument developed is that this is an exaggerated understanding based primarily on the stereotypical characteristics of the 'minority of the worst' residents, which are then attributed to all residents of Blackacre. By taking a figurational approach to the analysis of gossip and grassing in Ashmill, a connection has been outlined between blame gossip and the 'no-grassing' rule in which interrelated double-bind situations emerge. The overarching double-bind being between the surrounding neighbourhood and the estate; but also between the small powerful group and other residents of the estate; and between residents of the estate and the police and other authorities, all of which are difficult to escape from. The 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983) of the surrounding neighbourhood are entrenched and reproduced through blame gossip which stigmatises *all* residents of Blackacre.

The 'no-grassing' rule is part of a 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96), a mechanism by which the small but relatively powerful network of Blackacre residents maintain the power of their social group, and may be understood to involve processes of intimidation, politicisation, and socialisation (Evans et al. 1996). A hierarchical system was identified by young men who lived on Blackacre, which generated the power to informally control not only members of the group, but also residents who may represent an immediate threat to the activities and values of the group. The 'no-grassing' rule may be part of the process by which members of the group capitalise on exaggerated reputations of intimidation to acquire powerful status positions. In the process they transform stigma into pride, becoming integrated, or less positively trapped, in the group's habitus which rejects external 'respectable' rules and values, inverting blame gossip to generate feelings of 'we-ness' and belonging. It may be a solution not only to the economic exclusion they experience, but also to the

stigma that is entrenched in the personality structures of generations of residents of Blackacre. The power and informal social control that notorious residents exert through the 'no-grassing' rule traps the respectable but relatively weak majority of Blackacre residents in a double exclusion, both by the stigma of being 'from Blackacre', and the threat of intimidation if they challenge the relatively powerful minority. The argument has also been developed that the proliferation of the 'no-grassing' rule acts as a barrier to relationships between the community and the police, and to effective policing (Evans et al. 1996). This weakens precarious relationships between the community and the police, who in attempting to forge community relations, may rely on pseudo-information provided by residents from the surrounding neighbourhood who may feel more comfortable in talking to police officers.

In Ashmill, this double-bind relationship has been entrenched over generations, so that residents of Blackacre may have become 'established *as* outsiders', perceived as a rough and socially isolated community-within-a-community. This develops established-outsider theory to recognise that the concept of relative deprivation is useful in grasping how relatively 'uncivilised' figurations may emerge and become stigmatised. Residents of 'rough' neighbourhoods tend to be characterised by the behaviour of a few 'notorious' families and their friendship networks which is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Family Structures and Friendship Networks

> On occasions families are represented as self-sufficient entities
> or even as the basic elements – as the 'bricks' of which societies
> are built[95] … The family may appear as such from the
> standpoint of its own members[96]. It is certainly the primary
> unit from a child's point of view. But if one observes that the
> configurations of people to which one refers as 'families'
> greatly vary in structure and type and asks why they vary, one
> soon discovers that the forces responsible for these differences
> are not to be found within the families themselves. They can be
> found only in the larger units of which they are a part. One
> cannot understand why the dominant forms of families were
> different in the three zones of Winston Parva without reference
> to the development and structure of the community they
> formed with each other (Elias and Scotson 1994, pp.49-50).

This thesis argues that a long process of stigmatisation of the most socially and economically excluded groups in society during increasingly globalised social and economic transformations have led to the residualisation of a 'left-behind' British 'under-class' occupying council estates; often seen as places for 'problem' or 'troubled families'. At least, this is the dominant collective fantasy, observable nationally and locally (see Chapter 1). This chapter aims to develop an understanding of any connections between the structure of families and the

---

[95] This point is prescient of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's famous quote from an interview for *Women's Own* (1987) magazine: 'I think we have gone through a period when too many children and people have been given to understand "I have a problem, it is the Government's job to cope with it!" or "I have a problem, I will go and get a grant to cope with it!" "I am homeless, the Government must house me!" and so they are casting their problems on society and who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first'. This represents a relatively anomic view of society, in Elias's terms, it is an example of *homo clausus* thinking. In figurational sociology: 'Every human society consists of separate individuals, and every individual only becomes human by learning to act, speak and feel in a society of others. Society without individuals, or the individual without society is an absurdity' (Elias 2001, p.75).

[96] This alludes to the difficulty that individuals may have in performing the difficult mental operation of detaching themselves from their involved viewpoint in order to generate reality-congruent knowledge; an essential aspect of analysis for a figurational researcher (see Chapter 3).

neighbourhood in Ashmill, as hypothesised in established-outsider theory, to progress the argument that the reputation of Blackacre is based on the generationally reproduced exaggerated reputations of a few 'notorious' families and their friendship networks. A brief history of the 'notorious' Evans/Jones family will be presented, and the experiences that the 'respectable' Smith family, their former neighbours, describe will be considered to indicate the potential social power that may be available to a few families on Blackacre. These families are 'real types', emerging from the empirical work. The discussion outlines some characteristics which tend to stereotype Blackacre residents, and develops the concepts of socialisation and sociological inheritance. I also develop the argument that some relatively powerful family groups with notorious reputations may attract other individuals and families to form friendship networks with a sense of belonging and 'we-ness', and a 'code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.96) which is key in the process of transforming collective stigma into pride.

An argument developed in this chapter is that 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983) tend to be reproduced and located in generational (every twenty or thirty years) iterations of a British 'under-class' (Pearson 1983). A current locus of respectable fears[97] are residents of council estates who tend to be stigmatised as the immoral poor who constitute the feckless and violent 'emerging' white British 'underclass' (Murray 1990). Pearson (1983) was not using the term 'under-class' in the sense in which Murray (1990) used the term to label an 'emergent' class of people as immoral and beyond hope. Rather, Pearson was identifying a group of the poorest British citizens who historically bear the brunt of national stigma, and are the object of the 'respectable fears' of people who are able to claim 'respectability'.

---

[97] This is not to argue that this 'under-class' group are the only, or even the most intense focus of 'respectable fears'. It is probably the case that the fear of terrorism, and the focus on 'extremist Muslim' populations, may have displaced some of this fear. Indeed, this represents other interconnected established-outsider relationships, possibly most viscerally experienced in deprived areas in which relatively disconnected 'white' and 'Asian' communities coexist. These tend to be areas from which organisations such as extremist 'religious' organisations, and nationalistic Counter-Jihad organisations such as the English Defence League may draw on primarily white British/English young men who feel disconnected from, or 'outside' of society (see for example Dunning 2016; Goodwin et al. 2016b; Oaten 2014; Treadwell and Garland 2011).

This chapter aims to refocus attention away from 'troubled families' onto the figurational relationships which may act as mechanisms in the reproduction of intimidating reputations and respectable fears. It is proposed that by investigating the relationships between residential groups that emerged in Ashmill through an established-outsider lens, it may be possible to identify some of the mechanisms which may trap similar residential groups within generationally reworked and reproduced double-binds.

Family Structures

The picture of life in the 'Village' painted by Elias and Scotson (1994) is one in which families had lived in relative harmony for two or three generations. They formed a cohesive community in which work was available locally, and children remained, marrying into other local families and developing interconnected relationships between generations. Residents worked with each other; men drank with each other in local pubs and helped each other with house maintenance and improvements; and women took on caring roles for the young and the elderly, and organised community activities. Whilst the image is somewhat idealistic, at least in the eyes of a reader over fifty-years later, an extended family structure involving mutual assistance and cooperation was observed in Winston Parva. A common moral code and a sense of belonging also developed: 'It was quite striking to observe how often people visited in Zone 2 spoke of themselves as 'we'' (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.45). In Zone 1, families were generally smaller and more affluent. Children went off to university and often pursued professional careers elsewhere. These smaller families could not rely on help from extended local families, but were able to buy services in. In contrast, in Zone 3, the Estate, newcomers had neither the extended local family network to rely on for help, nor the money to buy services in; they were relatively isolated.

In Ashmill, whilst a sense of this extended family structure in the surrounding neighbourhood did not emerge strongly from the empirical data, Father Stephen commented:

> I find it fascinating as a priest, because you know, I've been to
> all those areas, and you think, because there don't even seem to

be family relationships in common. Which very often would be the case, very often in other parts of the parish there's a lot of interplay … Cousins live on Town Road, mum lives on a nearby road, or whatever, whereas my experience is that the community there [Blackacre], they don't seem to have the same links with the surrounding area. Within the estate itself, you get relationships, but you don't have the relatives down Town Road and stuff. It seems to be an insular place. And it seems to have been for some time, I gather, from what people tell me.

Father Stephen identifies family relationships existing between people living in various parts of the surrounding neighbourhood. However, his impression is that residents of Blackacre tend not to have family relationships outside of the estate; it has become known as an 'insular place'. There are relatively short chains of interdependence among some networks on Blackacre, in contrast to the longer chains of interdependence which may exist in the surrounding neighbourhood.

I have indicated in previous chapters that a process of transformation involving global and local economic and social factors may be observed in the relative cohesiveness of the neighbourhood Zones identified in Ashmill. Michael (57) who has lived in Zone 2 all his life commented:

I've seen a huge change. I mean when I was born … within ten houses a lot of my relatives lived, cousins and aunts, and we knew practically everybody in the street, or my parents knew everybody in the street, really … And that changed hugely when things started to sort of contract, when those jobs suddenly weren't there – it was huge. Everybody I knew worked at the steelworks. They were huge employers. You know the corner shop people or the shops in town employed hardly anybody, most of the people I knew worked in those big industries. Families worked in them. My brothers, all my brothers walked into a job without even interview, there was no interview process they just turned up and said 'start Sunday'. Because my father was in there, my eldest brother

was in there, he my second eldest brother went in there. And

you just walked into that without any issues at all. It's not like

that now.

This illustrates how a sense of belonging was remembered in Zone 2 of Ashmill, where families lived together and worked in the same factories. However, the sense of close-knit community spirit in Zone 2 may be diminishing as the nature of work changes, and the number of rented properties increases and the permanence of residents decreases. A process of privatisation may be observed, in which families tend to become isolated from others in their neighbourhood.

In contrast to the surrounding neighbourhood, residents of Blackacre, often people who have lived there for generations and feel secure, or who have become 'trapped' as 'owners' and find it difficult to sell their property, or people who have been 'put' there, tend to have less 'choice' about where they live. Successive generations of family members have now lived on Blackacre, some have intermarried and extended family networks, albeit geographically bound by the estate, have emerged. A sense of 'neighbourliness' based on a shared sense of stigmatisation, may be experienced on Blackacre, which has also been observed on other low-income estates (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010). Blackacre has been stigmatised as 'a problem place for problem people' (Johnston and Mooney 2007) for at least three generations, and in this sense may represent a sample of the enduring 'under-class' that Pearson (1983) identifies being reworked every twenty years, and which this thesis proposes represents an 'established *as* outsider' group. The stereotypical image of 'troubled' families that emerged in the participant's accounts and conversations – gossip – I engaged in often involved characterising families from Blackacre as large single parent families, where fathers were missing, where drug and alcohol dependency was common, a culture of generational unemployment and benefits dependency persisted, and children were left to 'run wild'[98]. These problems were disproportionately experienced

---

[98] It is common to read articles in British news reports which describe children as 'feral', with implications of wildness and savagery in contrast to 'normal' civilised society. Often the targets of this denigrating terminology are small groups of children living on housing estates who lack a 'moral compass'. Consider, for example, the following headlines: 'Truth about Britain's feral youth: Small core of youngsters commit staggering 86 crimes by age 16' (Camber 2012); and 'Feral youths: How a generation of violent, illiterate young men are living outside the

and observed on Blackacre. However, the theoretical thread running through established-outsider theory, and empirically supported in this study, is that it is the exaggerated reputations based on a collective fantasy of the 'minority of the worst' families on Blackacre which stigmatises the place and its residents.

During this study, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts were entered into by 'antisocial families' from Blackacre and other local council estates, with the police, social landlord, and local council, as part of an early intervention project. These were reported in the local press:

> Youths intimidated neighbours by throwing things at them, shouting, swearing, and underage drinking, six families in Blackacre entered into Acceptable Behaviour Contracts … police patrolled hotspots where they said antisocial behaviour and vandalism was a growing issue … this was part of a 'zero tolerance' crackdown on disruptive behaviour.

'Troubled families' discourses, and previous iterations, are a focus for collective fantasies which exaggerate intimidating reputations and significantly provoke the transformation of collective stigma into pride for a minority of residents. These intimidating reputations involve the acquisition and reproduction of social power over generations. In figurational terms, a double-bind exists which functions to reproduce power for some, and fear for others. Jordan (19, Zone 4) explained in our interview:

> … the Williamses live up Blackacre. And you know the Joneses, and the Williamses, and the Evanses, we were always the ones who sort of, run the estate, so to say. We're all brothers and sisters in reality … the oldest [Williams] brother, he's known me since birth, so have all of them, so has their father … you could say we were the first two families there. That's what it seems like.

---

boundaries of civilised society' (Sergeant 2009). It is discursive representations such as these which seep into mythical thinking, helping to shape national and local collective representations, with implications of a different 'breed' of people existing in the lower strata of society. It is this implied essentialism, and suggestions of simple 'choices' to occupy places (in the sense of geography and within the social structure) of moral and economic worthlessness, that this thesis rejects.

Jordan locates social power in the notorious family names which are interconnected in a family-based friendship network; they 'run' the estate. This involves drug crime, violence, and an informal responsibility to 'sort problems' on the estate. Jordan indicates that together they form an extended 'family'; a group who have known each other for generations. These families have lived on Blackacre for three or four generations, and have formed powerful kinship bonds which have developed a network of allegiance among previously less established families. This is important in grasping the development of the family structure evident on Blackacre, which is not unlike a system of *mafia*. As Blok (1974, p.179) highlights:

> ... the relative importance of kinship *per se* is often taken for granted. Only rarely are we told why, in particular societies, kinship rather than some other principle of organization structures human relationships in pervasive ways.

They were family names which featured repeatedly during conversations with residents in Ashmill, often representing the 'type' of people who live on Blackacre. In an interview with Harry (26, Zone 2) he commented:

> HARRY: The Williamses, they just epitomise Blackacre.

> STEVE: What do you mean?

> HARRY: The Williamses; if you said to me 'describe Blackacre in one word': Williamses. That's exactly how I'd describe it. And how all of them have turned out ...

> STEVE: So tell me, how have they turned out?

> HARRY: Low-lives, thieves, sell drugs, never paid tax in their lives. Everything they do is illegal, probably wanted by the police for numerous things. Hateful, hateful people. They were the ones on the murder charge ...

An interview had been set-up with Barry, the 'toughest' of the Williams boys, by Scott. However, he had to postpone several times because of work commitments. He is a construction worker, who works throughout the UK for

weeks/months at a time, which perhaps indicates the exaggerated characterisation of the family described by Harry, and others. I never interviewed Barry, but despite difficulties in gaining access to estate residents, I managed to have several conversations in the street, and later recorded interviews with Craig Evans (45) and his nephew, Jordan Jones (19), both members of the Evans/Jones family. In the next section I present a brief history of their family with the aim of weakening the 'personality weaknesses' thesis, and offering a figurational analysis of a 'troubled' family.

A Brief History of the Evans/Jones Family

The Evanses and the Joneses are connected through the relationship between Susan Evans and Simon Jones. In this section, the processes of socialisation within the family structure as part of the wider neighbourhood figuration is considered, particularly in relation to the Evans/Jones family. Connected to this is the process of sociological inheritance, specifically the generational transmission of reputations, and the transformation of stigma into collective pride and power among family members which emerged during the analysis of interviews with Craig Evans (48) and Jordan Jones (19).

The Evanses

I met Craig in The Shop, and we often 'bumped' into each other as we walked around Blackacre; Craig escaping the boredom of sitting with his elderly mother, with whom he had lived since his divorce, and me 'doing fieldwork'. We had many conversations as we walked, and I often timed my fieldwork to ensure that I 'bumped into' Craig[99]. I explained that I was doing a 'community study' and Craig would explain how the estate worked, what the problems were, and how residents were stigmatised by people outside the estate. After a couple of months, Craig agreed to do an interview to 'help me out'. I had become aware of the reputation of the Evanses and their connection with the Joneses,

---

[99] In this sense I was more than merely walking, I was actively looking for data, seeking to engage with people, even a particular person. This seemed like a logical and sensible way in which to engage with residents. Subsequently, I have discovered that this is similar to Kusenbach's (2003, p.463) 'Go-Along' method which is described as a 'hybrid between participant observation and interviewing, go-alongs carry certain advantages when it comes to exploring the role of place in everyday lived experience'. In go-alongs the researcher would 'follow informants into their familiar environments and track outings they would go on anyway as closely as possible, for instance with respect to the particular day, the time of the day, and the routes of the regular trip' (ibid).

consequently our conversation tended to focus on this aspect of Craig's life on Blackacre:

> I've lived there forty years now, Steve, Blackacre, but we're originally from [another neighbourhood]. Well, my father was from Ireland …

Craig has lived on Blackacre for most of his life, however, he points out that his family – 'we' – are originally from another neighbourhood (which has a 'tougher' reputation). I understood this to indicate a distancing of his family from Blackacre, and perhaps a veiled assertion of his family's tough reputation. Importantly, he indicated that his father was from Ireland; this emerged as a significant aspect of his family's reputation.

> CRAIG: My father was Irish, came over in the fifties and met my mother. My father was a bit rough, a bit wild, but he was down to earth … he called a spade-a-spade, straightforward. He had a drink; I don't drink myself. He had a drink, and we had a massive family, and they couldn't sort of cope with looking after everyone in the family. So it was difficult for my mother, and they sort of let us do what we liked …
>
> STEVE: So, there was perhaps a little bit of lack of control because it was such a big family?
>
> CRAIG: Yeah, that's right. It's sort of like a relapse [*sic*] of state of mind for the family … It's difficult to explain, but my father, he gave me his belt a few times, and sent me to bed. But, he was wild, so the family was. From Southern Ireland he was … if we didn't get up in the morning he'd throw a bucket of water over us. Or drag us out of bed, and we'd have to get out of the house …

Craig explains that his father was a 'rough', straightforward man, who 'had a drink'; reproducing stereotypical ideas about immigrant Irish labourers[100].

---

[100] Pearson (1983, p.75) discusses the origin of the term 'hooligan' to describe the 'un-British' (uncivilised) hooligan of Victorian England, arguing that although its origin is unclear, the term is probably an Irish name. Russell (1964, p.136), in his 'inquiry into the incidence of crime

Craig explains that their family was large and difficult to control, and that his father would use corporal punishment and manhandling; violent control strategies which contemporary society finds increasingly unacceptable[101].

> STEVE: So you've lived up Blackacre for forty years.
>
> CRAIG: Maybe more. Maybe forty-two. Since it was built ... Moved in in the mid-seventies. The top half wasn't built ... We moved in while it was still being built. There was no doors or windows –
>
> STEVE: So you were some of the first people in there then.
>
> CRAIG: That's right.
>
> STEVE: Was that the whole family?
>
> CRAIG: Well there was only seven of us then, and my mother went on to have another two ... But my mother, she had a bad few years with my father. She was strong but she didn't know how to react to different members of the family, so she became submissive ...

Craig explains that they were one of the first families to move onto Blackacre. It is probable that the Evanses family reputation as a rough 'Irish' family from a 'rougher' part of Welshtown preceded them, and that residents in the surrounding neighbourhood feared that this was this kind of large 'problem family' that was going to be living on the estate. In the process, the kind of social

---

among the Irish community in England', found that the stereotypical reputations of Irish immigrants into Britain had persisted since the late eighteenth century. He reported in a relatively uncritical way, that single young Irishmen had reputations as hard working labourers who drank excessively, and tended to engage in street fights. Reinforcing the stereotype, Russell (1964, p.140) comments: 'Premeditated crimes of violence or dishonesty are rare among them. Irishmen will beat up somebody outside a public house, often savagely; but they will not lie in wait for him the next day; Irishmen scarcely ever figure among dope pedlars or safe-blowers, confidence tricksters or forgers. Naïveté not vice or cunning, is the characteristic of the average Irish delinquent'.

[101] At the time of writing, early in 2017, a bill is being considered in the Welsh Assembly which aims to remove the defence of 'reasonable chastisement' in relation to using corporal punishment to discipline children (England 2017). This is evidence of a civilising process occurring in which domestic violence against partners and the use of physical punishment against children has come to be viewed as an indefensible abuse of power. Here the status of children is 'more equal' with that of adults in a process of democratisation.

barriers based on fear and resentment that Clifford and Clive described in Chapter 4 began to emerge. Craig indicated throughout our conversation that his father was violent and his mother 'submissive', so I probed this issue:

> STEVE: From what you're saying, it sounds like your dad was a very controlling man.
>
> CRAIG: He was. He was dominant ... he had love and affection for us ... but we had hard times. A large family is a good thing because you share and help each other. But there's good and bad areas. If I said to someone, 'could you lend me this', like your sister, they probably would ...
>
> STEVE: So, would you say your life was difficult growing up?
>
> CRAIG: I had a few knocks, like. I got knocked out with a bat when I was little. A baseball bat, hit me in the side of my face and I fractured my skull. We had a lot done to us which was unjust.

I tried to focus on the issue of domestic violence, to get Craig to talk about his mother's 'submissiveness', but Craig circumvented the issue, possibly indicating a sense of shame, explaining that they had 'hard times', and indicating the importance of having a strong family structure. Craig further signals the centrality of violence in his life, and much of the violence he talks of experiencing occurs in the public sphere, explaining that the family were victimised because of their Irish background.

> STEVE: Tell me about it?
>
> CRAIG: Well, my father used to go to the Irish Club ... and my brother was down there the one time, and the barman beat him with a walking stick. He was bruised all over.
>
> STEVE: Why?
>
> CRAIG: Well, what I think he was trying to say is. Well, there was friction with the Irish and the Welsh part of us, because we were a combination; we had Welsh and Irish in us. And the

Irish … I know some of them are downtrodden, not every one of them, but he hurt my brother, and my father didn't go in there for a couple of years. He had a metal thing on the end of his walking stick; he hurt his leg, the owner of the club. He was probably showing all the other Irish men that he wouldn't take no messing off anyone. But my brother was black and blue. All his back and everywhere. I felt for my brother then. And I don't like that man anymore, because to hurt someone like that is unjust, isn't it, Steve?

STEVE: So that was about conflict between the Welsh and the Irish?

CRAIG: Yeah, well he was trying to say to my father 'I'm an Irishman as well as you' type of thing, like. And my father was very protective of us in some ways. So that's the way I see it. I still see him about today, the bloke. I was going to say to him 'You're a nasty piece of work, you are'. I wouldn't hurt no one, the way I see it, why should he hurt someone in my family? … Years ago we had our windows put in and everything, bottles thrown through the windows.

STEVE: Why was that?

CRAIG: I'm not sure. Just people, they were getting ideas about the family. Yeah, we had a few ups and downs.

STEVE: What was that like, to have that happen?

CRAIG: Well, it was terrifying. My sisters were young, and a bottle come through the window one night … well we had a few bottles and windows smashed and everything. What it is, my father, he was a bit aggressive, like. I loved my father, but he wasn't right a lot of the time. But … he did show me affection and stuff, like. Because of the Irish and the Welsh thing, that was held against us by certain people.

STEVE: On Blackacre?

> CRAIG: Well, around this area, like. And they think well he's not going to get away with words or something. Like he might say something to someone, or be aggressive, and he was wrong he was, Steve. But growing up with it you couldn't help it affecting you, like. You look back and you think, well 'that was wrong'...

In this section, Craig describes how the family were violently attacked because of their Irish heritage; they were 'outsiders'. The effect of this rejection has been to react to this injustice by becoming a close-knit family, developing a strong we-identity, and being prepared to use violence to protect each other and resolve everyday problems.

> STEVE: So Pat's [Craig's brother] up the top?

> CRAIG: Yeah, up the top. Susan [Craig's sister] is there. We've sort of built our home in the rocks. They're like our rocks, and you can't destroy rocks, they're very difficult to destroy. So you got Susan, Pat and my mother here.

> STEVE: So there are three arms of your family here.

> CRAIG: Yeah, and my, it's a terrible thing to say, Steve, but my sister, she drinks a lot. She's caught-up with drink. Thirty years she's been drinking ... She denies that she needs drink, but I think different. I don't hate her, or love her any different. She's caught-up in that. It does catch people sometimes, it's an awful thing, like. Pat has a drink as well ... they're caught up in my father's sort of lifestyle ...

Craig uses the symbolism of a home built on 'rocks' to emphasise the closeness of his family, and the security that this belonging to the place engenders. He discloses that his siblings are 'caught-up with drink', which he explains as following his father's lifestyle. I have been in The Shop on several afternoons when Susan, after collecting her children from school, has purchased a litre of vodka. Susan's relationship with her partner, Simon Jones, is, like her parent's relationship, violent and chaotic. This thesis aims to help dispel the myth that this generationally repeated behaviour can be explained in an entirely biological

or individualistic way by highlighting sociological mechanisms which trap people. My conversation with Craig indicated that the Evans's family reputation as 'fighters' on the estate stemmed from the reputation of their immigrant Irish father, who was treated as an outsider. The family were targeted with violence, forcing them to become protective of each other, often violently. Although Craig expressed love for his father, his description of family life is filled with stories of domestic violence from his father towards himself, his mother and his siblings. The family have acquired a tough reputation, which Craig explains as emanating from the family being victimised and targeted as outsiders; as violent Irish newcomers on the Blackacre estate. They are seen as a tough family, 'different' from those in the surrounding neighbourhood. This was highlighted when Clifford (74, Zone 2), a man who had been a director of several businesses, mentioned that he had a connection with Craig who had been married to one of Clifford's daughters.

> CLIFFORD: I know the one family down there [Blackacre] which my daughter was married into … but they were a different kind of people to us. I mean, they were no better or worse, to me. I mean, Craig, I like the bloke … But we were two different families …
>
> STEVE: So, when you say they are a 'different kind of people', what made them different?
>
> CLIFFORD: … the impression I got was that they were drinkers, and rough and ready … they think a different way to what I would. Whereas, if I could see trouble brewing I would walk away, let them get on with it. Whereas, and I'm not pointing a finger at anybody over Blackacre, except that there are people that if they saw a fight brewing 'Phwoar! Let's get in it! Let's have a go!'

Whilst the Evanses may be superficially perceived as a 'troubled' family with 'personality weaknesses', by viewing the development of the family's reputation as a figurational process we can see how Craig's father had been cast as an outsider and how this reputation preceded him onto Blackacre, affecting the

lives of the Evans family for future generations. This reputation has persisted in gossip about the family, a weapon which can include ancestors (Gluckman 1963), and therefore be may be easily imagined as 'natural', biologically determined and unchangeable. Deterministic explanations may become entrenched when similar patterns of behaviour are repeated, as is the case with Susan Evans and her relationship with Simon Jones.

The Joneses

Susan Evans and Simon Jones are unmarried, and over their thirty-year relationship they have had six children; all boys. Simon is in his late-forties and comes from a well-to-do professional family who live in Zone 2 who have 'disowned' him, supposedly because of his long-term drug addiction. He is also a known prolific burglar, and has been imprisoned several times. This branch of the Evans/Jones family live on Blackacre. At least, Susan and the six boys (aged between twenty-five and eight years old) live on Blackacre. 'Officially', Simon lives in a flat in town. In reality, he illegally 'sublets' the flat and lives with Susan. As such, four generations[102] of the Evans/Jones family live on Blackacre. I managed to get access to Jordan Jones (all the boys took their father's name) after he was approached by Ross (24, Zone 2), who I had previously interviewed, and who Jordan owed a 'favour'. I asked Jordan about his family:

> JORDAN: … a very big family I've got. I've got five brothers, so there's six boys. I've got seven uncles … on my mother's side I think there's about nine, and on my father's side I'm sure she had about six. Then we've got a lot of family over in Ireland as well.
>
> STEVE: The Irish descent is from the Evans side?
>
> JORDAN: Yes, my mother's father is Irish.

Jordan's tone about the size of his family and their Irish descent was more positive from the outset than Craig's. There was a sense of group pride. Jordan went on to describe his life at home, in particular the unstable and violent, but

---

[102] These are; Susan's mother, Susan, her children, and her grandchildren.

enduring, relationship between his parents and the effects that he sees this having on his siblings – but not himself:

> JORDAN: My mother and father, they've been together since they were about fifteen … for about thirty years. My father's quite ill, so rather than the stress of him constantly being at home with the children … well not just that, my mother and father have been on-and-off their whole lives … He has his own flat but he's up the house every other day, stays most nights. But he's ill, so when he wants to get away he stays up his place … I think it affects any child not having a father permanently in their life, you know, coming and going. They're not used to it. They play up for my mother. And things got to change then when dad's home … as I'm the oldest there I'm sort of the father role.
>
> STEVE: So you've taken on the role?
>
> JORDAN: … I wouldn't like to say that … the one is twelve and the others are nine and seven, they are constantly fighting, and screaming. After coming in from doing a twelve-hour shift my way of dealing with them is saying, just 'shut-up', you know? I haven't got the parenting skills to have a 'time-out' or any of that bollocks … I'm quite old school, I give them a slap and put them to bed.

The absence of Simon from the family on a regular basis, and the consequent lack of control over the children, is explained by Jordan as an outcome of his father's 'illness'; although he recognises the chaotic and violent nature of his parents' relationship also. Jordan has inherited an 'old school' approach to 'parenting' – a 'father role' he feels compelled to undertake as 'the eldest' living at home; this involves physical chastisement. This, as noted previously, may indicate an approach which is incompatible with contemporary 'civilised' values.

Throughout our interview Jordan took pride in his capacity for hard physical work, also a theme in Sean's account, and an obstacle to interviewing Barry.

This confounds the stereotypical and resentful characterisation of unmitigated welfare dependency among residents of Blackacre. One of the main distinctions between respectability and roughness was being employed. The work ethic was central in understanding a person's value, and the key aspect in claiming status as 'respectable'. 'Good parenting' involved instilling values which stressed the importance of a strong work ethic, a personality trait assumed to be absent in most residents of the estate. Nevertheless, Jordan works twelve-hour shifts as a labourer, and explains that his work ethic comes from the example set by one of his uncles. Jordan's (and Barry's, and Craig's) strong work ethic is more typically associated with the image of the surrounding community. However, it emerged as a common value among most residents of Ashmill, both Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood.

The conversation moved on to talk about the tough reputation of his uncles:

> JORDAN: Yeah, he was a bit of a boy back in the day, Craig was. He was the man on the estate.
>
> STEVE: What do you mean?
>
> JORDAN: He was a tough sort of guy; he wasn't scared of a fight. He had a few back in his day. People always got stories about him. He was someone people looked-up to as a bit of a hard sort of character. And that's passed down then through the family … I think he got it from my granddad. He was always a sort of a hard Irish guy; go to work, go to the pub, wouldn't moan about anything. I'm sure there's a bit of gypsy in our family! I'm sure of it … and Pat was always into his Kung-Fu and stuff like that. People always got stories about him. It baffles me because I just can't see it in them. But the Evans side of the family has always been quite a big name … If I don't get called 'Jones' I get called 'Evans', you can see it a mile off … It has passed down, massively, I think … When people come up to me and tell me stories about how they used to scrap, and people would put their heads down when they walked past them, I just can't see it. Because they are so polite and

224

gentleman-like really. Craig is an old school gentleman, I'd say.
He is very polite and very well-mannered.

Jordan traces his uncle's reputations as 'hard-men' on Blackacre back to his grandfather, and believes that this reputation, this family name, has passed on through the family. The assumption of a biological inheritance along the male line is implicit in Jordan's account. However, I argue that this is a process of *sociological inheritance*, a generational expectation, which indicates how a reputation, albeit deviant, may be useful as a means of resolving problems, generating and maintaining power, and as a means of protection and sense of 'belonging'. It also implies that the family name was a burden which had to be lived-up to, as well as being a source of notoriety:

> JORDAN: … Ever since a young kid I haven't been able to go anywhere without being known. Anywhere. You walk down the street and you hear 'Jones' or 'Evans', or Craig or Joey – my brother's names. I don't know who these people are.

Jordan explained that the 'Jones' name tends to dominate the family reputation nowadays, and that his older brothers were pivotal in in establishing their name:

> JORDAN: I think it's more of the Joneses now. The Evanses have always been known. My elder brothers made a name for the Joneses. My father … he's got a name for himself, and my older brother's made quite a big name for the Joneses. And I sort of took it on with the boxing and things like that. Sometimes it's like feeling like a celebrity, that's the best way to put it … Say from the age of twelve or thirteen I always had my brother's oldest friends coming up to me, people I'd never met and they'd know me. And then people older and older, they'd have something to say. I didn't take no notice back then, but it's mad how it carries on from my brother to me. Everywhere I go I'm known.

> STEVE: So how is that useful?

JORDAN: Mainly it just gives you respect. If you need something people will help you. If you need something they will get it. Or if you're in trouble they will help you. Not because you're asking, but because you're respected enough to. In whatever way the respect I'd gained. Whether it's from, because my older brother was a bit of a boy and used to fight and was a bit mad, or because the family are nice people.

Jordan explained how the Joneses simultaneously have a reputation based on intimidation and violence, and as 'nice people'. The gossip and rumours I had encountered tended to focus on their reputation for intimidation. Yet, having met and spoken with several family members, they were without exception friendly and likeable people, and extremely polite. Nevertheless, Jordan explained how he was aware of their tough reputation, or 'respect', and that this is useful in acquiring 'help': it is empowering. To be clear, the 'help' Jordan valued was in negotiating problems arising from conflicts with problematic individuals and groups who operated in relatively hostile contexts. This reputation has been passed-on from one generation to another, the younger generation being socialised within a habitus which values tough reputations. Jordan also explained how his reputation of 'being a Jones' preceded him in school. Teachers had predetermined expectations about how he would behave:

JORDAN: The teachers didn't like me, they used to think 'Oh. Here's another Jones!'

STEVE: Do you think they used to think that?

JORDAN: One-hundred percent. They used to tell me that.

STEVE: They used to 'tell' you that?

JORDAN: Yeah, 'You're going to be as bad as him' … My eldest brother was quite, well he was chucked out of school and ended up in prison and was bad all through his teens. My brother, who's just a year older than me, he's on track now. He's got his own place with his girlfriend, full-time job … When he was fourteen or fifteen he looked nineteen or twenty. He

was going to town and knocking the bouncers out. He was a big boy! He was always in trouble.

Jordan's oldest brother, Joey (25) has recently been released from prison after serving several years for stabbing a man on Blackacre. This impulsive act of violence has effectively bolstered and entrenched the notorious family name.

Jordan explained how his family reputation also comes with a 'responsibility' to effect informal social control on Blackacre. This not only 'resolves' problems, but also maintains his family's respect by exercising power at a fairly low-level. It sends a message to other residents that the Joneses and their friendship network are powerful people on Blackacre. This power relies on a reputation based on intimidation and fear, as Jordan explained when dealing with a group of lads hanging around on the estate one night:

> JORDAN: ... I said 'Boys ... move'. And they said [inaudible] and up and went. I'm quite well-respected up there myself, you know. Things like that, ten boys, they're still fifteen or sixteen years of age, some of them are bigger than me, you know? They could have turned around and said 'Piss off!' You know? But things like that don't bother me.

> STEVE: But there's a history there, isn't there?

> JORDAN: Yeah, they know. They got enough respect to just put their head down and say, 'We'll move'. Which is, I feel like I helped. I didn't go over there and say 'Fucking move boys!' I said 'Boys, its one o'clock in the morning. People are trying to sleep. People got work. Move. Get home'. They said 'Yeah, ok'. They moved.

> STEVE: Is this how problems are sorted out then?

> JORDAN: Yeah, I don't think they're out to cause trouble. I firmly believe in being up-front and confronting people. Not beating around the bush. If someone was outside my house, I'd go out and I'd say 'Move. Get from here'.

STEVE: But you can do that –

JORDAN: Yeah. I can do that, yeah. I didn't go over to intimidate them. I did ask nicely. If I went over to intimidate them, they would have run! They would have run from me. Because I am capable of doing whatever to them. But I went over and said 'Look boys, it's one in the morning, people got work, can you move on? Come on'. They said 'Yeah yeah, no worries. We'll go now'. You know they're outside, they're smoking fags and weed. It's not what people with young daughters want to see and people got work at five in the morning. They shouldn't have to cope with it … My friend, he had trouble with a lad … and he drove his car up … He was ripping and turning-up around Blackacre, to find this young boy. And the young boy come to me, who my friend was after, and he said 'He's driving up here like a maniac. He's going to kill me'. I said 'Alright. No worries'. So I pulled him out of his car, I chucked him to the side and took his car, and went and took it away. And I said 'You can't drive your car up here like that. Because if I didn't just take you out of it, like … These older boys would have beat you. They would have pulled you out of your car and they would have beat you'. Which in reality, I should have … I think people are confident enough to come up to me and ask. If there something I can do, within my power.

This illustrates the type of informal control – power – which Jordan and others exercise. They have a high status within the estate figuration, and resolve problems, and are even expected to do so, through violence and intimidation. In the process it becomes 'their estate'. It also serves to illustrate in empirical terms the rejection of the state monopoly on violence exercised by the police, and a reliance on violent self-help. Not that their power was only expressed in this way. Ian (the shopkeeper) told me how one of the Williams boys had bought a paddling pool for local children to use on the communal green. Only for adults to appropriate it for a late night pool party, complaints to be made, and the council to remove it.

During our interview, Jordan explained how the Evans/Jones family, along with the Williamses were perceived as powerful families on Blackacre. This was not simply boasting by Jordan, conversations with residents in Ashmill[103] frequently featured these families as capable of intimidation and violence; there was a real sense of fear. However, context is important, Blackacre is not blighted by the extent or quality of violence in parts of Mexico or inner-city Chicago: it is not Blok's (1974) 'Sicilian village', or Goffman's (2014) Philadelphia, or Bourgois' (2003) 'El Barrio'.

Just as Craig had explained, Jordan locates much of his family's reputation in previous generations; including his grandfather, his uncles, his father, and his older brother. A process of sociological inheritance occurs in which reputations are transmitted generationally. These reputations both support and are supported by collective fantasies proliferated in gossip. They are also reworked, and a sense of transformation was evident from the stigma that was implicit in Craig's account, to the collective pride that was explicit in Jordan's account of his family status. The usefulness of the tough reputation was also elucidated by Jordan, as well as his family's responsibility to provide informal social control (see also Chapter 6 regarding 'the paedophile'). The maintenance of the power that Jordan and the family-based friendship network hold primarily requires low-level intimidation, such as veiled threats of harm and damage. However, serious acts of violence, such as the stabbing that Joey committed, and being 'up on a murder charge' that some of the Williamses were reputedly involved in, enter the local folklore bolstering their reputations. Throughout his account, Jordan describes exercising the power inferred by his family reputation in a righteous and honourable fashion. However, not everybody perceived their behaviour in this way, and in the next section I focus on the experiences of the 'Smiths'; a family who rejected the 'code of honour' which the Joneses and their network of friends adhered to.

---

[103] It bears repeating that the conversations I had with participants foregrounded the problems that residents perceived in relation to crime and antisocial behaviour, and it was in this context that these family names featured.

Life in 'The Square'

> The stronger neighbour had to be feared. The physically
> stronger could use their strength to threaten, extort, to rob and
> to enslave other people (Elias 1997, p.178).

Michelle Smith (40) works as a teaching assistant at a local school. She has three children with her husband, who is a shift-worker in a warehouse. The Smiths were a typically 'respectable' family living on Blackacre. However, unlike most of their neighbours they were buying their home, which they were forced to sell at a significant financial loss in order to move off the estate after fifteen-years, leaving the estate just before I began this study. In our interview, Michelle[104] explained how they had allegedly suffered damage to property, antisocial behaviour, and serious threats of violence from their neighbours, the Joneses and the Williamses, their network of friends, and other 'problematic' people on Blackacre.

> MICHELLE: Every single day was a problem … A certain family
> across the road, and there was just a whole mixture of things;
> there was the drugs and the drink; there was the paedophiles
> who moved in. And to be honest, the police just put every bad
> person, I'm sure, in one basket … It seemed like this family
> were protected by the police and protected by Welshtown
> Homes.
>
> BAILY: Like the Mafia, like they controlled it all …

Michelle indicates that her experience of life on Blackacre involved the daily negotiation of problems involving potential harm. Her comment that 'the police just put every bad person … in one basket' illustrates a recurrent theme in conversations with participants that the police are responsible for housing 'bad' people[105]; although this was more usually a perception of residents living in the

---

[104] During our interview at Michelle's home two of her children, her daughter Reese (14), and her son Baily (15), were also at home and contributed some comments.

[105] As noted in Chapter 4, a 'local letting plan' has been operational on Blackacre for several years. The local letting plan is specific to the allocation of one bed properties, and it entails the social landlord undertaking in-depth interviewing with potential residents to assess suitability. As such, Blackacre has more rigorous assessment in respect of these property types than other areas.

surrounding neighbourhood. At the time of the interview Michelle had moved to Ashmill estate (Zone 3), and had largely become detached from her identity of being 'from Blackacre'. A 'certain family' who Michelle speculated were 'protected' by the police and social landlord, were identified as the root of the problems her family experienced. Baily compared them to 'the Mafia' because of their power of informal control on Blackacre, which tends to confirm Jordan's assertion that the Joneses and the Williamses 'ran' the estate. Initially, Michelle avoided naming the family, however later in the conversation she confirmed that she was referring to the Joneses, and to a lesser extent the Williamses.

Michelle described the layout of the estate as inward facing 'squares', looking onto other houses and blocks of flats across communal green areas. These became meeting places where people could gather, hidden from view, except, Michelle explains, for neighbours in The Square:

> That's where every druggy and alcoholic met. So you'd look out
> of your window any afternoon, Sunday afternoon, weather's
> lovely – we used to dread nice weather … Because you'd look
> out of your window and you'd have fifteen or twenty alkies,
> druggies, these are adults, not children.

Michelle explains how the Jones family would attract a network of friends to The Square, where they would be able to congregate relatively inconspicuously, out of notice of the police, particularly during 'nice weather'. On one hand, this is evidence of sociability and cohesion among some residents, however, Michelle explains how these congregations intruded on her sense of privacy in an increasingly privatised society. Michelle's account illustrates how temporal and spatial dimensions' overlap, with The Square offering a closed-off public space used seasonally, and without respect for neighbours working patterns and school commitments which required peace during the night-time. This marked out a boundary between respectable 'working' neighbours and the 'kind of people' – the welfare, drug, and alcohol dependent people – that Michelle saw attracted by the Jones family.

> MICHELLE: This family basically lived outside, they'd eat their
> food outside –

BAILY: They'd go to toilet outside.

REESE: The children would run around naked outside.

One of the characteristics which distinguished the Jones's, and associates, way of life from the 'decent' residents in this part of Blackacre was their extension of private life into the public sphere[106]. As Michelle's family collectively represent, this typically involved a lack of self-restraint and shame regarding bodily functions and nakedness which is associated with more civilised behaviour.

STEVE: Would this just be the kids of the family?

MICHELLE: No, adults. They would attract adults, not kids, it was adults. The kids would be there, because they'd all bring their kids then … the children, at the time when they're all off their faces, used to be battering one another … Or they'd be running wild, just ruining whatever they could, destroying other people's property. When I've got the 'pleasure' of these parents all sat outside my house.

The account here supports the 'minority of the worst' image which is prevalent in the surrounding neighbourhood's collective fantasies about all residents of Blackacre; irresponsible, welfare dependent parents intoxicated on alcohol and/or drugs, who have no control over their children who are left to 'run wild'. Again, just as caution needs to be exercised in reading accounts of lads from the estate, this account also requires some caution. Michelle was able to vent her anger during this interview, no doubt fuelled to some extent by her resentment at having to move, at losing capital in the value of her home, and possibly as being seen to have 'lost' her battle. Michelle was also able to further break the link between her family and Blackacre.

---

[106] Individualisation, the notion that in urbanised societies individuals lose the cohesion and security of their group (tribes, families, or neighbourhoods) and are increasingly compelled to fend for themselves, is a key transformation in the process of civilisation. A consequence of this, as outlined in Elias's (2000) theory of the civilising process, is the greater privatisation of certain behaviour, such as sex, nakedness, and excretion of bodily waste. Individual personality structures require greater self-restraint (Elias 2001). In the process, lengthening chains of interdependence between individuals emerge. On Blackacre, chains of interdependence, for some, seem shorter, linking individuals within small groups on the estate.

It is clear from Michelle's account, and from other accounts, that the emerging picture is not one which affects every resident of the estate. This image of Blackacre is based on the activities of a relatively small number of people, including, but not limited to, a few powerful families, in two or three spaces on Blackacre: the road behind The Shop, The Square where the Joneses and the Williamses live, and the boarded-up flats. Nevertheless, the collective fantasy that every family on Blackacre is 'rough' persists:

> BAILY: That's what I think the problem with the Blackacre is. It's all 'broken families' and they're all like, with each other, so they base their morals from one another, and I think it kind of tumbles down from that.

Perhaps it was because Baily was able to reflect as a former resident, and therefore detach himself and his family from this assertion that *all* families on Blackacre are 'broken families'. Implicit in his perspective is the notion that a group socialisation, a habitus develops among the 'broken families' (but not *his* family) on Blackacre, in which a process of inheritance of antisocial behaviour and immorality occurs. This behaviour is relatively easy to attribute to 'natural forces' inherited through 'broken families', rather than as is argued here, that families are shaped by, and shape, interdependent figurations. I asked Michelle to explain why they finally moved off the estate:

> It would have been a case of my husband ending up in prison; that was the reason. Because, what happened was, and all these people have moved since, these were the decent people, we've all moved from there. Again, back to this one family that drove everybody out. The one evening, this gang of young boys … my friend's daughter was getting changed in the bedroom and they were sat out on the pavement outside her house shouting up to the daughter up in her bedroom window. The daughter looked out and one of the boys was sat there [gestures masturbation] yeah, I don't want to say the word, but he was … My friend, next door … she was absolutely gobsmacked to see this. The police came and wouldn't do anything because there was no proof. These boys were saying 'No it didn't happen', she was

saying 'Yes it did. I saw you'. They knocked my door, I'd seen it happen, but because I couldn't say that I actually saw the actual 'thing' out, obviously he wasn't doing it. So obviously my neighbour was really upset about this. She'd had a lot of trouble as well, she was living in what, you know, what we were living with. She was a working mother, you know, same thing. The next day my neighbour approached the lady from across the road, where these children come from, and they started an argument ... 'What your children did last night was disgusting!' And this woman from across the road was saying 'It wasn't just my son! You got it wrong!' Anyway, a big argument started. I was coming back with bags of shopping, so as I'm walking in my door, the oldest son of the family across the road called me a c – u – n – t. I wasn't even involved ... Took my bags in, my husband had heard it, he wasn't happy with it. Came out 'Do not call my wife c – u – n – t!' He said 'Shut your fucking mouth because I'll fucking stab you!' My husband doesn't back down from anybody. He went outside and said 'Come on then!' So he's sort of like running in front of my husband, but still threatening to stab him at the same time. He ran into his house with his mates and they were all taunting my husband outside the window 'Come on you wanker! Come on we'll stab you!' My husband's stood outside going 'Well come out here then!' You know, he's protecting us at the end of the day. Didn't cross their garden, didn't go in their garden, was stood outside of their garden. My neighbour now, she's still seething with the mother. Anyway, the mother went in she was guarding her front door. Like I said, they were goading my husband out of the window. Next thing then, somebody had called the police. The police turned up and a friend of the lady across the road had come along and she said to the police 'He's just hit that lady'; my husband. I said 'He hasn't been nowhere near her'. And there was all the decent people saying 'He hasn't even crossed her garden' ... So we told the police they were in

there and they'd threatened to stab my husband. We were the ones who had to go inside. We were the ones that were banned from being out in The Square, so was my neighbour ... We all got into trouble and they were still allowed to do what they wanted to do. Anyway ... my husband was out the other end of ... the house, fixing my car ... and the boy that threatened to stab him happened to walk past, and my husband gave him a filthy look, which you would. Next thing the police come to arrest my husband because this 'poor vulnerable family' had reported him and they felt threatened ... and this boy later went on to stab somebody and has just done five years in prison.

Michelle explains that all of the 'decent' people were forced to move off the estate because of the behaviour of the Joneses and their friends. The 'stronger neighbour' was feared, as the extract from Elias (1997) at the start of this section suggests, and power was simultaneously exercised and maintained. The account illustrates how the Smiths recognised the legitimacy of the police (the state monopoly on violence), whilst the Joneses rejected it, and their network closed-ranks to protect themselves, threatening interpersonal violence. Michelle expressed frustration that the police were able to be so easily neutralised, leaving her family in a weaker and more vulnerable position. A 'them-and-us' situation evolved, and an established-outsider situation, a double-bind, was apparent. In this case, the established and most powerful group were the most 'deviant', and the outsiders were those residents in The Square who were more typically 'respectable' families. This illustrates how established-outsider theory can be used to make sense of lower-level interdependencies. It also illustrates how estates may now have developed relatively established networks capable of exercising power over outsiders.

Michelle identifies the incident which culminated in their decision to follow other decent neighbours and move off the estate. This involved a gang of boys in the street pestering a girl getting changed in her bedroom, while one of the boys was allegedly masturbating in the street. This suggests a lack of self-restraint and shame which is indicative of civilised society. This was also an act which

was an exercise of power, embarrassing the girl and humiliating the family and neighbours who would probably be too scared to confront the boys in case the situation escalated into a vendetta[107]. In fact, Susan Jones was confronted about the alleged behaviour of her son, and a public argument ensued. Michelle was drawn into the disagreement by association with the other neighbour. They are seen as 'outsiders' in the immediate context because they cannot be trusted to abide by the code of honour of the 'established' families. The 'no-grassing' rule is contravened by the Joneses in order to 'punish' the Smith's for challenging their position.

Michelle was publicly insulted by one of the Jones boys who called her a 'cunt'[108]. In her account, Michelle spelled this word out, this was likely to be for two reasons. Firstly, our interview was taking place with her children present, aged fourteen and sixteen, so the word would be inappropriate – 'bad manners' – for a respectable person to use freely. However, Michelle had used other profanity during our conversation. This indicates the second possible reason for spelling it out, that is the especially offensive connotations and social taboo associated with using this particular obscenity. In doing so, she draws a distinction between herself as a respectable person, and the lad who insulted her. After Michelle was publicly disrespected, she felt that her husband was compelled to intervene, to protect his family or experience humiliation and injury to his reputation; perhaps also indicating a lack of faith in the police to resolve the problem. This highlights the importance of a capacity for violence not only for men adhering to the Blackacre code of honour, but also for displaying an aggressive working-class masculinity. This escalates the situation

---

[107] According to Collins (2008, p.224), vendettas are inherently unfair and self-perpetuating: 'The essence of vendetta tactics is to catch one's opponent off guard and at a disadvantage'. In characterising the structure of vendettas, Collins (2008, p.225) argues that they tend to occur where 'there are tribal corporate units, with stable, non-shifting boundaries, and a relatively low internal hierarchy … This means that individual identities are firmly embedded in groups identities; … every man sticks with his group'. It is argued here, that the use of the word 'vendetta' is accurate, and theoretically pertinent, as whilst the vendetta encountered between the Smiths and the Joneses was not 'tribal', it was bounded by the estate and involved an element of family and group loyalty.

[108] The socio-historical taboo on using the word 'cunt' is traced by Hughes (2006b, pp.110-114), who draws on literary evidence of the use and increasing prohibition of the word. Whilst he acknowledges that the word has been 'the most seriously taboo' in English for centuries, Hughes also identifies the changing sensibilities around its use, commenting: 'Astonishingly to modern readers, *cunt* was used with far greater openness in earlier times in popular, idiomatic, and even technical currency. It is a startling discovery that its first recorded appearance is in *Gropecuntlane*, an Oxford street name, about 1230. Whether this arresting name was a warning or an encouragement is hard to say, but the term was clearly acceptable publicly'.

and serious threats of violence are issued by Joey Jones; who was subsequently convicted of stabbing another man, indicating the reality of this threat. When the police arrive, a friend of the Joneses alleges without prompting that Michelle's husband had hit Susan Jones. This shows how the network of friends are bound together by a code of honour which has real consequences. The social power that Jones family and their friendship network hold can be exercised defensively and, simultaneously, to maintain their reputation. Consequently, 'the police', who tend to be overwhelmingly *response* orientated dealing with discrete incidents, rather than having knowledge of long-standing neighbourhood situations, are perceived to be either powerless or protecting 'bad' people, and injustice and resentment are felt.

The Smiths were unusual in The Square because they were buying their home, unlike most neighbours who were renting. Michelle explained how her neighbour had been able to move off the estate within a couple of months. Despite suffering the financial cost of higher private rent to move off the estate, she was able to relieve her situation fairly quickly. However, Michelle explained that as an 'owner' rather than a 'renter', she was trapped in a long effort to sell her house, eventually selling it at a reduction of many thousands of pounds, which left her feeling resentful.

Michelle explained how living on Blackacre affected their reputation and relationships with friends from the surrounding neighbourhood.

> MICHELLE: Baily's got a family who are friends, and they're rough. They don't live on Blackacre, but mum and dad would not let their son come to us. And if he did the dad would bring him down, then come back to collect him ... And this family, they were, you know the type, they look after each other, they were all into their 'stuff' as well, but the dad wouldn't let him walk down on his own. And a lot of friends when Baily told them where he lived, they wasn't allowed to come at all.

> BAILY: I had to go to them. It was like the Blackacre was some 'demilitarised zone' and you couldn't go there ... if I say 'Let's go to this part of town' and they'd say 'God no. That's a

dangerous place'. That's how they saw us. And they kind of associated us with it then, obviously because the people I've known for a long time, think that we kind of get along with all this drug sort of stuff … everyone had this idea about Blackacre, and it was like Blackacre was becoming a *cliché* and it was true, what they were saying. Like they would say 'Oh Blackacre – drug deals'. It was like, although you're treating it like a *cliché*, it's true.

Michelle and Baily explain how they were cognisant of the disgraceful reputation of Blackacre, and how this entered their own personality structures. Blackacre is seen as a dangerous place where drug dealing occurs, and residents in the surrounding community assume that as residents, they must also be embroiled in this 'lifestyle'. This illustrates the collective fantasy that evolves, which is based on the exaggerated but *real* characteristics of a relatively small, powerful, number of residents.

MICHELLE: There were parts that were nice … But what was happening then was, the parts that were nice was probably because most of the not-so-nice people were all coming down to us. So the other parts weren't getting all the trouble. We were right there in the centre … There are decent families there.

BAILY: Just a shame they can't leave.

MICHELLE: They don't get any choice, they can't leave.

The picture that emerged was that most residents on Blackacre lived lives that were indistinguishable from those residents living in the surrounding neighbourhood. They held similar law-abiding values based around honesty, work, and family life. They were generally considerate, and respected their neighbours' peace and privacy. Michelle suggests that while there are 'decent' families and places on Blackacre, this was only due to the displacement of the 'not-so-nice people' from around the estate. It is apparent that on Blackacre the minority have capitalised on the opportunity to empower themselves in an unplanned process in which stigma is transformed into group pride over three

generations. The bounded choices that residents experience is also highlighted, and this may be particularly problematic for 'owners' who may be trapped on the estate. This was the case especially for older residents I spoke with who bought their homes in the early 1980s.

Conclusion

This chapter began with an extract by Elias and Scotson (1994) which set out the proposition that families are often perceived as the building-blocks of a community. I developed the argument that it was plausible to speculate that if this was the case, then it was the influence of these 'troubled' families which may be understood to cause neighbourhoods such as Blackacre to become perceived as rough, even dangerous, places. This argument is problematic, as it tends to produce a deterministic theory; that there is some genetic or moral defect which is generationally inherited within problem families, forming an 'underclass' (Murray 1990), and is incapable of change. This argument can be compounded by observations that 'troubled' families tend to remain on the same insular estates for generations; the odious implication being that these genetic or moral defects may intensify with 'interbreeding' over time. As such, these become 'problem people' and 'dangerous places', beyond hope, to be contained and controlled (Wilson and Kelling 1982). The argument in this chapter has been that rather than focus on 'personality weaknesses' which may play some part in the lives of some disordered families at any level of society, it is the *sociological forces*, the neighbourhood structures, the figurational interdependencies, and the double-bind traps, which have produced and reproduced these reputations.

This chapter has concentrated on relationships between two families who lived on Blackacre. In the discussion of these relationships I have highlighted the social processes which have reproduced the rough reputation of the Evans/Jones family, transforming collective sense of stigmatisation into group pride over three generations. I have also shown how these social processes have enabled these now 'established *as* outsider' families and their friendship networks to capitalise on exaggerated reputations for intimidation and violence to acquire a powerful, if deviant, status on Blackacre, developing a network of associations which acts as a defensive web. A tradition has grown-up among

239

some residents on Blackacre over three generations, just as that among the established residents of Zone 2 in Winston Parva, which has a price to pay of 'submission and conformity to communal norms' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.50). This 'code of honour' demands a rejection of the police in particular, and state authorities generally, and loyalty to Blackacre's small but powerful the family-based network. In contrast, the relatively weak Smith family and other 'decent' neighbours were unable to defend themselves against this network. When they became perceived as a threat to the power and reputation of the more powerful group, they were threatened with violence and suffered damage to their property until they, following other 'decent' neighbours, moved off the estate.

Elias and Scotson argue that the respectable working-class majority of the Estate in Winston Parva lacked the necessary cohesion to 'fight-back' against the bullying and intimidation of the minority of notorious families. The majority of respectable residents on the Estate, just as in Blackacre, kept themselves-to-themselves, whilst understanding that most of the surrounding neighbourhood regarded most families on the Estate to be 'problem families'. In this chapter, Elias and Scotson's observation is supported by examining the case of the Smiths and the Joneses. However, this proposition has been developed by identifying social mechanisms which may reproduce long established 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983) for some, and empowerment for others, between groups trapped in such a double-bind. Part of the collective fantasy is that it is residents in the surrounding neighbourhood who have most to fear. However, the reality, it is argued here, is that it is those residents of Blackacre who are doubly excluded who potentially suffer the greatest harm. They tend to be stigmatised by the surrounding neighbourhood, and bullied by the relatively powerful minority of Blackacre residents. The code of honour is based on tough reputations which may be sociologically inherited through the socialisation of children within notorious families, and as discussed in the next chapter, in the life-long experiences of growing-up in Ashmill.

Chapter 8: Growing-up in Ashmill

> We are born into unchosen positions, relationships and
> environments, which in our early years shape us deeply (Sayer
> 2011, p.128).

This chapter considers the concept of socialisation as a complex set of processes which involve not only the influences of parents on a child, but also as a life-long process in which we become inextricably connected with the network of figurations in which we find ourselves situated[109]. Furthermore, the idea that historical socialisation processes which pre-exist any single individual exert an influence on our personality structure is a key aspect of Elias's (2000) civilising process thesis. These processes exist before, and continue throughout and beyond each individual life-time, with pluralities of individuals acting, and being acted upon, producing largely unplanned social transformations, and maintaining what seem like enduring constants. This chapter considers what it means to 'grow-up' in Ashmill, it foregrounds the importance of belonging to a 'place' and the influence that this has on the way that groups of residents understand and imagine themselves and each other. The argument, key to established-outsider theory, is developed that pre-existent collective fantasies of 'respectable' residents in the surrounding neighbourhood, and 'rough' residents of the Blackacre estate, are intrinsic and generationally reproduced aspects of the socialisation process which are incorporated into the personality structures of residents. The different habituses described and observed are compared and contrasted, and the accounts and themes which emerged from the empirical data are discussed. These include access to organised activities through institutions in the community which are traditionally associated with providing informal social control such as schools, churches, community centres, and clubs. The argument is made that up until early adolescence, about thirteen to fourteen years old, organisations through which children may be socialised

---

[109] Elias acknowledges the influence of Freud's work on the socialisation of children within the family context, but argues that this focused primarily on the individual person. Elias extends the concept of the process of socialisation to encompass both historical time-scales, and the influence of group process over an individual's lifetime. That is, the development of a person's 'we-image and we-ideal' (Elias 1976, pp.xlii-xliii).

outside the family setting are available, but limited and not equally accessible. The importance of education is considered, and the capacity to imagine a 'future' is discussed. The accounts of 'just hanging around' that some participants from both the estate and the surrounding community described engaging in are explored, and a 'transgression of boundaries' between habituses that some participants described in experiencing 'the best of both worlds' is considered. Accounts of growing-up of some young men 'from Blackacre' who indicate the sense of stigma they experienced from the surrounding community, and the feeling of group pride and loyalty that this tended to produce, and generationally reproduce are focused upon. Finally, the idea of the estate as a 'trap' is considered, and the accounts of the young men from Blackacre in how this has affected their lives is considered.

Belonging to a Place

One of the themes in this thesis is that, despite the apparent contemporary disconnection of people from their immediate neighbours and physical surroundings through technological advances, 'place' still matters. Where you are 'from' transmits information about you, and the reputation of a place profoundly affects the reputations of residents (Sampson 2012, p.59). Elias and Scotson (1994, p.171) discuss the processes that a newcomer might experience when settling in a neighbourhood of Winston Parva, how they could not avoid being drawn into the existing 'configurational problems'. There is a sense in which people 'belong' to a place, in which their I- and we-identities are inextricably linked to form 'personal versions of collective fantasies' (Elias 1976, p.xliii). This sense of belonging to a place was particularly strong among some residents of Blackacre, for example, Jordan (19, Zone 4) explained:

> If someone said 'I'm from Blackacre', then, you're not from Ashmill. They'd always sort of look down on you … People always seem to look down on people from Blackacre, and I can never really understand why … I'd never be ashamed to say I'm from Blackacre.

Here, Jordan acknowledges the disconnection of Blackacre from the rest of Ashmill, the stigmatisation experienced from the surrounding neighbourhood,

and the implicit shame he feels as an individual in 'being from Blackacre': Jordan's I- and we-identities are inextricably linked. There is a distinction identified between being from Blackacre and being from Ashmill. In the next section, participant accounts are analysed to explore the processes of socialisation, of 'growing-up', in the contrasting habitus of the 'rough' Blackacre estate and the 'respectable' surrounding neighbourhood of Ashmill.

Neighbourhood Distinctions

In this section I aim to draw out the differences in habitus which emerged from empirical data. This involves drawing from accounts of what participants saw as differences in attitudes and behaviour between young people from Blackacre and those from the surrounding neighbourhood, and included many of the dimensions which Elias and Scotson (1994) identified in their discussion of 'Young People in Winston Parva'. These included the role of education, informal social control, organising leisure time, boundary transgressions, being trapped in an 'outsider' position, seeking rejection as retaliation, and sense of group belonging.

Young people who were able to easily claim 'respectability' tended to start 'growing-up' at the age of about thirteen or fourteen; year nine of high school. This is the age at which English and Welsh students decide which subjects they will take for their GCSEs[110]; they take their 'options'. This requires some careful thought, ideally in collaboration with parents or guardians and teachers, about their future. The idea of growing-up tended to involve the capacity to imagine a responsible life as an adult, with stable work and family life, and aspirations of owning their own home. As noted in Chapter 1, home ownership is unaffordable for many young people, linked to disproportionate prices and availability of well-paid secure work. This is an enduring problem, as Lea and Young (1984, p.215) argued over thirty years ago, youth is extended into the twenties 'by precisely the absence of opportunity to make their transition into adulthood by acquiring a steady job'. The young men I spoke with from the surrounding neighbourhood saw this process of growing-up as common and unproblematic among their group. In contrast, they imagined that peers living on Blackacre

---

[110] A GCSE is a General Certificate of Secondary Education in a range of subjects taken by English and Welsh students between the ages of fourteen to sixteen years old.

tended to retreat further into isolated lives on the estate, and to become more deeply involved in estate life. This emerged strongly in an interview with Scott (24) and Jason (24), both residents of Zone 2, who had attended local schools. We were talking about how they saw their lives compared to those of lads they knew from Blackacre:

> SCOTT: When we were younger we had to try and do the sensible thing, but I wouldn't bother. I would just mess around from year seven to year nine, just mess around being a kid. But as soon as you hit year nine you start to think about things then –

> JASON: You've got to take your 'options' and that.

> SCOTT: Yeah, start thinking about 'options', what you're going to do after school. That's when I started pulling myself away from things then, a bit.

> STEVE: So what's the difference with these lads on Blackacre?

> SCOTT: It's a bubble. I think it's just different visions of life. Whereas we just think about after school, you think about a job, money, cars, a wife. They think of completely different things – drug dealing.

> STEVE: So do you think that lads growing up on Blackacre have the same kind of opportunities that you lads have?

> SCOTT: No, I don't think so. Some of them might but I think, whereas, I'm not going to big it up like, but whereas our parents have had like, money, not loads, but enough to say 'You can do this. You can go on this school trip. I'm going to put you into special classes'. They've had more money to do this, they've always been able to back you up, whereas the thing is, some of them don't get that ... some of them don't just get the time off their parents that we do ... Sat down doing homework and stuff, some of them haven't heard of doing that ... sit down

for dinner with your family. Sometimes they're just out in the
street all night just socialising.

Scott acknowledged the disadvantages that he imagined his peers from Blackacre faced every day, in contrast to his own experiences of growing-up. He recognised the objective differences that access to enough money has in allowing students to be included in school trips, or to supplement school classes with private tutors. He contrasted his experience of parents who invested time in doing homework with him, to how he imagined life was like for young people from Blackacre, who lacked this kind of input. Finally, he recognised the crucial role of informal social control, of setting and enforcing rules about behaviour. The imagined contrasting roles of informal social control between Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood was summed up by Scott:

> Because it's easy to get sucked in to the Blackacre way. You
> drug deal, you go out causing trouble, whereas I've never had
> the chance to do that, well, I've had the chance but I've always
> been brought up a different way. You know 'You'll be home for
> your tea at six o'clock' whereas on Blackacre you can be home
> at twelve o'clock if you want, no one cares.

This image was corroborated by conversations and interviews I had with some residents who have grown-up on Blackacre. Kieran (24) grew-up on Blackacre, moving off the estate (to a road backing onto the estate) with his parents a few years ago.

> KIERAN: It's a different world to what other people like
> yourself would see, or do. Like you wouldn't do things I did,
> and I wouldn't do things you did. We do things differently. But
> that's just, where I was bothering too, who I was bothering
> with.

> STEVE: So, clearly you have a strong opinion about that, that
> there are different views of the world, yeah?

> KIERAN: Yeah. It depends on your peers and who you bother
> with, or who you used to bother with.

STEVE: Try and educate me a bit about that then. Try and explain to me what you mean by what you've just said.

KIERAN: ... the Blackacre is a prime example. That's where I grew up really. And as a youth you can go one of two ways. You be the straight road, or ... I dunno ... the 'bent' road, I suppose. So ... as a youngster growing up in the Blackacre you didn't – its dog eat dog. So it's 'all-for-one' and 'one-for-all', depends whether you want to be a part of that. For myself, I never wanted to be 'Oh, the lad from up the road, he's this, he's that, he's a coward'. You wanted to fit in, you wanted to be a cooler person, you wanted to be a ... you didn't want to be known as weak, you wanted to be one of the stronger people. So you'd do things to fit in with that crowd. And the people who were straight, wouldn't.

STEVE: So what would mark you out as someone who was straight?

KIERAN: You wouldn't want to be involved in the things people were doing. You would shy away.

STEVE: Which would be what? What kind of things are we talking about?

KIERAN: ... just common crime I suppose. Without going into detail. Common criminal activity. Nothing too drastic. But just, so you didn't look weak. So you wanted to be part of the so called 'in-crowd'. You know? But that's just being young and *naïve* and stupid. It's like, if you grow-up – like I have. I regret things I done. But ... at that time when you're young, and you look up to older lads who are doing that, you want to be with them, don't you? You don't want to be the pussy, I suppose ... 'Oh, look at him – you faggot! Look at that pussy! He won't do this. He won't do that.' You wanted to be the cooler person, to be in with that lot. So you get the boy who goes to school, does

246

his maths, do his homework, and the boy who wouldn't. Instead he'd be out doing other things.

Kieran takes pride in his 'tough' life-experiences, in describing the 'different world' that he grew-up in. At the root of his explanation is his effort to 'fit in' with the other lads on the estate, to be strong, not to be a 'faggot' or a 'pussy'; terms which indicate a distancing from and rejection of homosexuality and effeminate behaviour. This entailed 'proving' himself, being involved in 'common crime', and just as strongly not being seen as conforming to the 'straight' world by going to school and doing his homework. By behaving in this way Kieran conformed to the prevailing 'warrior code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.51) on the estate and avoided the risk of being expelled from the Blackacre fraternity. A capacity for violence is important for young men growing-up in places like Blackacre, as Elias (1997, p.112) comments in relation to student fighting fraternities in Germany:

> In order in life to be a man, one had to be tough. As soon as one showed any weakness, one was lost. Therefore, it was a good thing to display one's strength. Anyone who displayed any weakness deserved to be expelled.

For Kieran, you were either tough and belonged to Blackacre, or weak; there was no intermediary position. However, I spoke to other young people from Blackacre who rejected the tough identity described by Kieran, such as Tomos (22) who was supported by his single-parent mother and grandparents to resist engaging with the small, but socially powerful, group of disorderly youngsters on the estate. Tomos locates the problem more widely:

> I think it goes back to … you mix with your peers, there are young people not from the Blackacre who spend a lot of time on the estate. But they match up with people who are like-minded, so people who are bunking off school, people who are causing a bit of trouble, they just match up. And when they match up then they, it's not just the Blackacre they hang out, but you'll see them up there. And I think when you get to that age, there's so much going on in your life that you need strong people in your background, you need strong teachers advising

you. You need your mates, you know, because if your mates not doing it why would you do it? So … ultimately as a kid, I don't care where you're from, you want to fit in. The reason you play sport half the time is to socialise with your mates, the reason you go out is to socialise with your mates, you want to fit in … Sometimes it comes down to the individual family and I think, people on the Blackacre sometimes they maybe haven't got that support that other areas have got.

A common theme running throughout these accounts is the need to 'fit-in', to feel part of a group. The extract from Tomos illustrates that not all youngsters from Blackacre are 'delinquent'. However, Tomos highlights the important role that strong adult role models have, locating responsibility in the 'individual family' ('troubled' family?), and the role of 'your mates', especially those friendships formed through organised activities such as sports, can have. This view was corroborated by Scott (24, Zone 2) who commented:

I definitely think sport helps everyone. Because, most of the boys that have come out of Blackacre, that I know, have mainly come out through football, or rugby, ended up playing with us and we stay close through that, and that's how they come away from there. I definitely think sport helps, with everything.

Implicit in Scott's understanding is that Blackacre is a place that people would ultimately want to escape.

Organised Activities

Organised activities for young people are considered by Elias and Scotson (1994, p.106) who observed that for 'a township of its size, the facilities which Winston Parva offered to young people were very poor'. They focused on the provision of youth clubs as key in reducing delinquency, and providing informal control and appropriate socialisation. Huge transformations in the ways in which young people occupy themselves in the intervening fifty-years have occurred. The influence of mobile-technology, of online gaming, and the requirement of greater 'safeguarding' measures around organised clubs, have

altered the nature of leisure time social interaction. Nevertheless, some 'youth clubs' were available in Ashmill.

Ashmill Baptist Church is located within a few hundred metres of the Blackacre estate and attempts to engage young people through clubs and activities. Clubs are run for young people between the ages of five to fourteen years old, and Reverend Simon explained that these activities are well attended, however there are no participants from Blackacre, and that after the age of fourteen:

> It's not cool to be part of a church youth club. The problem is that there are no other youth clubs in the area for them to go to. They did try one at the community centre, but it failed because there was some trouble with some of the kids from Blackacre. We had to think hard about whether to take them here.

The unsuccessful attempt to start a youth club at the Ashmill community centre, and the blaming of youths from Blackacre for its failure, was discussed in Chapter 4. However, the community centre has a caged 'Multi-Use Games Area' (known by its unfortunate acronym 'MUGA'), and as Duncan (44, Zone 4) comments:

> I've seen quite a lot of boys in there playing football and using their energies purposefully, you know? They're not on the streets vandalising or – it's a positive thing. I suppose all those kinds of things are good for the area.

This illustrates a common perception: to be using the 'MUGA', was understood not simply to be enjoying a game of football with friends, but to be engaged in a constructive activity which reduced the risk of antisocial behaviour. Whilst volunteering at the community centre I found that informal use of this area is discouraged by the staff, with insurance liability and potential antisocial behaviour cited as reasons. In contrast, residents in their forties or older sometimes reminisced about their use of school premises for 'fun' as youngsters, just as Presdee (2000, p.56) comments when he broke into his school 'half the estate was in there … it was a favourite Saturday afternoon playground'. What was 'fun', is now seen as 'antisocial'.

Like the churches, the bulk of activities at the Ashmill Community Centre tend to revolve around older people, such as over-fifties exercise classes and craft workshops. This is probably for two main reasons. Firstly, the community centre is situated on Ashmill estate which has a relatively 'old' population. And secondly, because younger people, over the age of about fourteen, tend to be regarded by staff as problematic. Stonebrook Community Centre is located on the boundary of Zone 1, and during the period of this study started a youth club organised by a local police community support officer, catering for children between the ages of eight and fourteen. The perception emerged that youth clubs now tend to be directed at 'problem youth' as a diversionary tactic from 'antisocial' behaviour, and a means of positive socialisation and social control, rather than as an enjoyable activity. 'Respectable' parents tended to seek out suitable organised activities at relatively expensive commercially run activities, often sharing lifts with other parents. This requires adequate time and financial resources, organisation, and cooperation, which some disadvantaged families found more difficult. Whilst there were families throughout Ashmill who were unable to afford private activities, given the relative deprivation experienced on the stigmatised Blackacre estate, a disproportionate number of youngsters tended to gather in groups with peers in public spaces on the estate. Tomos (22, Zone 4) is able to see this situation both as a young resident of Blackacre and as a Community First sports worker:

> There's only one flat part of the estate right at the top, and again that's all from different residents kicking-off. Kids can't go there for whatever reason, so there's not an area where the kids can actually go and do anything sports wise. They're only going to get it in the neck if they do it. The high school, again, if you're not going to walk up the community centre, you're not going to walk back to a school when school is often seen as an 'issue' place. Why would you walk down there? It's a school, the word 'school' puts people off. In terms of local clubs, the most local, obviously there's a lot of football clubs, the Ashmill Park site, and a local rugby club as well. Which they're all well attended and really well filled, but you can't expect a child between eight and fifteen to have the independence to take

themselves to football, and pay their own subs, they need that backing.

Tomos highlights the complete lack of facilities on Blackacre, which leads to residents complaining when youngsters play ball games in the few open spaces available. He explains how organised activities at the community centre and school are problematic because these are seen by youngsters as 'issue' places. Some young people are able to independently find their way into organised activities, and alter their self-identity, detaching themselves from the stigma of the estate to some degree and earning 'respect'. Jordan (19, Zone 4) explained that he started boxing when he was thirteen at a gym in another part of Welshtown. His aggression was channelled into boxing. Comparing his life at this critical age to his peers, emphasising his involvement in a constructive activity, not getting into street fights or dealing drugs, marked him out as different and worthy of a different kind of 'respect':

> JORDAN: I'm respected in my area and around Welshtown, and I got no need to get any bigger. I'm quite respected for boxing, and I imagine that in a few years' time I'm going to take it further, I'll be even more respected. But the drug dealing side of it, and if people want to call it the 'gangster' side, it doesn't bother me ... I mean, I've got a side of me that people would probably tell you about, you know, that you wouldn't think. But it's not something that I do as a rule, it's just things that I do. I never bring trouble – the only time that I bring trouble, violence, aggression, is if my family is involved, or my friends. That's it. If someone wants to have a crack at me they can have a crack and I'll let it go. I'm not allowed to fight, I could be put in front of the boxing board, if I've had fights ...

> STEVE: So, apart from your own sense of morality and your own principles that you've developed over the years, you've got that boxing control over you as well. And that boxing is important to you, isn't it?

JORDAN: Yeah, very. I've been close too, I could have gone to court and ... I've never been in trouble. But a few times when I've had a fight in town and hurt someone I could have gone to court, prison, and that's my boxing out of the window. From a young age I've witnessed it, and I've witnessed people, and I've learned now at the age of nineteen how to get out of it, how to stop, and how to see things ahead and how things are going to plan out. I know all these kids up the Blackacre in three or four years, I know what they're going to be doing. They're going to be selling drugs outside that shop. They might have good money, and they might have nice cars, but their mothers will never really be proud of them. And, well if they are, then something is wrong. Their life is on the shelf. It doesn't appeal to me.

Jordan is able to detach himself from his insider perspective to describe life growing-up on Blackacre. Notwithstanding the positive tenor of this example, the ability to conceive of a meaningful future, and the controlling influence of boxing, Jordan does not rule out the use of violence to resolve problems. Moreover, he acknowledges the reality of life for many of his peers on Blackacre, who he suspects from previous experience will, as Jason and Scott imagined in their accounts above, become more deeply entrenched in violence and drug crime. In this sense, Jordan is using violence in a purposeful manner, as an instrument to 'be controlled', and also in building a 'reputation' through which he is able to exercise informal social control on Blackacre. In his study of boxing at Woodlawn Gym, Wacquant (2004, pp.15-16) highlights that boxing effected the social regulation of violence 'through the bifid relation, made of intermingled affinity and antagonism, that links the street and the ring'. In this way the arena of strictly controlled violence that boxing, or other legally regulated violent activity[111], offers allows an individual trapped in a violent figuration to maintain a sense of honour and respect, whilst negotiating life outside the gym in a relatively pacified manner. Jordan is avoiding illegal

---

[111] In the epilogue to his thesis on micro-social violence, Collins (2008, pp.464-465) suggests, speculatively, that inner-city violence around issues of group honour and 'respect' could be reduced if a system of duelling were introduced: perhaps one-on-one fair fights as boxing matches.

violence, at least to some extent, by building a reputation for legal violence through boxing. This is further evidence of a rejection of the legitimacy of the state monopoly on violence, indicating a 'less civilised' socialisation process.

Ashmill Rugby Club is located less than a half-mile from the Blackacre estate, and has a thriving junior section which runs teams from under-sevens up to under-sixteens. Organisations such as this, positioned locally and within walking distance of the estate, may provide a useful mode of positive socialisation without the stigma of being seen as someone who 'needs controlling'. It may also help to reduce 'them' and 'us' perceptions as generations of children pass through the age groups into the senior level. Recently, some young men from Blackacre joined the rugby club and appear to have entered into 'civilised relationships', in a similar sense that Griffiths (2014) identifies, with other members, as Scott (24, Zone 2) explains:

> There's quite a good example going on at the moment at the club. Whereas it's always been boys that are a little bit well-behaved in school, and would all have a drink. But now it's starting to get a bit, you got rougher boys from that estate playing, because they're good players. But they sort of try to act the same way we do, and just fit in. But you can see them all smoking weed outside, but you can see them trying to fit in. They're all from the rough estates, but they're all nice boys, and they've obviously seen that as like a way out. Kind of, socialising with different boys. So they all come down the club, have a drink. I think it does get them out of trouble.

The sense of difference, of superiority and inferiority, between the 'established' club members and the 'outsiders' – literally when smoking their weed – is palpable in this account. It is an example of the established-outsider relationships which are experienced in the wider figuration of Ashmill, and serves to illustrate how established-outsider relationships can be analysed at various interdependent levels of figurational analysis: from a few houses, to a street, a club, a neighbourhood, nationally, and at international scales. There is a sense of inclusive toleration rather than an equitable integration. Scott

explained how 'banter' was used to 'place' people at the club, identifying differences and classifying groups:

> We have a bit of banter with them, like when they're all smoking weed they all pretend to smoke weed with them, but its all, sort of, like 'we'll do your thing you do ours'. We all mix in, we have a bit of a joke calling them 'chavs' and they call us 'gay' because we dress up nice.

Scott explained how occasionally situations can escalate and members from the estate are informally controlled when intimidation is attempted to resolve disagreements:

> They just act different and they start saying 'If we don't get picked this and that's going to happen!' But you just knock it on the head and say 'Shut up! This is a fucking rugby club, not a community club up Blackacre.

Apart from the ironic reference to a community club on Blackacre, this illustrates how entrenched assumed differences in civilised behaviour exist and are used in the context of the club to enforce standards of behaviour, and mark out differences. An important dimension of informal control was identified in the role of senior and older members of the club, as Jason (24) recognised:

> I've only been playing this year, but what I've cottoned onto is that everyone has respect for the older people down there, you know? Obviously, 'Guvnor', I don't think anyone has, like he's quite well-respected down there isn't he.

Violence is also used to informally control behaviour at the club. At a social evening held at the club one of the estate lads got drunk and emptied a bucket of ice over one of the older member's wife. He was physically ejected that night, and at the following training session was stamped on whilst lying at the bottom of a ruck. In the context of the rugby club, power unequivocally lies with the 'established' members.

The value of organised sports activities in diverting young people from crime and antisocial behaviour is generally accepted, although young people between

the ages of fourteen and twenty-five living in relatively deprived circumstances often find the cost of participating too high (Edwards et al. 2015). Initiatives aimed at preventing antisocial behaviour have been introduced, for example the Welsh Rugby Union 'street rugby' scheme for children aged three to fourteen, and Ashmill Baptist Church has recently trialled an 'indoor rugby' scheme for children between seven and eleven. Despite the positive potential for such schemes, the pattern emerging here is that up to the age of about fourteen years old, when children are still relatively 'controllable', there are a few organisations which are available for local youngsters to engage in. After the age of fourteen, young people have to rely on parents or find their own amusement. When parents lack the time or financial resources, or the parenting skills, children at this critical age experience social barriers, and may feel rejection and shame, and find support in the company of peers who experience the same exclusion, and with whom they experience a sense of 'belonging'.

In 2013/14, 25% of young people aged sixteen to twenty-four had been a victim of crime at least once in the past year, which is a higher percentage than for all older age groups (Office for National Statistics 2014). Most violent offenders are male, sixteen to twenty-four, acting alone, with violence more likely to occur in the street, during the evening, and at weekends (Home Office 2011), and Ray (2011, p.71) argues violent crime can be mapped onto 'areas of deprivation'. Although this case study focuses on one community, it seems that this pattern may be repeated in similar areas. It is not a new problem, as Elias and Scotson observed, some estate children, particularly those from 'problem families' on the Estate, were left to their own devices gathering in small groups 'waiting for something to happen' (Elias and Scotson 1994, pp.113-114); just 'hanging around'.

Just Hanging Around

Many of the generationally stigmatised and excluded residents of Blackacre become trapped on the estate, developing a group pride in the face of the feelings of shame, and moral and economic worthlessness experienced in their relationships with residents of the surrounding neighbourhood. Residents of the estate are cajoled to leave the relative 'safety', in terms of belonging, of the estate to participate in community activities designed to target 'deprived

residents' and young people 'at risk of antisocial behaviour'. Then they are criticised when they reject attempts at community integration, and are imagined as 'rough' and 'antisocial'. Young residents learn to keep to themselves, and most nights you can find half-a-dozen youngsters hanging around in the street behind The Shop, the main meeting place for generations of people growing-up on Blackacre. To some residents this looks like a 'gang', hoods-up, stares as you pass, perpetuating the antisocial image of the estate. This image feeds into the collective fantasy of the surrounding neighbourhood, however, this fear is also experienced by residents of the estate, as Jordan (19, Zone 4) explained to me:

> If you were to walk up Blackacre now, outside the shop, you'd see between five to twelve young lads sat outside. Who wants to walk into a shop when there's twelve boys outside in the dark with their hoods up? You know? They don't. And that's every night. That's been every night since the old shop owner first had it. I can remember being five or six years old and seeing the boys, now who are twenty and thirty, outside the shop. And then sort of my age, they'd be outside the shop. And now I'm seeing younger ones outside the shop. Even my nan used to say 'Will you go over the shop for me. I don't want to'. You know, for my nan to say that was terrible. I don't want my nan to feel like that.

Jordan not only identifies the fear that some residents of Blackacre may experience, he also illustrates the generational dimension and importance of the space behind The Shop. This place has been used by three generations, and become 'known' as the meeting place. While it may be imagined that such fear is restricted to older and otherwise vulnerable residents of the estate, consider this account from Tomos (22), a robust young man standing over six-feet tall, returning home to Blackacre:

> I remember one Halloween, probably three years ago, I left work here[112], and this estate is seen as having lots of issues, to

---

[112] We were conducting the interview at a community centre on another estate where Tomos works at as a community sports organiser.

drive back to home, and parking up in front of about fifty kids
all hoodied and ready for trouble. And I thought 'I'm going to
know half of you'. And you get out of the car and you think
'Fucking hell. There's going to be trouble'. And some of them
come over to speak to you 'How are you?' because they
recognise you from working in the community. But actually, if
that was someone else, they wouldn't want to get out of the car,
you know. I had the confidence to get out knowing you're going
to know someone … When I got out of the car and just looked
across, I thought, don't show any fear by them … it's always the
younger ones following someone a little bit older than them.
And they're only doing it because they want to fit in, and
actually they're not big, they're not hard, they just want to fit
in.

Tomos was able to use his stature and youth to conceal the fear he was
experiencing. He was also able use his we-identity as a fellow Blackacre estater
and a community worker to quickly develop a 'safe' rapport, in terms of trust
and harm avoidance. Tomos's account also illustrates the processual and
transformational nature of 'the group' on the estate. Earlier in the conversation
Tomos had explained how he was once part of the group on Blackacre, just like a
sports team, the group persists for generations, but the players are different;
there is an enduring reality. The process of coping with generational
stigmatisation which binds residents of Blackacre together tends to generate a
group who are 'established *as* outsiders', with new generations of residents
incorporating this image into their personality structures; they want to 'fit in', to
feel secure with others 'like themselves'. However, not all 'players' are residents
of the estate, some participants, like Scott, described how as youngsters they
sought excitement here. Elias and Scotson observed an analogous phenomenon
in Winston Parva when they describe, 'broadly speaking', three groups of young
people: the majority of children who are from the Village; the 'respectable'
children from the estate; and those from the minority of disordered families on
the estate. They observed that, in the context of the youth club the 'dividing
lines were always noticeable even though marginal individuals particularly
from the middle group occasionally crossed them in either direction' (Elias and

257

Scotson 1994, p.123). This boundary transgression was also evident in Ashmill among people who wanted 'the best of both worlds'.

'The Best of Both Worlds'

Scott (24) now lives in Zone 2, only a few hundred metres from Blackacre, but grew-up with his parents in Zone 1. He describes how he was able to transgress boundaries between rough and respectable worlds:

> I was brought up in Stonebrook, that's where my parents are
> from so I've always had the best of both worlds. I could go out,
> cause a bit of trouble with the boys ... but as soon as things got
> a bit stupid I could get back out of there.

Scott explains that he was able to transgress the boundary between the respectable and the rough neighbourhoods of Ashmill. It is difficult to unproblematically transfer these understandings from the American to the British context, but this has elements of a process of what Anderson (1999, pp.98-106) calls 'code-switching', whereby a 'decent kid' might need to 'drift' between decent and street behaviour in order to negotiate life safely. However, rather than 'code-switching' as a means of survival as Anderson (1999) describes, Scott was primarily seeking excitement:

> It's just that everything's happening. Everything fun is
> happening, playing football, chasing girls, everything you want
> to do. Drinking. Causing a bit of trouble... I got in there and got
> out when I needed!

Scott is seeking the 'three Fs' – fighting, fucking, and football – that Mac an Ghail (1998, pp.56-59) identifies as the 'Macho lads' culture, and which is largely missing from his life in the respectable neighbourhood of Ashmill. A relatively overlooked aspect of Elias's civilising process is the inherent restlessness and dissatisfaction with life brought about by the increasing requirement for self-restraint and civility (Atkinson and Rodgers 2016). Excitement in modern life is constrained, robbing us of our escape from the mundanity of civilised everyday life by the performance of 'carnival', turning the 'world upside down, full of irrational, senseless, offensive behaviour – a time of disorder and transgression and of doing wrong in an ordered world' (Presdee 2000, p.39). These

transgressions not only highlight the violence which lingers just under the surface of all individuals, but that Blackacre is on one hand reviled, and on the other seductive; a different world where illicit pleasures may be experienced.

Alcohol was a key aspect of the escape of life's mundanity. Georgina (22, Zone 2) explained that her friend 'Aimee' lived on the Blackacre estate with her mother. Her friends would take advantage of the relative lack of control in contrast to their own homes, to get drunk:

> I wouldn't ever have gone home drunk … what we would do, is we would go to one of my friends' houses … And then we'd go out, and obviously, like, my mother wouldn't know because she would have killed me. And then I'd go back to their house but I'd probably be at one of the girls houses that their parents didn't care as much. Not, not care about them, but didn't care about – like my mum's quite strict with things like that, with drinking and whatever because she doesn't do it. But … my one friend, Aimee, her mum was, I think she's ten or fifteen years younger than my mum, so she would always be out in town anyway, so she wouldn't even be there. So it didn't really matter what Aimee was doing, because her mother wouldn't be there anyway. So we'd stay at her house.

These examples tend to foreground a search for excitement in transgressing boundaries between the relatively civilised but mundane habitus of the surrounding neighbourhood and the seduction of the 'dangerous' Blackacre estate.

These participants negotiated their boundary transgressions relatively safely, seemingly being able to 'fit-in' to both habituses. Their peers on Blackacre were often stereotyped as 'chavs', an 'underclass' of people that it was exciting and potentially beneficial to know, but not too closely, and imagined to be trapped on the estate, as Scott explained:

> … some of the boys, like Blackacre boys, were just stuck here in the thick of it all the time … I could get out when I wanted … I've always had the best of both worlds because I knew them all

259

up there … I've never had shit off them because I've always known them. But I can see people getting a lot of trouble from them because a lot of them are out to cause trouble.

The emergent story illustrated how 'choices' could be made by youngsters growing-up in the surrounding neighbourhood to dip in-and-out of the seductive 'carnivalesque' world of Blackacre. The image which reproduces the fantasy is one based on youthful desires and excitement, exaggerated tales which feed-back to parents, many of whom will have experienced similar youthful excursions. In contrast, youngsters living on Blackacre were more constrained in the 'choices' they could make; and ultimately escaping the trap of the estate was very difficult. In the next section, I explore some accounts of participants who grew-up on Blackacre.

Being from Blackacre

A key argument in this thesis is that the collective fantasy of residents of Blackacre as 'rough' is meaningful and functional within this interdependent double-bind relationship. On one hand, it provides a contrasting image through which members of the surrounding community can validate their 'respectable' image. This largely relies on the common stereotypical image of council estates and their residents as a violent 'underclass', supported by local experiences and gossip. Consequently, feelings of fear, of varying degrees, tend to be generated around Blackacre's reputation. In contrast, some residents of Blackacre, the generations of the 'minority of the worst' who characterise this intimidating reputation, can capitalise on these exaggerated reputations for intimidation in order to transform stigma into group pride and local power. One of the key themes emerging from the accounts of participants who have grown-up on Blackacre was of developing an aggressive masculinity (Dunning et al. 1988), displaying a capacity for violence. As Kieran expressed in the extract above you 'don't want to be the pussy'.

Kieran is a heavily muscled young man, tattooed and tanned. He habitually wears 'wife-beaters'[113], baseball caps, and expensive sunglasses, and drives a brand-new BMW. He has worked as a bouncer, and now owns and operates a

---

[113] The slang description for a sleeveless A-shirt or 'muscle vest' which is often associated scenes of domestic violence in movies depicting American working-class culture.

local bodybuilding gym. He grew-up on Blackacre, and now lives in a road backing onto the estate. He presents an image of an aggressive, or 'robust masculinity' (Hobbs et al. 2003, p.225) which suggests a capacity for violence, and inferences of criminality. Kieran explained that when he was growing-up he would look-up to the older boys, he would want to be like them, and so he would succumb to their tests. I asked Kieran to explain how he was tested:

> 'Go hit that lad. Go punch that boy.' And if you didn't do it, you'd be somewhat, not as praised as much, not as cool, as you was before that person asked you. So then someone else would step up and they'd do whatever it was that was asked of that person to do. Then they would be up in the pecking order … Say an older lad said to me 'Hold this substance. Stash this for me. Hold it for me.' As a youngster I'd think 'Oh, that's it, he respects me because he's asking me, no one else'. But looking back on it, no, I was asked because he knew he could take the piss out of me. He knew he could take advantage of me. You know? Yeah, he may have had confidence in me to do it, but he knew I would do it because he had a hold over me. You know? … I know many friends that were asked to do things they didn't want to, but they did it because it made them … go up in the pecking order because … the gaffer[114] has asked that person to do it. You know? Looking back, it's a mugging[115]. That older person asking that younger person to do it, because … he couldn't say no to him.

The favours Kieran and his friends were 'asked' to do by older lads involved forms of criminality; often involving assaults, criminal damage, and holding or couriering drugs. They were introduced to criminality, and the necessity to exercise caution in who they spoke with about it, such as others on the estate

---

[114] A 'gaffer' is a working-class British colloquial term for a, predominantly male, work supervisor. It is used in industrial settings to describe the person in charge of a work team, or work gang. It is also used with more criminal/violent undertones, as Kieran uses it here, to describe the most powerful person within a group.

[115] 'Mugging' is a slang word most often used for street-robbery. However, Kieran uses it in this extract to describe the way that older, more powerful lads use younger lads to carry out criminal and vengeful acts. They are robbed of their trust in their willingness to rise in the pecking order.

who could not be trusted, and especially the police, from an early age. Adherence to this code benefitted Kieran and his friends in terms of the 'respect' they earned, enhancing their status reputations, and allowing them to progress in the informal hierarchical structure; going up in the 'pecking-order'. In this way, from a young age, he was able to 'earn the respect' of his peers. As Sayer (2011) highlights, what is often overlooked is the need to feel self-respect and dignity among your peers, and it is only among peers that such feelings matter. Kieran reflects on his experience as a 'mugging', in which young lads – who are largely stigmatised by and excluded from the surrounding neighbourhood – are coerced into a 'system' of criminal behaviour, or 'favours', just as Jordan described in Chapter 6. In this process, repeated over generations, 'being from Blackacre' is transformed from stigma into pride; at least for these lads. But the acquisition of this limited power also represents a trap, as it compounds the social exclusion that it is meant to resolve. Kieran was able to escape this trap, and the habitus which deals with the rejection and stigmatisation of the surrounding neighbourhood by transforming it into intimidatory power, that many of his (former) friends remain trapped within.

Although an intense competition for status among lads growing up on Blackacre was evident, which involved proving one's loyalty to the group and defending its honour, a weakening of status was possible, especially if you were labelled as a 'grass'. The impact of a diminution in status should not be underestimated, as Elias (1983, p.94) notes in relation to the noble aristocracy of Versailles: 'To rise or fall in this hierarchy meant as much to the courtier as profit or loss to the businessman … [or a] … manager or official over a threatening downturn in their career'.

Not all young boys living on Blackacre described childhoods which required them to incorporate a capacity for violence into their self-identity. However, those who rejected this we-identity based on intimidation may become victims of it, as Baily (15, previously Zone 4, now Zone 3) describes:

> I was about nine … And a group of them, all hooded up, you know Blackacre, they're all chavs … they circled me, they started threatening me … these were only nine or ten themselves. They started threatening me, I knew the dangers …

262

my mum warned me about what these people are like. So I started crying and all that, I was really afraid. I started shaking, I've never shaken up so much in all my life, frightened to death. But I managed to run ... I ran to my friend's house, just shaking, frightened, you know, thought I was going to get killed or something.

Incorporating 'streetwise' values into inextricably connected I- and we-identities involved at least a partial rejection of 'respectable' values, and a concomitant rejection by the surrounding neighbourhood, as Elias and Scotson (1994, p.137) found: 'To be rejected was what these children expected and expressions of annoyance and anger from those by whom they were rejected was what they enjoyed most'. In contrast to the subcultural theory which is employed in Lea and Young (1984), and by Moran (2015) to explain how these problems of rejection and stigma are resolved in a relatively time-bracketed analysis, this thesis argues that these resolutions are the outcomes of mostly unplanned processes emerging from generational stigmatisation. This socialisation of younger people into a 'system' of 'doing favours' and 'looking after' people engenders a feeling of loyalty, and reproduces a feeling of belonging and trust among some residents of the estate. In this way, tough status identities based around intimidation, fear, crime, violence, and a strong sense of bonding may be generationally inherited. This enables these socially excluded and stigmatised young men to experience a sense of social power, simultaneously entrenching and perpetuating the collective fantasy maintained by the surrounding neighbourhood.

Elias and Scotson (1994, p.119) observed of the young people in Winston Parva, that:

Ordinary youngsters in other social settings learned early to think of themselves in terms of a future. For most of the unruly Estate youngsters it was difficult to take any long-term view of themselves. They lived more than ordinary youngsters in and for the moment. That was another difference which helped to build up barriers.

During one of my visits to The Shop I spoke briefly to some young lads as they were leaving through the back door. They were followed out by Ian (the shopkeeper). He explained to me how the same group had been at the back of The Shop the night before with a moped they said they had stolen from down the road. Ian then spoke to the lads, asking them what they were going to do when they were older, but they had no vision of any future, they said they would just keep 'trapping', capitalising on opportunities to make some money or acquire property to get by. Elias, discussing young middle-class groups in Germany in the Weimar period who had routes for a meaningful life blocked, explains that young people more generally may experience:

> the feeling of being trapped in a social system which made it very hard for the younger generations to find chances for a meaningful future ... the societies in question are so constructed that each and every person growing up in them can find a meaningful and satisfying task in life, if only he or she tries. That is misleading (Elias 1997, p.198).

This alerts us to the inequality, the relative deprivation and resentment which is fundamental in understanding this trap. The irony is that the terminology – 'trapping' – the lads used to describe their strategy for surviving, could effectively describe their situation – 'trapped'.

The 'Trap' of the Estate

The picture which emerged from observations, conversations and interviews, especially residents of Blackacre, is that they were acutely aware of their situation of being trapped in an 'outsider' position because of where they lived, and the stigma this entailed. Residents from the surrounding neighbourhood do not need to pass through the estate to get anywhere, so contact is easily circumvented, and 'respectable fears' mitigated. For some residents of the estate, the old, the sick, and the vulnerable – the socially weak – these fears are not so easily mitigated, and it is usually the weak who are attacked (Collins 2008, p.9). For the minority, there is capital to be made out of their exaggerated image, claiming the status of being 'tough', and propagating the intimidating fantasy image they are attributed to acquire *real* power. This is the double-bind,

264

the interdependent relationship through which generations of residents either live with unnecessary levels of fear, or are complicit in their own entrapment in positions of exclusion from which it is difficult to escape, as Jordan (19, Zone 4) put it:

> It's like a black hole, Blackacre is. You get sucked in there and you're not getting out!

One of the strongest forces trapping particularly young men on Blackacre is the potential risk of diminishing their status and 'respect' in withdrawing from 'their' place and 'their' group; their power is bounded by the estate. As Elias (1983, p.239) highlights in relation to the court society in Versailles: 'its members had no freedom of movement. They could hardly move from one place to another without loss of status'. However, Kieran described to me how his perspective, and status, changed after his family moved off the estate:

> KIERAN: Comparing my life to theirs, there's no way they can be happy doing what they're doing. No way. Going to prison all the time. Being caught what they're doing. There's no way ... I wake up every day with a clean life. Not in trouble. Won't be getting in trouble. No trouble can come my way unless I look for it. People like that can't. There's always a risk of going to prison for something silly they have done, or are doing, or may do ... Like I said, I don't even speak to any of them. I don't want to ... to me now it's flipped, it's reversed so much. If my boys saw me talking to those it would be like 'What're you speaking to them for! Those scallywags.' Now it's ... I somewhat think I'm better than them, yeah I'll say it. Because of what I'm doing. I don't get into trouble. I keep myself out of it. I would never want anyone describing me as one of them. I'm not. It's embarrassing.

> STEVE: So 'your boys' then, are people who've lived on Blackacre and moved away from there?

> KIERAN: Yes. Old associates. I grew-up. But we all now, don't have anything to do with that. That life, that trouble. It's

265

embarrassing to see things on social media! Like so-and-so's done this, and it's like 'Again? Wasn't he doing that ten years ago? Why's he still doing that now? What an idiot!' It's embarrassing. I wouldn't want to be associated with someone doing ridiculous things like that, because, again, it's embarrassing. And I feel that me and my friends now, we're better than them – that, that! Because, I'm sure if they had the opportunity to move out of all that they would. And maybe better themselves. But they haven't. They've chose to stay where they are and do what they are. Whether that's because they haven't had the opportunity to move, I don't know.

Here, the significance of moving off the estate, of 'place', in altering Kieran's I- and we-identity is powerfully illustrated. He expresses his feelings of embarrassment and shame reflecting on his life growing-up on Blackacre, but in his new habitus, is able to relieve himself of these feelings, to remove this shame from his new identity. Indeed, he is able to express his feelings of superiority in comparison to the people he 'left-behind' on the estate. Kieran and his family moved to a street which backs onto Blackacre estate; close in terms of spatial proximity, but huge in terms of social distance. Yet it is probably among residents here that such minor differences are most viscerally sensed, and expressed, because of the reputational threat among neighbours of such close social and spatial proximity.

In a similar way to the boundary transgression between the respectable surrounding community and the seduction of the illicit activities on the Blackacre estate described by some young people growing-up in the surrounding neighbourhood, the opposite view was also expressed, as Jordan (19, Zone 4) explains:

Blackacre's not the best place to be brought up. It's not the worst, but it's still a council estate. It used to be quite bad, there was a lot of heroin addicts about, a lot of thieving about. I just sort of grew up and just realised straight away. I was never naïve and just realised straight away what was happening around me. There was absolutely no need for me to be a part of

266

that. I don't think I've ever really spent a day on Blackacre, as in out on the streets. I don't hang around on Blackacre. I escaped it, I'd go out on my bike up Ashmill. I'd get right off the estate. There was never anything going on there, there was just the older boys hanging around on the corner. The only time is if we played 'run out', but that was something the whole of the estate done. All the boys on the estate. Blackacre is definitely a unit. Everybody knows each other and they're all trusted to each other. It's like a big squad. As much as we all love each other I can see that they were not my type of boys ... I knew what they were all like, you always had the sort of rough boys on the Blackacre. People could say whatever they wanted about them, however they make their money, they make their money. People would look down on them, and they would look down on you, because you're from there. It made no difference to me. I didn't back myself away from them because I looked down on them, I just sort of done it to better myself.

This is a complex negotiation of the implicit shame, the stigmatisation that is generationally incorporated into the identities of residents, that being from Blackacre entails. This may be especially difficult for a member of one of the families that 'run' the estate. Jordan distances himself from his Blackacre identity, explaining how he understood the trap that lay in wait for him, and how he tried to escape the estate at every opportunity. He also eloquently expresses the sense of bonding he felt, involving immense loyalty to his brothers and his friends on his estate, but that he was 'different' because he wanted to 'better himself'. Whilst he tries to distance himself, Jordan also explains that the boys on Blackacre are like a 'big squad'. This is close to what Elias calls a 'survival group' (1987b, p.xi) in which an emotional attachment grows between members of a group, a 'self-love'. Throughout this thesis the idea of a code of honour has been developed, requiring loyalty, bravery, and 'no-grassing'. In return adherents are rewarded with respect and protection, a sense of belonging, transforming stigma into pride. Jordan expresses this allegiance in terms of 'love', a fundamental feature of a survival group:

267

... people expect support, protection and help in distress, from their We-group, especially from a survival group, as well as indispensable gratification of their self-esteem; and yet at the same time they may be ready to risk their lives for the sake of their group and its distinct beliefs. It is a remarkable blend of self-love and altruism, of narcissistic gratification and devotion to the collective, which one encounters here (Elias 1987b, p.xii).

Tomos (22) has also lived in Blackacre his entire life, but has incorporated a different understanding of the stigma around 'being from Blackacre' into his identity:

TOMOS: I think, like I said earlier on, I've definitely got a bit of Blackacre in me.

STEVE: What does that mean?

TOMOS: I don't know, you stand up for yourself, you just know that unless you're working you're not going to get anything given to you. You know, you got to fight for what you got type of thing. And I'm more than happy in meetings to stand up and say 'Your idea's shit. It's not going to work'. People don't like it, but ... I never used to challenge anything but now I've learned you got to, you got to challenge it, everything. I don't know, you hear people's ideas and you think 'Great idea but you haven't got a fucking clue'. And they don't like it, but when you say 'actually I live there' they go 'Oh, maybe you do know a little bit more than me'. People do look down on you, and I always thought 'that's fine', you know. If someone says I can't do something, I'll work hard to prove them wrong, but I think that comes from my sport background. Your sport mixed with where you live, I don't know, people say you can't do something, but actually I ain't going to listen to you and you don't know nothing, in a way. That's what I meant by, people have chosen the wrong path because they haven't had the right

guidance. I've had the right guidance, there's no excuse for me,
I'm going to go the right way.

Tomos acknowledges the stigma associated with being from Blackacre, and the real deprivation that is experienced by residents of the estate, himself included; he takes his community with him, as Dunning et al. (1988, p.205) theorise, when he leaves the estate. However, he seems to have developed his identity with less attachment to the 'survival group'. Tomos has benefitted from the support of a strong (single-parent) family and network of friends *outside the estate* (longer chains of interdependence) which has enabled him to focus on positive and constructive activities in sport, education, and work. Tomos understands his background of being from Blackacre not as an entirely shameful or embarrassing aspect of his identity, but rather as giving him a strong empirical understanding of what it means to have to work hard to overcome real disadvantages. It is impossible to quantify how many young people living on Blackacre have similar outlooks to Tomos, but my impression, from observations and conversations with residents – many of whom did not want to participate 'officially' – is that Tomos represents the rule rather than the exception.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how belonging to a place penetrates the I- and we-identities of groups of individuals living in a figuration, and moreover, how these largely fantasy-laden images can have real consequences for residents. The accounts of 'growing-up' I have relied on for empirical evidence of the importance of place in this process have been provided by young men who have acquired their position within the figuration of Ashmill from a young age. Some aspects of their personality structures pre-exist them, and are transmitted and reworked by up to three generations of residents, as discussed in earlier chapters. This process of socialisation feeds into the collective fantasy of the wider figuration, entrenching old and 'natural' divisions, and maintaining social barriers and tensions. 'Respectable' residents in the surrounding community of Ashmill are able to distinguish themselves from the 'rough' Blackacre estate residents by highlighting stereotypical characteristics of the 'minority of the worst' in 'them', and a 'minority of the best' in 'us'. Albeit overlooking the

commonalities around what it means to be respectable held between most residents of Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood, such as a strong work ethic, strong family, and detached sociability.

Generationally reproduced stigmatisation based on collective fantasies of the 'minority of the worst' generate feelings of shame experienced by Blackacre residents in their rejection, and tension which can act as a mechanism by which 'antisocial' behaviour is produced. In a vicious circle, this further entrenches the image of these residents as rough and sustains feelings of fear for some residents of Ashmill. A process of sociological inheritance takes place, and social barriers become entrenched. Blackacre becomes a place to avoid for many people; although it is also a seductive place for those seeking illicit excitement. Young people who live on Blackacre sense this sometimes subtle, sometimes blatant, rejection and some retreat into the estate, finding 'respect', loyalty, and a sense of 'belonging' among similarly rejected peers. Jordan and Kieran described an intense struggle for status in the hierarchy of the estate figuration, constantly proving one's loyalty to the group and defending its honour. This is the reality of their lives, and a gain or loss of status or 'respect' for young men within this figuration is critical. Others, like Tomos, who I suspect represents the position of majority the of residents of Blackacre, use this aspect of his identity to constructively strengthen his status in a 'non-deviant' manner.

Blackacre is seen by many residents of Ashmill as a 'trap' which it is difficult to escape from. This is also evident in accounts of residents of Blackacre: when Kieran 'escaped' he turned his back on his old group seeing them as embarrassing. And Jordan, a member of one of the main families on Blackacre, is struggling to negotiate his conflicting emotions between his ambition to escape the suck of the 'black hole', and his sense of loyalty to his 'squad'. This 'trap' is produced through an interdependent relationship; a double-bind. The exaggerated, generationally reproduced, image of Blackacre as occupied by an 'antisocial underclass' generates feelings of shame among some residents of Blackacre, and feelings of fear among some residents of Ashmill. A small minority of residents of the estate, primarily young men from networks of 'notorious' families have, over three generations, 'capitalised' in an unplanned process on the powerful status positions that this fear offers, based around

exaggerated reputations for intimidation and criminality. In turn, this sustains the fantasy image of all residents of the estate. An interdependent 'trap' is produced which is difficult to escape from, in which some residents are trapped in fear, and others in status positions based on intimidation.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis tells the story of the interdependent relationships between residents of Blackacre and the surrounding neighbourhood of Ashmill. The overarching problem the thesis has focused on is how estates like Blackacre have come to be seen as 'rough' places. Building on Elias and Scotson's (1994) study, this thesis presents an intensive micro-sociological study of interdependent power relationships between residents of a small community, from which theoretical implications may be drawn which have resonance with other similar figurations. Some relative limitations in established-outsider theory were highlighted, and it was argued that a synthesis with left-realist criminology may strengthen the investigation. The argument was developed that British council estates, initially a feature of a progressive welfare system, may have come to be seen as rough/dangerous places significantly through a double-bind situation which has emerged as a result of significant long-term transformations in social and economic structures. These transformations have been significant in the residualisation of some of the most economically and socially deprived individuals as residents of estates.

Government policies often focus on the personality weaknesses of 'antisocial' individuals and 'troubled' families who tend to occupy estates, with television and news media tending to represent these residents stereotypically as economically and morally worthless. A national collective fantasy has developed which succinctly, albeit denigratingly, characterises residents of social housing through the acronym 'chav'; [C]ouncil [H]oused [A]nd [V]iolent. The proposition was put that some 'notorious' residents, the 'minority of the worst' (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.7) in the collective fantasy may, over generations, gradually utilise their exaggerated intimidating reputations, proliferated in the 'respectable fears' (Pearson, 1983) of the surrounding neighbourhood, to acquire power which may be sociologically inherited. This interdependent process traps residents in a double-bind involving feelings of 'mutual fear and distrust' (Mennell 1989, p.89), resentment and discontent, which 'occurs when comparisons between comparable groups are made which suggest that

unnecessary injustices are occurring' (Lea and Young, 1984, p.81). In the process, the residents embodying the 'minority of the worst' may have come to occupy a relatively enduring place in the structure of Ashmill; they may have become 'established *as* outsiders'. In contrast, the double-bind functions such that residents of the surrounding working-class neighbourhood are able to maintain their sense of 'respectability' – respectable power – by sustaining the distinction between themselves and the 'rough' residents of Blackacre.

The themes which have emerged from the case study are inextricably empirical and theoretical, and in this sense are difficult to abstract from the narrative without losing this sense of interconnection. Therefore, the traditional structure of a discussion chapter along the lines of an outline of the case and the empirical findings, implications for future research, methodological, theoretical and policy/practice implications, has been largely avoided. The approach taken has been to highlight key themes and weave these important implications throughout the discussion. In particular, the aim has been to highlight key new findings and to indicate findings which are cumulative to extant research, particularly established-outsider theory. This challenges the tendency of many contemporary sociologists to 'retreat into the present' (Elias 1987a), producing highly situated explanations which are inadequate to develop and build upon classical sociological and criminological traditions. This is not out of nostalgia, but because of their enduring empirical and theoretical significance (Swann and Hughes 2016).

Figurational Transformations: Inverting Neighbourhood Relationships

The narrative emerging from this case study illustrates that macro-social and economic transformations have continued to emerge since Elias and Scotson (1994) conducted their study, when 'Industrialisation, urbanisation, and similar processes, with the heightened mobility, [and] the heightened tempo of life they brought about' (ibid, p.160) were recognised. In the subsequent fifty years, socio-economic transformations have accelerated rapidly. With increasing work related mobility a fact of life for many individuals, the process of residualisation of council estates may act as a boundary marker between 'them' and 'us'. Paradoxically, residents of estates may be able to claim a relatively 'old' and

'established' local history, perhaps, at least to some degree, representing lingering examples of traditional close-knit communities, of which the increasingly work mobile residents of the surrounding neighbourhood may be resentful. Just as processes of industrialisation and urbanisation were highlighted as significant transformations which affected the lives of people living in Winston Parva, so globalisation and deindustrialisation, with a concomitant escalation of the relatively insecure service economy, have influenced work related mobility for many people. Greater individualisation and privatisation have increased the range of choices and relative freedom (Elias 2001, p.142) available for many people; choices about where to work, with whom to associate, and where to live. We are *expected* to make choices exercising appropriate self-restraint, and we are judged on the choices that we make. But for some of our most deprived people, these 'choices' are bounded by social and economic exclusion, and symbolised by the places that 'they' live (Hogenstijn et al. 2008).

In Ashmill, three key geographical boundaries were recognised by participants, although these are complex and shifting. First, the construction Eastern Avenue in the mid-1960s was perceived as a frontier dissecting Ashmill into the 'respectable' neighbourhood to the south, and the 'rough' predominantly council housing to the north. This boundary, however, was not neatly and easily articulated, as the relatively affluent neighbourhood of Evendale is also situated to the north of Eastern Avenue. Secondly, the neighbourhood to the extreme south-west of Lower Road tended to represent a 'racialised' boundary emerging over the past generation, sometimes perceived as a 'spread' from a neighbouring community which has been traditionally occupied by Indian and Pakistani families since the 1950s. Finally, within the predominantly 'white' area of Ashmill, a boundary has emerged between the Blackacre estate and the surrounding neighbourhood, which is the relationship focused upon in this study. However, it is important to highlight that whilst this often subtle boundary exists, there is also a common 'we-identity' evident which binds residents from this predominantly 'white' neighbourhood of Ashmill. These boundaries represent further opportunities for study, perhaps in constructing a more reality congruent synopsis of the community of Ashmill. Understanding

how, for example, established-outsider relationships might work to 'bond' and 'bind' residents around matters of ethnicity and religion.

There was some local resentment when the Blackacre estate was built in the mid-1970s, based around the appropriation of land used by generations of locals for recreational purposes, which some 'established' residents felt was unfair, and the feared lowering of standards and reputation of Ashmill. However, the construction of Blackacre also seemed to have the effect of reducing some of the stigma previously associated with the Ashmill council estate; the assumption locally being that the 'problem' families were rehoused on Blackacre. In the 1990's a change in ward boundaries may also have affected the relative status of Ashmill estate, which in administrative terms, 'moved' from Ashmill into the neighbouring and more 'respectable' ward of Stonebrook. Residents of the Ashmill estate were then able to claim a higher status, although the relative status of Blackacre sank.

Many of the older participants of the once 'established' Zone 2 neighbourhood, developed by the Cromwell family in the mid-nineteenth century, felt increasingly insecure, frightened, and isolated, as many long-time neighbours passed-away and their houses were sold or rented to incomers. A similar change in the nature of housing tenure was also evident on the Ashmill estate, with many of the houses bought under the 1980s 'right-to-buy'. The Ashmill estate is now a relatively privatised, 'respectable' neighbourhood, with an older, in age and length of residence, population. In contrast, most residents of Blackacre rent their homes from the local social landlord, and there is a nucleus of residents who had lived on the estate for at least three generations, with younger generations often remaining on the estate. One of the key findings emerging from the figurational analysis is that Zone 2, and perhaps to a lesser degree Zone 3, broadly speaking the neighbourhood surrounding Blackacre, may be experiencing a process of comparative fragmentation and disorganisation when compared to the relative stability of Blackacre residents. This supports the observations of studies which suggest that some council estates may have comparatively more sense of 'neighbourliness' based on a shared sense of stigmatisation (Beider 2011; Boyce 2006; McKenzie 2015; Pearce and Milne 2010). This, at least partially, inverts the relationship

observed by Elias and Scotson between the Village and the Estate in Winston Parva.

Stigmatisation is a mechanism which can act as a barrier to feelings of belonging with the wider community. A process of transformation has occurred over several generations in which residents of Blackacre have developed a relatively strong we-identity, which was a feature of the established residents in Winston Parva. However, to describe this unproblematically as 'neighbourliness', with connotations of widespread cooperation between residents, would be misleading. Parts of Blackacre sometimes project a feeling of hostility. The estate is built on the Radburn design which is 'inward looking' and uninviting, effectively closing-off everyday contact with the surrounding neighbourhood. Residents are severed from the surrounding community by surrounding roads, behind houses and baffle-boards, and behind fortified boundary walls. There are parts of the estate where drug paraphernalia and other litter is frequently dumped, where there are frequently smashed and boarded-up windows, where CCTV cameras are located to monitor places that groups of youngsters have habitually gathered for generations. This insular 'encapsulation' (Brunt 2001, p.84) of Blackacre may tend to stunt the development of longer chains of interdependence with the surrounding neighbourhood. However, it has to be emphasised that most parts of Blackacre, most of the time, did not project a sense of hostility. At times, I wondered if I had made a mistake in my selection of the setting, as the rumours did not match the reality. Of course, this is essentially the problem: the estate, with the exception of a few places, was not nearly as 'bad' as it was rumoured to be. Most of the estate was well-kept and quiet, residents happy to pass the time of day with each other and passers-by. During weekdays the streets were quiet and resident's parking spaces empty. During the evening, and at weekends, children would be playing in the streets and squares, unlike most other areas of Ashmill, and the parking spaces are full, indicating that most residents were probably out at work during the week.

Participants from Blackacre tended to emphasise the sociability of neighbours, and this was often observed, particularly through gossiping inside The Shop, and the area around the back entrance, where young people often overturned 'wheelie-bins' to use as make-shift seats while they talked. Inevitably this lead to

some spillage of litter, and the bins were generally left overturned. A practical intervention to potentially reduce drug dealing and the gathering of relatively large groups in this specific case study may be to consider closing access to the back of The Shop. This would probably impact upon the business itself, however, as discussed earlier, this is a strategic location as it offers an 'escape' route to evade the police and potential aggressors. It also represents a place on Blackacre which has been dominated by generations of residents who are able to visibly assert their local power. Such a step could be balanced by the provision of community facilities such as a permanent meeting place, perhaps utilising a flat, and a play area. The area behind The Shop was a place known for drug dealing, a place to be avoided by 'respectable' people; although this boundary was sometimes transgressed. Accounts of young men who lived in the surrounding neighbourhood highlighted the seduction of Blackacre, as a place shrouded in fantasy, where if you dared to cross the respectable boundary, the 'forbidden' pleasures of drugs, violence, and sex, were reputedly available. This boundary transgression was not only limited to inquisitive young people, as accounts and observations of 'respectable' adults self-consciously requesting cannabis smoking paraphernalia in The Shop illustrate. During the summer, the greens around which the houses and flats were built would often be populated with women, many drinking alcohol from cans, while supervising young children playing. This sociability was construed as 'antisocial' by some neighbours, and exaggerated tales of the nature and extent of this 'antisocial' behaviour seeped into the gossip streams of the surrounding neighbourhood, proliferating the collective fantasy. In a wider social context experiencing less differentiation between neighbours and a greater rate of privatisation, residents of council estates may be conspicuous as a point of differentiation, perhaps being more likely to 'risk' social contact in public places with their, similarly stigmatised, 'antisocial' neighbours. However, this should not be read as condoning behaviour which may in fact be 'sociable', but may also be unacceptable. As Matthews (2014, p.144) states: 'We need to move away from the liberal notion that intolerance is undesirable and recognise that certain forms of intolerance are necessary to place parameters on acceptable behaviour'. Indeed, this supports Elias's observation that whilst the constraints that civilisation generates are tested by people trying to escape them 'social co-

existence without constraint … is impossible and inconceivable' (Elias 1983, p.265).

The name 'Blackacre' is both a unifying and dividing symbol, simultaneously bonding some residents of the estate whilst distinguishing the 'rough' from the 'respectable' in Ashmill. Blackacre has come to symbolise a sense of economic and social stagnation, and the 'antisocial'. This was not only among the 'respectable' surrounding neighbourhood. Jordan described Blackacre as a 'Black hole' that 'sucks you in' and 'traps' you; not unlike Elias's (1987b) 'Fishermen in the Maelstrom' analogy. However, this thesis contends that the 'pull' of the 'black hole' needs to be considered with the stigmatising 'push' of the surrounding neighbourhood. Place names can operate to sustain the charisma and respectability of a neighbourhood, as observed in the accounts of older residents of Ashmill who recalled its past reputation as one of the 'better' parts of Welshtown; as 'Knob Hill'. In contrast, they can symbolise roughness, fostering a reluctance to reside in an area, becoming a symbol of 'badness'. The name 'Blackacre', or rather what it has come to symbolise, may represent a social barrier which acts to maintain tension within the double-bind. The 'symbolic action' of changing the name of a place may improve the reputation of a notorious neighbourhood (Brunt 2001). In the case of Blackacre, perhaps removing the name and identity as a separate neighbourhood of Ashmill, an act of incorporation (Dunning et al. 1988), may have the effect, over time, of reducing social barriers and stigma. Moreover, the opportunities for exaggerated respectable fears to proliferate may decrease, chances for the 'minority of the worst' to sustain local power may be disrupted and their power weakened, and the harm suffered by socially weaker residents may diminish, thereby loosening the grip of the double-bind.

The Double-Bind Figuration of Fear and Resentment

This study has highlighted that a double-bind involving fear and resentment is evident in the lives of some Ashmill residents. The concept of the double-bind underscores the highly involved emotional nature of interdependent relationships binding groups of residents who are caught up in a struggle for power and identity. This intense emotional involvement prevents individuals from obtaining the detachment necessary to escape the trap which sustains the

278

double-bind. 'Respectable fears' (Pearson 1983) of the supposed dangerousness of Blackacre and its residents, and resentment about 'their' purportedly immoral 'lifestyle choices', is evident in the accounts of many residents of the surrounding neighbourhood. As Elias and Scotson (1994, p.149) observed in Winston Parva, the established feared that close contact with outsiders from the Estate would 'lower their own standing, that it would drag them down to a lower status level in their own estimation as well as in that of the world at large'. In contrast, there is also resentment about the relatively privileged lives, the power to exercise 'choice', and the capacity to claim 'respectability' – and thereby stigmatise Blackacre residents – that some residents of Blackacre feel towards members of the surrounding neighbourhood. This resentment, both upwards and downwards, generated through feelings of relative deprivation, is interdependent.

The feelings of resentment between interdependent working-class neighbours has been examined using relative deprivation theory as Lea and Young (1984) employ it, capturing the mutual resentment felt when one group is perceived to be unjustly benefitting relative to another. In particular, the idea that a group residualised into particular places – estates – may be stigmatised as 'rough', as an economically and morally worthless 'underclass' predisposed to violence, feeds into the double-bind, and may represent the current iteration of 'respectable fears' that Pearson (1983) traces. Moreover, despite the geographical proximity, just as the social distance between the king and his subjects served a purpose in court society (Elias 1983) so the social distance between 'respectable' residents of the surrounding neighbourhood, and the 'rough' residents residualised and encapsulated within the estate serves an unplanned function. The distinction maintains the current, but fluid, power balance within the figuration, of 'respectability' on one hand, and intimidating 'respect' on the other. Each group in this working-class figuration 'needs', has become dependent upon the other, in order to maintain their respective status and power within the double-bind. This is not to suggest that all residents of either neighbourhood expressed such polemical opinions; this is a complex, fluid, and often subtle situation. Many residents I spoke with from all neighbourhoods of Ashmill expressed positions of community apathy which were akin to those described by Hogenstijn et al. (2008, p.153) as the 'locally

indifferent'; residents whose social relations are largely beyond the locality, and are, therefore, less involved in local power dynamics. Importantly, those residents of Blackacre able to engage in wider social relations, generating longer chains of interdependence, may be able to largely escape the local power wielded by some notorious family-based friendship networks. In contrast, socially weaker, more vulnerable residents who are unable to engage in social life away from the estate may find themselves trapped between Scylla and Charybdis. They may be forced to either affiliate themselves with the powerful minority and adhere to a 'code of honour', or reject their power and risk victimisation (upon which reputations are maintained), being frequently bullied and threatened, often facing constant harassment until they leave the estate. These individuals then may gossip about the estate in resentful and exaggerated terms, maintaining the collective fantasy.

The effect of this double-bind emerging over three generations is to intensify the status threat felt most viscerally by working-class neighbours living on the immediate boundary of Blackacre where minor differences represent a real reputational threat for neighbours of such close social and spatial proximity. The 'respectable fears' of the surrounding neighbourhood, based largely on a collective fantasy of the 'rough' people living on Blackacre, provides some of the most excluded residents of Blackacre with an opportunity for limited and local self-empowerment. By closing-ranks against the stigmatising surrounding neighbourhood, some residents may transform stigma into pride, simultaneously deepening the trap that the most excluded people find themselves within, and tightening the grip of the double-bind.

In Winston Parva, the established community closed-ranks against the status threat they perceived from the newcomers on the Estate. They did this by exercising the social power they had in their gossip networks and their capacity to exclude the Estate people, and other ostracised individuals who had transgressed 'established' norms, from local clubs and associations. In Ashmill, the previously relatively 'established' surrounding neighbourhoods are increasingly becoming occupied by residents who have relatively long and lengthening chains of interdependence which reach beyond the bounds of the local community. Local family and friendship networks are, in contrast to

previous generations, relatively diluted and less central to everyday life. The face-to-face gossip systems which functioned in Winston Parva to maintain group charisma, and as a form of informal social control, with the power to exclude outsiders are *less* relevant; but not *irrelevant*. Gossip still functions to contribute to a sense of community structure, and an individual's place within it. Where a person is 'from', which neighbourhood you live in, which school you and/or your children attend(ed), which clubs and associations you belong to, the extent of your family and friendship networks, and particularly your employment status, were frequently starting points as to the place individuals could claim within the figuration, affecting who you could, and should, gossip with. This is not so different from Elias's observation of court society in which the first question posed between nobles when they met sought to establish from 'what house, from what family does he or she come? Then he can be classified' (Elias 1983, p.255).

A significant transformation from the story in Winston Parva concerns the status of newcomers, who were relatively unproblematically regarded as 'outsiders' by the established residents, and by Elias and Scotson. In the contemporary socially mobile context, it is frequently the case that 'respectable' neighbourhoods are comprised of relative newcomers. With longer chains of interdependence, and increasing individualisation and privatisation, 'respectable' individuals grasp the requirement to act with appropriate self-restraint and neighbourhood level civil inattention (Goffman 1966). As such, face-to-face gossip in increasingly 'anomic' respectable neighbourhoods may be declining, and the capacity to maintain local group charisma through gossip diminishing. However, assumptions and rumours about a neighbourhood are now easily checked, verified, and gossiped about using online sources. 'Crime in your neighbourhood' searches utilise recorded police crime data to indicate the relative 'safeness' of neighbourhoods. Online news articles allowed readers to post comments denigrating residents of notorious neighbourhoods in which crime and antisocial behaviour had occurred. However, the power to immediately retaliate was also observed in responding comments, often highlighting the prejudiced nature of some denigrating comments. Facebook was used to encourage 'community' identities, and often involved gossip which 'shamed' unknown individuals transgressing respectable standards of civility,

such as fly-tipping and dog fouling. However, social networking sites were also used to directly attack individuals and families, for example, the Smith family were humiliated using Facebook by a 'friendship network' residing on Blackacre. Whilst longer chains of interdependency may be generated through online social networking, it is possible that this technological transformation may also have a democratising effect for stigmatised residents to engage in gossip; which may either be used as a weapon, or to emphasise commonalities and reduce the grip of the double-bind. A useful further development of established-outsider theory may be an online focused study of 'virtual gossip' in the context of the 'interactional web' (Edwards et al. 2013) and the functions it may have in structuring relationships within a community figuration.

Chains of interdependence have remained relatively short for some Blackacre residents, perhaps explaining the comparatively close-knit neighbourhood in some parts, along with the development of social power for some notorious friendship networks. Over time, some of these comparatively 'established' networks have closed-ranks to protect themselves from the stigma they have experienced over generations. In the process, they have blindly capitalised on their intimidating reputation and the power it affords them to effectively bar residents from the surrounding neighbourhood from 'their' estate, and to intimidate weaker residents of Blackacre who refuse to adhere to their 'code of honour'. Although there is an equalisation in the balance of power evident as hypothesised in Eliasian theory (see Mennell 1989 p.109), the double-bind remains. Whilst it is not argued that the surrounding neighbourhood has lost a common set of norms, it is recognised that these norms are not maintained as strongly or in the same predominantly face-to-face ways that were observed in Winston Parva. In contrast, Blackacre is, for a minority of residents, a comparatively close-knit neighbourhood which has closed-ranks to protect a set of norms and group identity, albeit largely based on deviant reputations.

The 'Code of the Estate': Loyalty, a Capacity for Violence, and 'No-Grassing'

A 'distinguishing code' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.151) exists among a minority of residents on Blackacre which contrasts with that observed operating in Winston Parva based on 'respectability' to maintain group charisma among the

'established'. The 'established' Blackacre residents such as the Jones/Evans and Williams families and their friendship networks have, over three generations, acquired and maintained power, albeit deviant, which is sociologically transmitted to some youngsters living on Blackacre. They were able to exercise power over some neighbours based on their intimidating reputations, through low-level bullying of weaker recalcitrant neighbours, and more rarely, violent incidents, to sustain and develop their reputations. Importantly, they were also able to offer 'protection' to those residents who adhered to the code. The 'code of the estate' involves two main features: a 'warrior code of honour' (Elias 1997, p.51) which emphasises loyalty, courage, and a capacity for violence; and adherence to the 'no-grassing' rule.

The 'Warrior Code of Honour'

A code of conduct was observed among most residents of Ashmill, including among many residents of Blackacre, which emphasised 'respectable' values, and was based on a 'civilised' or 'pacified honourable code' (Elias 1997, p.96). In contrast, some young men on Blackacre could acquire higher rank and power – 'respect' – through intense competition to prove their loyalty to the group, and willingness to defend its honour through retributive acts which may involve threats, damage, and violence which tends towards instrumental use in order to bolster reputations and status. In doing so, they can assert their place within the estate figuration, grasping opportunities to generate feelings of self-respect among their group, and in the process transforming individual and group stigmatisation into pride and power. Adherence to the code serves as a badge of honour. Elias and Scotson (1994) pay relatively little attention to the potential for power and thus status acquisition among their young people in Winston Parva, focusing primarily on the shame dimension. Young men that I spoke with, such as Kieran and Jordan, described a process of 'grooming' into this warrior code of honour which began at an early age. Jordan described a system of 'protection' which rejected state monopoly of violence and was informally controlled through the 'no-grassing' rule. This system, or 'code', is transmitted from generation-to-generation, sibling-to-sibling, and peer-to-peer, and involves 'doing favours'; such as carrying drugs, causing damage, and perpetrating assaults. Their socialisation into the code was rewarded with

'respect'. These boys entered a 'system' in which their I- and we-identities were bound-up with 'being from Blackacre'. But not all boys were socialised into this system, at least not completely. Tomos's account of growing-up on Blackacre emphasised the sustained support and encouragement from his mother and grandparents to pursue his education and participate in sport. He was able to develop longer chains of interdependence, develop a sense of respectability which was not only connected to being from Blackacre, although this was still an important aspect of his identity. Furthermore, accounts of young people growing-up in the surrounding community highlighted the seductive fantasy that is associated with Blackacre, some explaining how they would transgress boundaries in search of excitement. In reality, the 'warrior code of honour' may be used as a form of social control to pass-on the intimidating reputations and power of the 'minority of the worst' by victimising the most vulnerable residents of the estate; such as the elderly, the young, the sick, and the socially isolated. In the process, the 'minority of the worst' are also complicit in entrenching their continued exclusion and stigmatisation. The other key element in the code of the estate was adherence to the 'no-grassing' rule.

The 'No-Grassing' Rule

The 'code of the estate' is controlled largely through the 'no-grassing' rule, a phenomenon also observed by Evans et al. (1996), Walklate and Evans (1999), and Yates (2004, 2006). A development of established-outsider theory here is that this rule has a similar function to gossip. Adherence to the rule is a form of informal social control which sustains reputations, and transgressions of the rule may be used to ostracise and exclude individuals from the status of 'belonging' to Blackacre and, therefore, protection from the stigmatising world 'outside' that this implies. To 'grass' involves the betrayal of one's own 'survival group' (Elias 1987b, p.xi), a betrayal which may result in at least public/virtual humiliation, and potentially serious physical harm. The 'no-grassing' rule was also observed in the surrounding neighbourhood, however, here it was a weaker idea for which contravention implied less risk in reality than on Blackacre.

Key to the 'no-grassing' rule is a rejection of the legitimacy of the police in particular, and state authorities generally, to resolve problems, and thus

284

indicates a place-bound reversal in the civilising process, and risks a relative rise in the use of violence to resolve problems. This supports the argument that some residents of relatively deprived neighbourhoods may be more likely to reject, at least sometimes, the legitimacy of the police and resolve problems through interpersonal violence, highlighting the possible decivilisational effects on relatively deprived places that Ray (2011, p.193) identifies.

Whilst not all residents of Blackacre adhered to this rule, the collective fantasy maintains that all residents of the estate abide by it. That said, the 'no-grassing' rule may be inevitable for many decent people living on Blackacre because they are unable to rely on the protection of the police without risking potential intimidation in the same way that Blok (1974, p.51) highlights in relation to the code of *omertà*. A realistic distinction needs to be made here between the system of *mafia* Blok studied, and life on Blackacre in the early twenty-first century. The contemporary power of the state is considerably greater, and the violence experienced far less in terms of extent and ruthlessness. Nevertheless, whilst many residents of Blackacre that I spoke with did not accept the legitimacy of the assumed code of the estate, they did not see the police and other community safety partners, such as the social landlord, as credible agents of problem resolution either. The absence of consistent face-to-face neighbourhood policing has tended to entrench the perception among some residents of the estate that the police are, to a large extent, adversaries, entering the estate to respond to 'problems' in a 'military style' (Lea and Young 1984, p.172) to effect arrests and execute warrants. Blackacre has become perceived by the surrounding neighbourhood, the police, and the social landlord, as a problem to be controlled. Paradoxically, this may facilitate the 'legitimacy' and informal social power of these notorious friendship networks, the proliferation of the 'no-grassing' rule, and the reluctance of residents to report issues for fear of reprisals; a significant problem identified in the NAP conducted on Blackacre. Socially weak residents of Blackacre feared real repercussions from the more powerful minority if they reported incidents, and consequently elderly people like Doreen and Donald kept themselves-to-themselves out of fear, becoming isolated and insecure. This contrasts with many other residents, both on Blackacre and in the surrounding neighbourhood, who kept themselves-to-themselves out of a neighbourly respect for privacy.

It is probable that only a small minority observe the 'no-grassing' rule in any committed sense, and then not on a constant and permanent basis, but rather applying the rule in particular contexts and situations. Some transgressions of the 'no-grassing' rule are potentially acceptable, for example: in order to obtain revenge for some wrongdoing; to limit or eliminate the prospect of prosecution for some offence; or to obtain the cooperation of allegedly corrupt police officers in order to allow the continuation of some illegal enterprise or destruction of evidence. The key point here is that this code has emerged as a result of figurational mechanisms which make the stigmatisation of some of the most economically and socially excluded people possible. The rejection of the police and a resort to violence, even if it is exaggerated as this thesis argues, is not due to some genetic trait or personality weakness, or a simple 'lifestyle choice'. Rather, it is as part of a figurational process, it is a way of meaningfully resolving problems experienced by a historically traceable British 'under-class' (Pearson 1983), of which Blackacre is an example.

In developing this argument, and the inherent policy implications, a central issue is the importance of a closer face-to-face street-level relationship between the police and local neighbourhoods. This develops Lea and Young's (1984) key point regarding the importance of community policing in reducing 'pseudo information'. However, the transformations in the state's arms of executive power, which now include a more diverse range of agencies of control, such as local authorities, social landlords, social services, and schools, is also acknowledged. This change in the balance of power can be seen as part of the process of civilisation, whereby a process of democratisation is evident in which the state monopolisation of force exercised through the police is reduced. Nevertheless, the police remain the symbolic embodiment of the state's monopoly on violence (Jackson and Bradford 2009; Loader 1997) and the key point of connection with the community. The increased legitimisation of the police through consensual policing, developed through policing methods engendering mutual trust and shared aims in places like Blackacre, would have the aim of strengthening interdependencies between neighbourhood residents and police officers, allowing all members of the community figuration to be included in the reproduction of social order (Jackson et al. 2013). This may potentially disempower the intimidating '*mafia*-like' minority, and

concomitantly empower other 'weaker' residents, representing a vital step in arresting a decivilising process. It is to recognise the symbolic and actual power of the police, whilst generating greater 'community safety' interdependencies between all stakeholders, in concerns beyond 'crime' to include non-criminalised harms and issues of well-being. The focus on greater face-to-face street-level contact is not to reject the importance of incorporating technological innovations and transformations. Instead, it is a restatement of the importance of face-to-face contact, through which trust and accountability between interdependent groups may be encouraged, and 'locally responsive' and 'reassuring policing' (Innes and Fielding 2002) can emerge. In this way barriers between authoritative agencies and communities – an established-outsider figuration – may be reduced.

The participants' accounts of community meetings that I listened to, and more recently attended, were attended by council officials, housing officers, and police officers, and primarily residents from Zones 2 and 3. When Blackacre was discussed, it was generally in terms of problems of antisocial behaviour, drug crime, and violence, entrenching the perception of the estate as a 'problem' to be controlled and where the police were not 'welcome', adding weight to the prevailing stereotypes and prejudice. A reputation is proliferated which deters 'respectable' residents from entering the estate, either through fear of harm to their reputation, or the exaggerated risk of physical harm. The estate is largely avoided by 'outsiders', residents and officials, and the norms of the surrounding neighbourhood are assumed to be essentially rejected by Blackacre residents. The reliance on community meetings and online information at the expense of everyday street-level police interaction risks an exaggerated impression of the estate being accepted, and all residents becoming seen as close-knit and 'antisocial'. In this way a power deficit can emerge which can be capitalised upon, and an estate code developed over generations, crucial to which is the proliferation of the 'no-grassing' rule. This acts as a barrier to relationships between the neighbourhood and the police, and to effective policing (Evans et al. 1996). It weakens precarious relationships between estate residents and the police, who in forming operational actions are more likely rely on 'pseudo-information' (Lea and Young 1984, p.171), a collective fantasy based on the prejudices of the 'respectable' surrounding neighbourhood, who may feel more

comfortable, and be better situated, in talking to police officers and other officials. This point is made in order to emphasise the value of, and to support the policy of community policing as Lea and Young (1984) outline, in breaking-down 'barriers to social relations' (Elias and Scotson 1994, p.1) and untangling double-binds. Despite the passing of more than thirty years since Lea and Young's book, this remains a critically relevant issue. In a newspaper interview, Steve White, chair of the Police Federation, warned of the end of policing by consent and a move to a more paramilitary style (Dodd 2015) in light of a reduction in police officers by twenty-thousand. In the final stages of writing-up this thesis, during the 2017 UK general election, the issue of neighbourhood policing as a critical element in the prevention of jihadist and anti-jihadist violence surfaced as a key theme in the government's 'CONTEST'[116] strategy. In respect of stigmatised Muslim communities, Madon et al. (2017, p.1160) argue that a legitimate police force inspires confidence, trust, and collaboration between the community and a police force that is seen to share the goals of the community. The findings in this thesis indicate that a planned interdependence and legitimisation of relationships between the police and stigmatised communities may reduce the figurational generation of collective fantasies and allow greater control to be achieved over double-bind situations.

The processual and cumulative nature of social policy interventions is acknowledged here, and this thesis aims to support certain policy options (Matthews 2014, p.70). These may, over time, help strengthen relationships between residential communities and the police, gradually entrenching the legitimacy of the state monopoly on violence, and thereby reducing the potential for interpersonal conflicts emerging largely from feelings of stigmatisation and resentment to be resolved through violence. This is particularly important in neighbourhoods where residents are assumed, by neighbouring residents and community safety partners, to voluntarily adhere to a 'code of honour', but who in reality may be bullied into silence and cooperation by a relatively powerful

---

[116] The CONTEST strategy has four strands: 'Prevent', 'Pursue', 'Protect', and 'Prepare'. Of these, 'Prevent' is the strand which relies on local intelligence to identify potential terrorist linked behaviour and engage individuals in police led preventative intervention at an early stage. Nevertheless, the strategy has been criticised for its disproportionate focus on members of the Muslim community who may be seen as 'at risk' of radicalisation, and its consequent stigmatisation of the Muslim community. Essentially, it is a mechanism which may intensify an established-outsider double bind.

minority. This analysis outlines a process which also has wider implications in other relatively deprived communities, in which young men may be susceptible to violent 'radicalisation'; whether this be political or religious at root.

Established *as* Outsiders

I have developed the argument that the stigmatisation of council estates as dangerous places is founded on a collective fantasy which may be observed at many interconnected levels; from the macro-social to the micro-social level. There are processes of transformation and civilisation around the characterisation of this 'under-class'; from the comparatively violent environments of the nineteenth-century rookeries and slums, to the relatively 'civilised' but 'antisocial' behaviour which preoccupies contemporary sensitivities. The 'long, connected history of respectable fears' (Pearson 1983, p.242) persists, and at the heart of the contemporary collective fantasy are the notions of the 'chav' and the 'troubled' family, the current iteration of the historically traceable 'under-class' who occupy these residualised places.

In Chapter 1, The Troubled Families Programme was criticised for its blaming of 'deficient' people and its neglect of structural inequality (Sayer 2017, p.155). A handful of 'troubled' families, including the Evans/Jones and the Williams families, about three generations of whom reside on Blackacre, have come to characterise the 'minority of the worst' image of typical residents on the estate: as Harry said, 'The Williamses, they just epitomise Blackacre'. However, accounts from Craig Evans and Jordan Jones (uncle and nephew) illustrated how, over three generations, the Evans/Jones family had been consistently and dreadfully stigmatised. This revolved around their Irish ancestry and the stereotypical racism of drunkenness and violence this involved, their status as newcomers to Ashmill, and as residents of Blackacre, a council estate which threatened the 'respectable' status of the surrounding neighbourhood. The family suffered not only humiliation, but also violence, and fought back, sometimes violently, developing a reputation for being 'rough', and substantiating their stereotypical reputation. Successive generations inherited this 'rough' reputation and, by degrees, capitalised on the fear it encompassed to develop a locally powerful status. In the process, these families and their names have become synonymous with Blackacre; their self-identities and the identity

of the place have merged and been transmitted in a process of sociological inheritance. In this way, these 'troubled' families have come to occupy a particular place in the community figuration of Ashmill. Not in a 'subcultural' sense of meaningfully resolving highly temporally situated problems, but as a result of long processes and transformations from which the double-bind figuration has emerged, and from which it is difficult to escape.

'Being Blackacre', just as 'being St Ann's' (McKenzie 2015, p.47), infers and confers a particular place in the social structure; both locally and nationally. In the final pages of *The Established and the Outsiders*, Elias and Scotson (1994, p.171) consider how living in a place exposes an individual to:

> configurational problems [such that] ... if he lived long enough
> at the place, the particular character of his community would
> affect his life; the configuration of which he formed part would
> gain some power over him. And that would be even more
> strongly the case if he lived in Winston Parva as a child.

This was evident in the accounts of participants who had grown-up on Blackacre. It was manifest in the account of Jordan who incorporated his family's reputation for intimidation, of 'running' the estate, into his I-identity, and his we-identity: 'Blackacre is definitely a unit. Everybody knows each other and they're all trusted to each other. It's like a big squad'. It was also evident in Tomos's account, who although he recognised and incorporated a sense of 'being Blackacre' and a loyalty to his fellow residents into his self-identity, he did so without completely entering into the 'code of honour' which necessitated proving himself as a brave and loyal 'warrior' with a capacity for violence, and a committed adherence to the 'no-grassing' rule. Tomos was able to draw on the support of his family, and the sense of purpose that sport and education had provided, to develop connections beyond the boundary of Blackacre, and visualise a meaningful future. This is in contrast to the lads who frequently loitered at the back of The Shop and described a 'future' of 'trapping'; of capitalising on opportunities to make some money or acquire property as they emerged, and consequently becoming locked into generationally recurring poverty and violence. Nevertheless, this is not a simple 'offender as victim' thesis (Dunning et al. 1988, p.221). Jordan, despite his family loyalty and

inherited reputation, and his apparently complete acceptance of the 'code of honour', could take a relatively detached perspective, and during our interview and other conversations, he expressed his ambition to 'escape' the trap of the estate. Whilst it may be supposed that Jordan represents an exception, I suspect that the opposite is true. Kieran explained how as a youngster growing-up on Blackacre he had been indoctrinated with values associated with a 'code of honour' by older lads on the estate. He and his friends were required to hold and carry drugs, and to damage property and commit assaults in revenge attacks, in order to prove themselves as brave and loyal members of the Blackacre 'squad'. However, moving off the estate – to a street backing onto it, a short geographical but significant social distance – in his late teens, Kieran explained how his sense of status developed, he felt superior to the lads he had grown-up with on the estate, and no longer associated with them. Whilst group loyalty, varying degrees of pride, and a sense of 'being Blackacre', was shared by these young men, each also realised the social constraints that this boundary imposed. They were keenly aware of the stigma that 'being Blackacre' conferred, and in contrast, the sense of retaliatory group pride. Nevertheless, the narrative of 'escaping' the trap of the estate underpinned their accounts.

The proposition developed here does not deny the reality of everyday life for residents of estates who tend to disproportionately suffer more social and economic deprivation, including in the domain of community safety, than many other neighbourhoods. Neither does it vindicate the 'minority of the worst' residents who make life frightening and miserable for others. Blackacre is not one of the last remnants of 'community' which some research portrays estates to be, characterised by widespread 'neighbourliness' and good humour – at least, not all of the time and for everyone. The reality for many residents of Blackacre is one in which a relatively powerful minority informally control and protect their own group, and bully weaker, vulnerable residents in order to maintain their intimidating reputations and power, controlling people through a 'code of honour' underpinned by the 'no-grassing' rule. The power of minority groups is recognised by Elias and Scotson (1994, p.86) who observe that they 'can have a sociological significance far surpassing their quantitative significance'.

This thesis attempts to throw some light on the figurational processes which tend to maintain this double-bind. Notorious family-based friendship networks undoubtedly exist: the 'minority of the worst' are a 'real type'. This contentious and uncomfortable position will attract criticism of sustaining the 'underclass' stereotype, which I understand. When I began this journey I did not think that I would write such a sentence, but this is what is at stake when a researcher attempts to become 'detached' and make autonomous evaluations. However, this is not the conceptualisation of the 'underclass' as Murray (1990) frames it. His assumption relies on the myth of equal opportunities for every individual to engage in respectable, honest, and law-abiding lives, rewarded with decent work, education, and housing. This myth is compounded by the assertion that these opportunities are simply rejected by an immoral few, who produce generations of offspring with inherited personality weaknesses. In contrast, the conception of the 'under-class' adopted in this thesis supports Pearson's (1983) position that an enduring group of the poorest British citizens historically bear the brunt of national stigma, and are the object of the 'respectable fears' of society who are, in contrast, and interdependently, able to claim 'respectability'. 'Choices' are made, but these choices are heavily constrained and bounded by the place in the historical, geographical, and social structures, that an individual happens to occupy. In short, the *myth* is that this group choose to reject 'respectable' values and norms; the *reality* is that this group deal with generational social and economic exclusion and relative powerlessness, by transforming stigmatisation into group pride and local intimidatory power. The proliferation of this myth, revealed in this thesis using the established-outsider model, has important ramifications for effectively addressing feelings of fear and safety in working-class communities. Interventions, consistent with the aims of realist criminology which identify 'causal mechanisms that foster change' (Matthews 2014, p.49), may be planned or continued which reduce tensions between groups of residents with the aim of decreasing stigmatisation, and feelings of fear and resentment. One such tentative policy implication may be to reduce the current focus on 'troubled' families as essentially deficient and personally responsible for their situation, simultaneously encouraging a more detached analysis which examines broader structural, or figurational, explanations.

Concluding Comments

This study tells the story of the interdependent and transforming relationships between residents of Ashmill. Although the specifics of this account cannot be directly applied to other communities, the theoretical insights which link this study and others may be used to investigate double-bind situations existing elsewhere. In doing so, reality congruent knowledge may continue to be developed, and the fund of sociological knowledge added to, in the form of sociological criminology. Established-outsider theory is an example of classical sociological theory which has important implications for understanding some of the most acute problems of contemporary society. By revisiting this work, and that of others, such as Lea and Young (1984), and Pearson (1983), and exploring them in the contemporary context, important connections and disconnections may be highlighted which have a bearing on how we understand contemporary sociological practice in addressing 'the crime and violence question' (Hughes forthcoming).

Access to young people on the estate, especially to some of the most 'antisocial' was difficult; not only for me, but also for professionals attempting to 'engage' with young people 'at risk of antisocial behaviour'. Whilst I was able to overcome many of the potential constraints presented by my age and background, further studies would benefit from accounts and observations collected from this group. Moreover, whilst I do not claim that this a representative sample, it is acknowledged that it is gender skewed in that it is substantially male-focused; partly as a function of obtaining access, and partly because of a concern with understanding a male dominated topic. In this sense, the focus of the original thesis proposal has remained; for many young men on Blackacre their relationship with violence is entangled in a 'warrior code of honour' and an 'aggressive masculinity' emerging from a complex figurational context. However, approaching the study from the experiences of women in Ashmill may also throw some light on the reality congruence of the accounts of some of the young men who participated in this study. Most of the participants were aware of my background and the rapport I had developed with members of some relatively powerful men within the figuration. I exploited my social capital as a retired policeman and as an 'old head' in the gym, as someone who

understood and appreciated their acceptance of violence. In contrast, they could impress me with their macho tales, and criticise 'the police' with relative impunity. I sat with Jordan and talked for almost two hours. During this time, he told me about grassing, explaining the nuances of the code which rested on not talking to the police. Yet here we were, a retired policeman old enough to be Jordan's father, and Jordan a member of a notorious family on Blackacre. We had a 'civilised' conversation, shaking hands as I left, and when we have met on the street subsequently, we have stopped, shaken hands, and chatted. This is mentioned to highlight that some of the talk I collected was undoubtedly 'male bravado', and to highlight the 'respect' that developed between many of the participants and myself. I became 'involved', and it was imperative that some analytic 'detachment' was achieved. Without implying that females would provide a more truthful representation, analysis of differences in accounts may provide a more reality congruent synopsis, just as further studies may focus on 'racialised' boundaries to produce a more comprehensive account as noted above. Nevertheless, access to groups of young females on Blackacre would probably require a female researcher, and another thesis. The difficulty of access also has implications in relation to the applicability of established-outsider theory to one of the most pressing contemporary issues facing the UK and globally: that is, religious and political extremism. It is my contention that these issues essentially represent the same struggles for power, borne out of long-term processes of stigmatisation and relative deprivation, that have been considered in this thesis (see also Dunning 2016).

The thesis presents an autonomous evaluation by shifting the dominant contemporary heteronomous focus from a description of everyday life from the standpoint of the most stigmatised estate residents to explain how and why these stigmatised and excluded groups endure in particular places for generations. The focus shifts from individuals and families to the wider figurational processes which maintain the double-bind, to understand how the 'minority of the worst', far from being a social construction, are a 'real type'. This is an important if uncomfortable fact, but without accepting it we risk allowing further generations of people to remain trapped in situations of unnecessarily high levels of exclusion, fear, and objective harm.

Seen through the lens of established-outsider theory, this thesis argues that many generationally residualised residents of British council estates may have become 'established *as* outsiders', trapped in a double-bind situation which simultaneously entrenches the social exclusion and stigmatisation of many estate residents, and generates 'respect', pride, belonging, and empowerment for a few. This local power, underpinned by a 'code of honour' and supported by the 'no-grassing' rule, has allowed a minority on Blackacre to exercise a limited form of social control, which has escalated into the domination and bullying of weaker and more vulnerable residents of the estate. The power acquired by the most excluded and stigmatised minority on Blackacre tends to be exercised *within* the estate. In other words, the power acquired largely through the exaggerated reputations proliferated through 'respectable fears' of residents in the surrounding community is exercised, sustained, and amplified through the intimidation of the most vulnerable residents of Blackacre, and residents who dare to challenge the power of the powerful minority. This is not to condemn the minority as 'bad' people. They are also trapped; the stigmatising buck stops with them, they are unable to pass the stigma on, except perhaps to 'grasses' and paedophiles as Jordan explained. In contrast to most subcultural explanations which tend to be concerned with relatively short-term processes, this situation can be seen emerging over generations, in a process of sociological inheritance. Recognition of these long-term processes challenges the 'retreat into the present' (Elias 1987a) observed in much sociological and criminological work. These problems cannot be adequately understood in terms of one individual lifetime, or the social or psychological conditions affecting a single 'problematic' individual or family abstracted from the figuration in which they are situated.

The narrative constructed in this synopsis necessarily and inevitably simplifies the labyrinthine complexity of life in Ashmill. Figurational interdependencies are overlapping and shifting, technologically transformed, operating horizontally among individuals within a community figuration, and vertically at national, provincial, local and intra-local figurational levels. A clear limitation of this study is that it is a micro-social study, from which specific empirical conclusions cannot be generalised to all council estates. However, established-outsider theory provides an intensive research model to explain how problems

affecting similar figurations may be explained by shifting the focus of the study from the 'narrower problems' of the setting, to the 'wider theoretical problems of which they are an example' (Elias and Scotson, 1994, pp.22-23). The test of the established-outsider model conducted in this study indicates that it has important implications for community studies, and may be further developed and adapted, such that the mechanisms which may maintain double-binds of 'mutual fear and distrust' (Mennell 1989, p.89), or less tamely, 'mutual hatred and suspicion' (Fletcher 1997, p.58) between residential groups may be better grasped. Relatively detached evaluations can inform interventions, whether continued, adapted, or newly developed, which may help to loosen the grip of the figurational traps which reproduce highly emotionally involved situations of fear and resentment.

Bibliography

Anderson, E. 1999. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Atkinson, R. and Rodgers, T. 2016. Pleasure Zones and Murder Boxes: Online Pornography and Violent Video Games as Cultural Zones of Exception. *The British Journal of Criminology* 56(6) pp.1291-1307.

Aya, R. 1978. Norbert Elias and 'The Civilizing Process'. *Theory and Society* 5(2) pp.219-228. Available at stable url: http://www.jstor.org/stable/656697 [Accessed: 8 October 2014].

Bate, A. 2016. The Troubled Families Programme (England). *House of Commons Library*. Available at: http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7585 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

BBC News. 2003. Blunkett's Yob Culture Purge. *BBC News.* Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2841481.stm [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

BBC News. 2011. England riots: Maps and timeline. *BBC News* 15 August. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14436499 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Becker, H. 1991. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.

Beider, H. 2011. Community Cohesion: The Views of White Working-class Communities. *The Joseph Rowntree Foundation*. Available at: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/working-class-community-cohesion-full.pdf [Accessed: 11 June 2014].

Bell, C. 1974. The Use of Gossip and Event Analysis in the Study of Suburban Communities. In: Bell, C. and Newby, H. (eds.) *The Sociology of Community*. London: Frank Cass, pp.241-256.

Bell, C. and Newby, H. 1973. Introduction. In: Bell, C. and Newby, H. (eds.) 1974. *The Sociology of Community*. London: Frank Cass, pp.xliii-lii.

Bennett. T, and Brookman, F. 2011. The Effect of the 'Code of the Street' on Street Violence: Challenges for Crime Prevention. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology* 25(1–2), pp.83–94.

Bidder, M-E. 1987. The Scotch Cattle in Monmouthshire c.1820-1825. *Gwent Local History* 63 pp.3-16. Available at:

http://welshjournals.llgc.org.uk/browse/viewpage/llgc-id:1337678/llgc-id:1338761/llgc-id:1338766/getText [Accessed: 13 August 2014].

Blok, A. 1972. Preface in: Blok, A. 1974. *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.xxvii-xxxiii.

Blok, A. 1974. *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blok, 2001. *Honour and Violence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bloor, M., Fincham, B. and Sampson, H. 2007. Qualiti (NCRM) Commissioned Inquiry into the Risk to Well-being of Researchers in Qualitative Research. *Cardiff University*. Available at: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/qualiti/CIReport.pdf [Accessed: 15 December 2013].

Booth, W. 2008 [1890]. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Champaign IL: Bookjungle.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 2010. *Distinction*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bourgois, P. 2003. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bottoms, A., Mawby, R.I., and Xanthos, P. 1989. A Tale of Two estates. In: Downes, D. ed. *Crime & the City*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, pp.36-87.

Boyce, I. 2006. Neighbourliness and Privacy on a Low Income Estate. *Sociological Research Online*. 11(3). Available at http://www.socresonline.org.uk/11/3/boyce.html [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

Briggs, D. 2010. Researching 'Dangerous' and 'Problematic' Populations: Some Methodological Reflections. *Safer Communities* 9(3) pp.49-59. Available at: doi: 10.5042/sc.2010.0395 [Accessed: 21 July 2014].

British Beer and Pub Association. 2015. *BBPA Statistical Information*. Available at: http://www.beerandpub.com/statistics [Accessed: 22 September 2016].

British Sociological Association. [No date]. Equality & Diversity. Available at http://www.britsoc.co.uk/the-bsa/equality/issues-for-bsa-members.aspx#_rel5 [Accessed: 23 June 2016].

British Sociological Association. 2002. Statement of Ethical Practice. Available at: http://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/27107/StatementofEthicalPractice.pdf [Accessed: 12 January 2016].

Brunt, L. 2001. Into the Community. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) 2001. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.80-91.

Bryman, A. 2008. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bucholc, M. 2013. Outside the Moral Circle Polish Political Refugees in Norway: Between the Established and the Outsiders. *Human Figurations* 2(3) Available at: Permalink: http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0002.303 [Accessed: 8 May 2017].

Burgess, R. 1991. Keeping Field Notes. In: Burgess, R. (ed.) *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp.191-194.

Camber, R. 2012. Truth about Britain's feral youth: Small core of youngsters commit staggering 86 crimes by age 16. *Daily Mail* [Online] June 24 2012. Available at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2163979/Truth-Britain-s-feral-youth-Small-core-youngsters-commit-staggering-86-crimes-age-16.html#ixzz4VdjVoMF6 [Accessed: 13 January 2017].

Cameron, D. 2016. *Estate Regeneration*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/estate-regeneration-article-by-david-cameron [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Campbell, B. 1993. *Goliath: Britain's Dangerous Places*. London: Methuen.

Campos, P. 2015. Alice Goffman's Implausible Ethnography. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 21 August. Available at: http://chronicle.com/article/Alice-Goffmans-Implausible-/232491/?key=Tjh2IFM8aH1CMX9jbzhEYjsEbn1uY0NwYnRBaytxbltQFg== [Accessed: 12 April 2017].

Carradice, P. 2013. Some Welsh Customs. *BBC Wales*. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/wales/posts/Some-Welsh-customs [Accessed: 20 February 2017).

Carrington, K., McIntosh, A. and Scott, J. 2010. Globalization, Frontier Masculinities and Violence: Booze, Blokes and Brawls. *The British Journal of Criminology* 50(3) pp.393-413. Available at: doi: 10.1093/bjc/azq003 [Accessed: 1 November 2011].

Casey, L. 2012. Listening to Troubled Families. *Department for Communities and Local Government*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6151/2183663.pdf [Accessed: 1 December 2015].

Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R.G. 2001. Grounded Theory in Ethnography. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.160-174.

Christodoulou, H. 2016. Flash Point: Cops Pelted with Fireworks in Two Separate Halloween Night Horror Attacks. *The Sun*. [Online] 1 November 2016. Available at: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2091293/shocking-moment-cops-are-pelted-with-fireworks-in-halloween-night-horror-attack/

Clark, A. 2006. Real Life Methods Working Papers: Anonymising Research Data. *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods* Available at: http://www.reallifemethods.ac.uk/publications/workingpapers/2006-12-rlm-clark.pdf [Accessed: 28 July 2014].

Collins, R. 2008. *Violence: A Micro-Sociological Theory*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Cooney, M. 2003. The Privatization of Violence. *Criminology* 41(4) pp.1377-1406. Available at DOI: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.2003.tb01023.x [Accessed: 31 August 2016].

Coote, A. and Lyall, S. 2013. Strivers v Skivers: The Workless are Worthless. *The New Economics Foundation*. Available at: https://libcom.org/files/Strivers_vs._skivers_full-publication.pdf [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Cordell, A. 1959. *Rape of the Fair Country*. Abergavenny: Blorenge Books.

COSMOS. 2014. COSMOS Ethics Statement. Available at: https://www.cs.cf.ac.uk/cosmos/cosmos-ethics-statement/ [Accessed: 27 June 2016].

Crawford, A. 2007. Crime Prevention and Community Safety. In: Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.866-909.

Crossley, S. 2015. The Troubled Families Programme: The Perfect Social Policy? *Centre for Crime and Justice Studies*. Available at: https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/The%20Troubled%20Families%20Programme%2C%20Nov%202015.pdf [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Crow, G., Graham, A., and Summers, M. 2001. Changing perspectives on the insider/outsider distinction in community sociology. *Community, Work & Family* 4(1) pp. 29-48. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13668800200032443 [Accessed: 28 April 2017].

Crow, G. 2002. Community Studies: Fifty Years of Theorization. *Sociological Research Online* 7(3) Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/3/crow.html [Accessed: 1 February 2017].

Crowley, M.J. 2009. Wales, nationalist protest, 19th century. *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest* pp. 3497–3501. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/282844/Wales_nationalist_protest_19th_century [Accessed: 13 August 2014].

Day, L., Bryson, C., White, C., Purdon, S., Bewley, H., Kirchner Sala, L. and Portes, J. 2016. National Evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme: Final Synthesis Report. *Department for Communities and Local Government*. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/560499/Troubled_Families_Evaluation_Synthesis_Report.pdf   [Accessed:14 March 2017].

DCLG. 2012. *The Troubled Families Programme: Financial Framework for the Troubled Families Programme's Payment-by-Results Scheme for Local Authorities.* Available   at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/11469/2117840.pdf [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

DCLG. 2015a. English Housing Survey 2013-14. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/461439/EHS_Households_2013-14.pdf [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

DCLG. 2015b. PM praises Troubled Families programme success. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-praises-troubled-families-programme-success
[Accessed: 14 March 2017].

DCLG. 2017. English Housing Survey: Headline Report 2015-16. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/595785/2015-16_EHS_Headline_Report.pdf [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Deegan, M.J. 2001. The Chicago School of Ethnography. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.11-25.

Dodd, V. 2015. Police Warn Big Budget Cuts Will Lead to 'Paramilitary' Force. *The Guardian* 17 May 2015. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/may/17/police-warn-big-budget-cuts-will-lead-to-paramilitary-force?CMP=share_btn_fb [Accessed: 2 February 2017].

Dorling, D., Gordon, D., Hillyard, P., Pantazis, C., Pemberton, S. and Tombs, S. (eds.) 2008. *Criminal Obsessions* (Second Edition) London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies

Driver, F. 1988. The Historicity of Human Geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 12(4) pp.497-506 Available at: DOI: 10.1177/030913258801200402 [Accessed: 25 October 2013].

Dunbar, R. 1996. *Grooming, Gossip and the Evolution of Language*. London: Faber and Faber.

Dunning, E., Murphy, P. and Williams, J. 1988. *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*. London: Routledge & Keagan

Dunning, E. and Hughes, J. 2013. *Norbert Elias and Modern Sociology*. London: Bloomsbury.

Dunning, M. 2016. 'Established and Outsiders': Brutalisation Processes and the Development of 'Jihadist Terrorists'. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 41(3) pp. 31-53. Available at: Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/43997038 [Accessed: 22 July 2017].

Edwards, A. 2002. Learning from Diversity: The Strategic Dilemmas of Community-Based Crime Control. In: Hughes, G. and Edwards, A. (eds.) *Crime Control and Community*. Cullompton: Willan, pp.140-166.

Edwards, A. 2015. Realist Criminology. *Criminal Justice Matters* 99(1) pp.26-27. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09627251.2015.1026570 [Accessed: 8 May 2017].

Edwards, A., Housley, W., Williams, M., Sloan, L. and Williams, M. 2013. Digital social research, social media and the sociological imagination: surrogacy, augmentation and re-orientation. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 16(3) pp.245-260 Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2013.774185 [Accessed: 8 May 2017].

Edwards, A. and Hughes, G. 2012. Public safety regimes: Negotiated orders and political analysis in criminology. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*. 12(4) pp.433-458.

Edwards, G., Grubb, B., Power, A. and Serle, N. 2015. Moving the Goal Posts: Poverty and Access to Sport for Young People. *London School of Economics Housing and Communities*. CASE Report 95. Available at: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/casereport95.pdf [Accessed: 25 April 2017].

Eisner, M. 2003. Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime. *Crime and Justice*. 30 pp. 83-142. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147697 [Accessed: 14 October 2014].

Eisner, M. 2008. Modernity Strikes Back? A Historical Perspective on the Latest Increase in Interpersonal Violence (1960–1990). *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 2(2) pp.288-316. Available at: http://www.ijcv.org/index.php/ijcv/article/view/41/41 [Accessed: 13 February 2017].

Elias, N. 1936. Preface. In: Elias, N. 2000. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (revised ed.). Oxford: Blackwell, pp.ix-xv.

Elias, N. 1956. Problems of Involvement and Detachment. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 7(3) pp.226-252.

Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. 1964. Preface. In: Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. 1994. *The Established and the Outsiders*. London: Sage, pp.xi-xii.

Elias, N. 1973. Towards a Theory of Communities. Foreword in: Bell, C. and Newby, H. (eds.) 1974. *The Sociology of Community*. London: Frank Cass, pp.ix-xli.

Elias, N. 1976. Introduction: A Theoretical Essay on Established and Outsider Relations. In: Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. 1994. *The Established and the Outsiders*. London: Sage, pp.xv-lii.

Elias, N. 1978. On Transformations of Aggressiveness. *Theory and Society*. 5(2) pp.229-242. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/656698 [Accessed: 8 October 2014].

Elias, N. 1983. *The Court Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Elias, N. 1984. *What is Sociology?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Elias, N. 1987a. The Retreat of Sociologists into the Present. *Theory, Culture and Society.* 4(2) pp.223-247. Available at: doi:10.1177/026327687004002003 [Accessed: 5 June 2017].

Elias, N. 1987b. *Involvement and Detachment*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Elias, N. 1990. Further Aspects of Established-Outsider Relations: The Maycomb Model. In: Wouters, C. (ed.). 2008. *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*, Volume 4. Dublin: University College Dublin, pp.207-231.

Elias, N. 1997. *The Germans*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Elias, N. 2000. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (revised ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Elias, N. 2001. *The Society of Individuals*. London: Continuum.

Elias, N. In: Goudsblom, J. and Mennell, S. 1998. *The Norbert Elias Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. 1994. *The Established and the Outsiders*. London: Sage.

Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I. and Shaw, L.L. 2001. Participant Observation and Fieldnotes. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.352-368.

England, C. 2017. Welsh parents could be banned from smacking their children. *The Independent.* [Online] 5 January 2017. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/wales-ban-parents-smacking-children-corporal-punishment-welsh-assembly-bill-amendment-slapping-a7510546.html [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

ESRC Framework for Research Ethics. 2015. Available at: http://www.esrc.ac.uk/files/funding/guidance-for-applicants/esrc-framework-for-research-ethics-2015/ [Accessed: 22 June 2016].

Evans, K., Fraser, P., and Walklate, S. 1996. Whom Can You Trust? The Politics of 'Grassing' on an Inner City Housing Estate. *The Sociological Review*. 44(3) pp.361–380.

Fairweather, E. 1982. The Law of the Jungle in King's Cross. *New Society*, 2 December. Cited in Lea, J. and Young, J. 1984. *What is to be Done about Law and Order?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Farrall, S., Hay, C., Jennings, W. and Gray, E. 2016. Thatcherite Ideology, Housing Tenure and Crime: The Socio-Spatial Consequences of the Right to Buy for Domestic Property Crime. *The British Journal of Criminology* 56(6) pp.1235–1252.

Farrell, G., Tilley, N. and Tseloni, A. 2014. Why the Crime Drop? *Crime and Justice*. 43(1) pp.421-490. Available at: DOI: 10.1086/678081 [Accessed: 13 February 2017].

Feinberg, M., Willer, R. and Schultz, M. 2014. Gossip and Ostracism Promote Cooperation in Groups. *Psychological Science* 25(3) pp.656–664. Available at: DOI: 10.1177/0956797613510184 [Accessed: 2 February 2017].

Flatley, J. 2015. *Public Perceptions of Crime: Crime statistics from the Crime Survey for England and Wales and police recorded crime*. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/crimestatisticsfocusonpublicperceptionsofcrimeandthepoliceandthepersonalwellbeingofvictims/2015-03-26/chapter2publicperceptionsofcrime [Accessed: 7 August 2017].

Fletcher, J. 1997. *Violence & Civilization*. Cambridge: Polity.

Flint, J. and Nixon, J. 2006. Governing Neighbours: Anti-social Behaviour Orders and New Forms of Regulating Conduct in the UK. *Urban Studies* 43(5-6) pp.939–955. Available at DOI: 10.1080=00420980600676386 [Accessed 18 December 2014].

Flint, J., and Pawson, H. 2009. Social Landlords and the Regulation of Conduct in Urban Spaces in the United Kingdom. *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 9(4) pp. 415–435
DOI: 10.1177/1748895809343408

Flint, J. and Powell, R. 2009. Civilising offensives: education, football and 'eradicating' sectarianism in Scotland. In: Millie, A. ed. *Securing Respect*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp.219-238.

Flint, J. and Powell, R. 2012. The English City Riots of 2011, 'Broken Britain' and the Retreat into the Present. *Sociological Research Online* 17 (3) 20. Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/3/20.html [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Foster, J. 1995. Informal Social Control and Community Crime Prevention. *The British Journal of Criminology* 35(4) pp.563-583.

Gabriels, K. and De Backer, C.J.S. 2016. Virtual gossip: How gossip regulates moral life in virtual worlds. *Computers in Human Behavior* 63 pp.683-693. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.05.065 [Accessed 31 August 2016].

Garland, D. 1990. *Punishment and Modern Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Garner, S. 2009. Home Truths: The White Working Class and the Racialization of Social Housing. In: Sveinsson, P. K. ed. Who Cares About the White Working Class? *The Runnymede Trust*, pp.45–50. Available at: http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/WhoCaresAboutTheWhiteWorkingClass-2009.pdf [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Gilligan, J. 1997. *Violence: Reflections on Our Deadliest Epidemic*. New York: Vintage.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.

Gluckman, M. 1963. Gossip and Scandal. *Current Anthropology* 4(3) pp.307-316. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2739613 [Accessed: 18 July 2016].

Goffman, A. 2014. *On the Run*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Goffman, E. 1966. *Behaviour in Public Places*. New York: Free Press.

Goodey, J. 2000. Biographical Lessons for Criminology. *Theoretical Criminology* 4(4) pp.473-498. Available at: DOI: 10.1177/1362480600004004004 [Accessed: 9 February 2012].

Goodwin, J., Hughes, J. and O'Connor, H. 2016a. Return to Winston Parva: Starting to Reconstruct "The Established and the Outsiders" 'From the Margins'. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*. 41(3) pp. 18-30. Available at: Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/43997037 [Accessed: 22 July 2017].

Goodwin, M.J., Cutts, D., and Janta-Lipinski, L. 2016b. Economic Losers, Protestors, Islamophobes or Xenophobes? Predicting Public Support for a Counter-Jihad Movement. *Political Studies* [Online] 64(1) pp.4-26. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/1467-9248.12159 [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

Goudsblom, J. 1994. *The Theory of the Civilising Process and Its Discontents*. Paper presented at the Zesde Sociaal-Wetenschappelijke Studiedagen, Amsterdam. Available at http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/docs/pdf/GoudsblomDiscontents.pdf [Accessed 23 December 2014].

Goudsblom, J. and Mennell, S. 1998. *The Norbert Elias Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Greer, S. 2016. EU referendum: Macclesfield backs bid to remain as UK votes to leave. *Macclesfield Express.* 24 June 2016. Available at: http://www.macclesfield-express.co.uk/news/eu-referendum-macclesfield-backs-bid-11520156 [Accessed: 17 February 2017].

Griffiths, C.E. 2014. Civilised Communities: Reconsidering the 'Gloomy Tale' of Immigration and Social Order in a Changing Town. *The British Journal of Criminology* 54(6) pp. 1109-1128.

Hall, S. 2002. Daubing the Drudges of Fury: Men, Violence and the Piety of the 'Hegemonic Masculinity' Thesis. *Theoretical Criminology* 6(35) pp. 35-61. Available at: doi: 10.1177/136248060200600102 [Accessed: 1 November 2013].

Hall, S. and Winlow, S. 2015. *Revitalizing Criminological Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hallsworth, S. 2005. *Street Crime*. Cullompton: Willan.

Hallsworth, S. 2013. *The Gang and Beyond: Interpreting Violent Street Worlds*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hanley, L. 2012. *Estates: An Intimate History*. London: Granta.

Harris, C. 1987. *Redundancy and Recession in South Wales*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hayward, K. and Yar, M. 2006. The 'chav' phenomenon: Consumption, media and the construction of a new underclass. *Crime Media Culture* 2(1) pp.9-28. Available at DOI: 10.1177/1741659006061708 [Accessed: July 2013].

Henslin, J.M. 1990. 'It's not a lovely place to visit, and I wouldn't want to live there'. In: Burgess, R.G. (ed.) *Studies in Qualitative Methodology: Reflections on Field Experience*. London: JAI Press, pp.51-76.

Herrera, J. 2016. *The Community Trigger. Empowerment or Bureaucratic Exercise* [Online]. Available at: http://asbhelp.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The-Community-Trigger-Empowerment-or-Bureaucratic-Exercise-Sept16.pdf [Accessed: 15 December 2016].

Hobbs, D. 1988. *Doing the Business: Entrepreneurship, Detectives and the Working Class in the East End of London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hobbs, D. 2001. Ethnography and the Study of Deviance. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.204-219.

Hobbs, D. Hadfield, P, Lister, S. and Winlow, S. 2003. *Bouncers: Violence and Governance of the Night-time Economy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hogenstijn, M. van Middelkoop, D. and Terlouw, K. 2008. The Established, the Outsiders and Scale Strategies: Studying Local Power Conflicts. *The Sociological Review*, 56(1) pp. 144-161 [Accessed: 2 November 2016].

Hollingworth, S. and Williams, K. 2009. Constructions of the working class 'other' among urban white middle class youth: 'chavs', subculture and the valuing of education. *Journal of Youth Studies* 12(5) pp.467-483. Available at DOI: 10.1080/13676260903081673 [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. 1997. The Risk Society in an Age of Anxiety: Situating Fear of Crime. *British Journal of Sociology* 48(2) pp.255-266.

Home Office. 2010. *What is a Family Intervention Project?* Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100405140447/asb.homeoffice.gov.uk/members/article.aspx?id=8678 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Home Office. 2011. *Nature of Violent Crime*. London, HMSO. Available at: http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/nature-violent-crime?view=Standard&pubID=954862 [Accessed: 21 June 2012].

Home Office. 2012. *Putting Victims First. More Effective Responses to Anti-Social Behaviour* [Online]. London: The Stationary Office. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228863/8367.pdf [Accessed: 15 December 2016].

Hope, T. and Foster, J. 1992. Conflicting Forces: Changing the Dynamics of Crime and Community on a 'Problem' Estate. *The British Journal of Criminology* 32(4) pp. 488-504.

Hope, T. 1995. 'Community Crime Prevention', Building a Safer Society: Strategic Approaches to Crime Prevention. *Crime and Justice* 19 pp. 21-89.

Hughes, G. 1998. *Understanding Crime Prevention: Social Control, Risk, and Late Modernity*. Buckingham: Open University.

Hughes, G. 2002. Plotting the Rise of Community Safety: Critical Reflections on Research, Theory and Politics. In: Hughes, G. and Edwards, A. (eds.) *Crime Control and Community*. Cullompton: Willan, pp.20-45.

Hughes, G. 2006a. Communitarianism. In: McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (eds.) *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage, pp.45-47.

Hughes, G. 2006b. *An Encyclopedia of Swearing: The Social History Of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language, And Ethnic Slurs in The English-Speaking World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp110-114.

Hughes, G. 2007.*The Politics of Crime and Community*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hughes, G., Maher, J. and Lawson, C. 2011. Research Project Report: Status dogs, young people and criminalisation: towards a preventative strategy. *RSPCA/Cardiff University*. Available at: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/resources/wp139.pdf [Accessed: 30 April 2014].

Hughes, G. Forthcoming. *Sociological Criminology: Connecting Classical and Contemporary Practice*.

Hughes, J. 2003. *Learning to Smoke Tobacco in the West*. London: University of Chicago.

Hughes, J. and Goodwin, J. 2016. Introduction: Established-Outsider Relations and 'Figurational' Analysis. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 41(3) pp. 7-17. Available at: Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/43997036 [Accessed: 22 July 2017].

Hutton, R. 1996. *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Innes, M. and Fielding, N. 2002. From Community to Communicative Policing: 'Signal Crimes' and the Problem of Public Reassurance. *Sociological Research Online* 7(2) Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/2/innes.html [Accessed: 8 August 2016].

Jackson, J. Huq, A.Z., Bradford, B. and Tyler, T.R. 2013. Monopolizing Force? Police Legitimacy and Public Attitudes Towards the Acceptability of Violence. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 19(4) pp.479-497. Available at: DOI: 10.1037/a0033852 [Accessed: 25 August 2017].

Jennings, W., Gray, E., Hay, C. and Farrall, S. 2015. Collating Longitudinal Data on Crime, Victimization and Social Attitudes in England and Wales: A New Resource for Exploring Long-term Trends in Crime. *The British Journal of Criminology* 55(5), pp. 1005-1015.

Jensen, T. 2014. Welfare Commonsense, Poverty Porn and Doxosophy. *Sociological Research Online*. 19(3) 3. Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/19/3/3.html [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Jimenez, L. and Walkerdine, V. 2011. A Psychosocial Approach to Shame, Embarrassment and Melancholia amongst Unemployed Young Men and their Fathers. *Gender and Education* 23(2) pp.185-199. Available at: DOI: 1080/09540253.2010.490202 [Accessed: 4 April 2012].

Johnson, E.A. and Monkkonen, E.H (eds.) 1996. *The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town & Country since the Middle Ages*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Johnston, C. and Mooney, G. 2007. 'Problem' People, 'Problem' Places? New Labour and Council Estates. In: Atkinson, R. and Helms, G. (eds.) *Securing an Urban Renaissance*. Bristol: The Policy Press, pp.125-145.

Jones, O. 2011. *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class*. London: Verso.

Katz, J. 1988. *Seductions of Crime*. New York: Basic Books

Keane, J. 1996. *Reflections on Violence*. London: Verso.

Kelling, G.L. and Wilson, J.Q. 1982. Broken Windows. *The Atlantic Monthly*. pp.29-36.

Khleif, B.B. 1968. Book Review: *The Established and the Outsiders: A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems by Norbert Elias, J. L. Scotson*. *The Sociological Quarterly* 9(1) pp. 124-125. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4104705 [Accessed: January 2016].

Kilminster, R. 2007. *Norbert Elias: Post-Philosophical Sociology*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kilminster, R. 2011. Norbert Elias's post-philosophical sociology: from 'critique' to relative detachment. *The Sociological Review* 59(s1) pp.91-116. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.01980.x [Accessed: 9 May 2017].

Kruithof, B. 2015. The Dutch Bourgeois Civilising Offensive in the Nineteenth Century.
Human Figurations 4(1). Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0004.102/--dutch-bourgeois-civilising-offensive-in-the-nineteenth?rgn=main;view=fulltext [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Kusenbach, M. 2003. Street Phenomenology: The Go-along as Ethnographic Research Tool. *Ethnography* 4(3) pp. 455–485.
Lambert, M. and Crossley, S. 2017. 'Getting with the (Troubled Families) Programme': A Review. *Social Policy & Society* 16(1) pp.87-97. Available at: doi:10.1017/S1474746416000385 [Accessed: 7 March 2017].

Layder, D. 1998. *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research*. London: Sage.

Lea, J. and Young, J. 1984. *What is to be Done about Law and Order?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Le Grand, E. 2014. Class, Community and Belonging in a 'Chav Town'. In: Watt, P. and Smets, P. *Mobilities and Neighbourhood: Belonging in Cities and Suburbs*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.164-181.

Le Grand, E. 2015. Linking Moralisation and Class Identity: The Role of Ressentiment and Respectability in the Social Reaction to 'Chavs'. *Sociological Research Online* 20 (4), 15 Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/20/4/15.html [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Lee, R.M. 1995. *Dangerous Fieldwork*. London: Sage.

Lewis, O. 1966. The Culture of Poverty. *Scientific American*. 215(4) pp.19–25.

Linklater, A. 2011. Process sociology and international relations. *The Sociological Review*. 59(1) pp.48-64. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.01978.x [Accessed: 7 March 2017].

Linklater, A. and Mennell, S. 2010. Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations – An Overview and Assessment. *History and Theory*. 49(3) pp.384-411. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2303.2010.00550.x [Accessed: 24 July 2017].

Mac an Ghaill, M. 1994. *The Making of Men: Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling*. Buckingham: Open University.

Macnicol, J. 2017. Reconstructing the Underclass. *Social Policy & Society* 16(1) pp.99–108. Available at: doi:10.1017/S1474746416000403 [Accessed: 7 March 2017].

Madon, N.S., Murphy, K. and Cherney, A. 2017. Promoting Community Collaboration in Counterterrorism: Do Social Identities and Perceptions of Legitimacy Mediate Reactions to Procedural Justice Policing? *The British Journal of Criminology* 57(5) pp.1144-1164.

Markham, A. 2012. Fabrication as Ethical Practice: Qualitative Inquiry in Ambiguous Internet Contexts, Information. *Communication & Society* 15(3) pp. 334–353. Available at: DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2011.641993 [Accessed: 13 June 2016].

Massey, D. 1991. A Global Sense of Place. *Marxism Today*. Available at: http://www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/mt/index_frame.htm [Accessed: 13 May 2015].

Matthews, R. 2014. *Realist Criminology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Matza, D. 1990. *Delinquency and Drift*. New Jersey: Transaction.

May, D. 2004. The Interplay of Three Established-Outsider Figurations in a Deprived Inner-city Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies* 41(11) pp. 2159-2179. Available at: DOI: 10.1080/0042098042000268393 (Accessed: 14 October 2015).

McKenzie, L. 2012. A Narrative from the Inside, Studying St Ann's in Nottingham: Belonging, Continuity and Change. *The Sociological Review* 60 pp.457–475 Available at: DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02094.x [Accessed: 17 March 2017].

McKenzie, L. 2015. *Getting By: Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Mears, R. 1986. *A Sociological Analysis of Welsh Nationalism*. PhD Thesis, University of Leicester. Available at: https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/9810

Mears, R. 2013. Violence and Civilisation. *Professorial Lecture Series*. Bath Spa University. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/bathspauniversity/professorial-lecture-series [Accessed: 19 May 2017].

Mennell, S. 1989. *Norbert Elias: Civilization and Human Self-Image*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mennell, S. [No date]. Figurational Studies: Some Concepts, Principles and Major Research Areas. *The Norbert Elias Foundation*. Available at: http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/network/concepts.php [Accessed: 24 May 2016].

Merry, S.E. 1981. *Urban Danger*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Merton, R.K. 1936. The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action. *American Sociological Review* 1(6) pp.894-904.

Merton, R.K. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.

Millie, A. 2009. *Anti-Social Behaviour*. Maidenhead: Open University/McGraw-Hill.

Mills, C.W. 2000. *The Sociological Imagination*. Fortieth Anniversary Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Monaghan, L. F. 2002. Hard Men, Shop Boys and Others: Embodying Competence in a Masculinist Occupation. *The Editorial Board of The Sociological Review*. 50(3) pp.334-355. Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-954X.00386/pdf [Accessed: 16 July 2014].

Monbiot, G. 2015. Skivers and strivers: this 200–year–old myth won't die. *The Guardian* 23 June. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jun/23/skivers-strivers-200-year-old-myth-wont-die [Accessed: 29 August 2016].

Mooney, J. and Young, J. 2006. The Decline in Crime and the Rise of Anti-Social Behaviour. *The Journal of Community and Criminal Justice* 53(4) pp.397–407. Available at DOI: 10.1177/0264550506069364 [Accessed: 3 July 2015].

Moran, K. 2015. Social Structure and Bonhomie: Emotions in the Youth Street Gang. *The British Journal of Criminology* 55(3) pp.556-577.

Morris, E.W. 2010. "Snitches End Up in Ditches" and Other Cautionary Tales. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 26(3) pp.254-272. Available at DOI: 10.1177/1043986210368640 [Accessed: 10 August 2016].

Muncie, J. 2006. Responsibilization. In: McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (eds.) *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage, p.358.

Murie, A. 1997. Linking Housing Changes to Crime. *Social Policy and Administration* 31(5) pp.22-36. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/1467-9515.00073 [Accessed: 17 March 2017].

Murray, C. 1990. *The Emerging Underclass*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

National Audit Office. 2016. The Troubled Families programme: update. *National Audit Office*. Available at: https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/The-troubled-families-programme-update.pdf [Accessed: 23 May 2017].

Nayak, A. 2006. Displaced Masculinities: Chavs, Youth and Class in the Post-industrial City. *Sociology* 40(5) pp.813–831. Available at DOI: 10.1177/0038038506067508 [Accessed 3 November 2011].

Newman, O. 1972. *Defensible Space: People and Design in a Violent City*. London: Architectural Press.

Nieguth, T. and Lacassagne, A. 2012. Space Without Scales: Established/Outsider Relations in Hérouxville. *Culture and Local Governance* 4(1) pp.50-61. Available at: https://uottawa.scholarsportal.info/ojs/index.php/clg-cgl/article/view/826/pdf [Accessed: 4 August 2016].

Nijjar, J. 2015. 'Menacing Youth' and 'Broken Families': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Reporting of the 2011 English Riots in the Daily Express Using Moral Panic Theory. *Sociological Research Online* 20(4). Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/20/4/10.html [Accessed: 5 February 2017].

Oaten, A. 2014. The cult of the victim: an analysis of the collective identity of the English Defence League. *Patterns of Prejudice* 48(4), pp.331-349. Available at DOI: 10.1080/0031322X.2014.950454 [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

O'Connor, H., and Goodwin, J. 2013. The Ethical Dilemmas of Restudies in Researching Youth. *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 21(3) pp. 289-307. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1103308813488808 [Accessed: 23 June 2016].

Office for National Statistics. [No date]. How has crime changed since the 1980s? Available at: http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/HTMLDocs/dvc188/index.html [Accessed: 20 September 2016].

Office for National Statistics. 2012. Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales 2011. Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf [Accessed: 27 April 2015].

Office for National Statistics. 2014. 8 facts about young people. Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/uncategorised/summary/facts-about-young-people/sty-facts-about-young-people.html [Accessed: 11 December 2014].

Office for National Statistics. 2016. *Crime in England and Wales: year ending Mar 2016.* Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingmar2016 [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Office for National Statistics. 2016. Overview of violent crime and sexual offences. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/focusonviolentcrimeandsexualoffences/yearendingmarch2016/overviewofviolentcrimeandsexualoffences#characteristics-associated-with-being-a-victim [Accessed: 12 June 2017].

Owen, T. 1991. *Customs and Traditions of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2017. 'gossip, v.' Available at: http://www.oed.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/Entry/80198?rskey=zeEzme&result=2 [Accessed: 20 June 2017].

Pantazis, C. 2000. 'Fear of Crime', Vulnerability and Poverty. *The British Journal of Criminology* 40(4) pp. 414-436. Available at doi:10.1093/bjc/40.3.414 [Accessed: 20 December 2014].

Paskell, C. 2007. 'Plastic Police' Or 'Community Support'? The Role of Police Community Support Officers Within Low-Income Neighbourhoods. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 14(4) pp.349–36.

Paulle, B. van Heerikhuizen, B., and Emirbayer, M. 2012. Elias and Bourdieu. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 12(1) pp.69–93. Available at: DOI: 10.1177/1468795X11433708 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. 1997. *Realist Evaluation*. London: Sage.

Pearce, J. and Milne, E-J., 2010. Participation and community on Bradford's traditionally white estates. *The Joseph Rowntree Foundation*. Available at: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/Bradford-participation-community-full.pdf [Accessed: 11 June 2014]

Pearson, G. 1983. *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pearson, G. 2009. 'A Jekyll in the Classroom a Hyde in the Street': Queen Victoria's Hooligans. In: Millie, A. ed. *Securing Respect: Behavioural Expectations and Anti-social Behaviour*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp.41-71.

Pinker, S. 2007. A History of Violence. *The New Republic* 9 March. Available at: www.edge.org/3rd_culture/pinker07/pinker07_index.html [Accessed: 14 January 2015].

Pinker, S. 2012. *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. London: Penguin.

Plummer, K. 2001. The Call of Life Stories in Ethnographic Research. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.395-406.

Powell, R. 2013. The Theoretical Concept of the 'Civilising Offensive' (Beschavingoffensief): Notes on its Origins and Uses. *Human Figurations* 2(2). Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0002.203/--theoretical-concept-of-the-civilising-offensive?rgn=main;view=fulltext [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

Powell, R. and Flint, J. 2009. (In)formalization and the Civilizing Process: Applying the work of Norbert Elias to Housing-Based Anti-Social Behaviour Interventions in the UK. *Housing, Theory and Society* 26(3) pp.159-178.

Power, A. 1989. Housing, Community and Crime. In Downes, D. ed. *Crime & the City*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, pp.206-235.

Power, A. and Tunstall, R. 1997. Riots and Violent Disturbances in Thirteen Areas of Britain. *Joseph Rowntree Foundation*. Social Policy Research 116. Available at: https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/sp116.pdf [Accessed: 2 March 2017].

Presdee, M. 2000. *Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime.* London: Routledge.

Ray, L. 2011. *Violence & Society*. London: Sage.

Reiss, Jr., A.J. 1986. Why Are Communities Important in Understanding Crime? *Crime and Justice* 8 pp.1-33. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147423 [Accessed: 5 December 2014].

Richardson, H. 2017. New Homes 'Unaffordable for Eight out of 10 Locally'. BBC News 2 March. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-39128037 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Rock, P. 2001. Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnography. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage, pp.26-38.

Rock, P. 2005. Chronocentrism and British criminology. *The British Journal of Sociology.* 56(3) pp.473-491. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2005.00078.x [Accessed: 20 July 2017].

Rock, P. 2007. Sociological Theories of Crime. In: Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (4th ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rogers, N. 2002. *Halloween: From Ritual to Party Night*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosenfeld, R., Jacobs, B.A., and Wright, R. 2003. Snitching and the Code of the Street. *The British Journal of Criminology* 43(2) pp.291-309. Available at doi: 10.1093/bjc/43.2.291 [Accessed: 31 August 2016].

Runciman, W.G. 1972. *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England*. Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.

Russell, M.1964. The Irish Delinquent in England. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 53(210) pp.136-148. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/30088825 [Accessed: 13 January 2017].

Sampson, R.J. 2012. *Great American City*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Sampson, R.J. and Groves, W.B. 1989. Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 94(4) pp. 774-802. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780858 [Accessed 23 June 2014].

Saramago, A. 2015. Problems of Orientation and Control: Marx, Elias and the Involvement-Detachment Balance in Figurational Sociology. *Human Figurations: Long-term perspectives on the human condition* 4(2). Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0004.205/--problems-of-orientation-and-control-marx-elias?rgn=main;view=fulltext [Accessed: 29 June 2016].

Savage, M., Bagnall, G. and Longhurst, B. 2005. *Globalization and Belonging*. London: Sage.

Savage, M. 2010. *Identities and Social Change in Britain Since 1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sayer, A. 2000. *Realism and Social Science*. London: Sage.

Sayer, A. 2005. *The Moral Significance of Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sayer, A. 2011. *Why Things Matter to People: Social Science, Values and Ethical Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sayer, A. 2017. Responding to the Troubled Families Programme: Framing the Injuries of Inequality. *Social Policy & Society* 16(1) pp.155-164. Available at: doi:10.1017/S1474746416000373 [Accessed: 7 March 2017].

Scheff, T. [No date] The Repression of Shame. *Norbert Elias Foundation*. Available at: http://norberteliasfoundation.nl/blog/?p=841 Added by: Hughes, J. 5 December 2013 [Accessed: 8 February 2017].

Scheff, T. 2014. Toward a concept of stigma. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*. 60(7) pp.724–725. Available at: DOI: 10.1177/0020764014547311

Scheff, T. 2016. The Cooley-Elias-Goffman Theory. *Human Figurations: Long-term Perspectives on the Human Condition*. 6(1). Available at permalink: http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0006.105

Scott, J., Carrington, K. and McIntosh, A. 2011. Established Outsider Relations and Fear of Crime in Mining Towns. *Sociologica Ruralis* 52(2) pp.147-169. Available at DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2011.00557.x [Accessed: 2 February 2017].

Scourfield, E. 1976. References to "*Y Ceffyl Pren*" (The Wooden Horse) in South-West Wales. *Folklore* 87(1) pp. 60-62 Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1259499 [Accessed: 12 August 2013].

Sergeant, H. 2009. Feral youths: How a Generation of Violent, Illiterate Young Men Are Living Outside the Boundaries of Civilised Society. *MailOnline* 19 September. Available at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1214549/Feral-youths-How-generation-violent-illiterate-young-men-living-outside-boundaries-civilised-society.html [Accessed: 11 April 2014].

Sharpe, J.A. 1996. Crime in England: Long-Term Trends and the Problem of Modernization. In: Johnson, E.A. and Monkonen, E.H. (eds.) *The Civilization of Crime*. Urbana and Chicago: Illinois University Press, pp.17-34.

Sinha, S. and Back, L. 2014. Making Methods Sociable: Dialogue, Ethics and Authorship in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research* 14(4) pp.473-487 Available at: doi:10.1177/1468794113490717 [Accessed: 12 April 2017].

Skeggs, B. 1997. *Formations of Class and Gender*. London: Sage.

Slater. T. 2012. The Myth of "Broken Britain": Welfare Reform and the Production of Ignorance. *Antipode* 46(4) pp.948-969. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/anti.12002 [Accessed: 5 February 2017].

Smith, R.J. 2017. Goffman's Interaction Order at the Margins: Stigma, Role, and Normalization in the Outreach Encounter. *Symbolic Interaction* 34(3) pp.357–376. Available at: DOI: 10.1525/si.2011.34.3.357 [Accessed: 20 June 2017].

Smith, R.J. and Hall, T. 2016. Pedestrian circulations: urban ethnography, the mobilities paradigm and outreach work. *Mobilities* 11(4) pp.498-508. Available at: DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2016.1211819 [Accessed: 24 May 2017].

Snowdon, C. 2014. Closing Time: Who's Killing the British Pub? *Institute of Economic Affairs*. Available at: https://iea.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Briefing_Closing%20time_web.pdf [Accessed: 22 September 2016].

Spicker, P. 2011. Ethical Covert Research. *Sociology* 45(1) pp. 118-133.Available at: DOI: 10.1177/0038038510387195 [Accessed: 12 August 2011].

Spierenburg, P. 1984. *The Spectacle of Suffering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Squires, P. 2008. The Politics of Anti-Social Behaviour. *British Politics* 8(3) pp.300–323. Available at doi:10.1057/bp.2008.16 [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

Standing, G. 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury.

Standing, G. 2013. Defining the precariat: A class in the making. *Eurozine*. Available at: http://www.eurozine.com/defining-the-precariat/ [Accessed: 24 May 2017].

Stanko, E. 1990. E*veryday Violence: How Women and Men Experience Sexual and Physical Danger*. London: Pandora.

Stanko, E. and Lee, R. 2003. Introduction: Methodological Reflections. In: Lee, R. and Stanko, E. (eds.) *Researching Violence*. London: Routledge, pp.1-11.

StatsWales. 2016. Postcode to geography lookup, March 2016. Available at: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Community-Safety-and-Social-Inclusion/Communities-First [Accessed: 20 September 2016].

Stempel, C. 2005. Adult Participation Sports as Cultural Capital: A Test of Bourdieu's Theory of the Field of Sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40(4) pp.411-432. Available at: DOI: 10.1177/1012690206066170 [Accessed: 29 July 2014].

Sutherland, A., Brunton-Smith, I. and Jackson, J. 2013. Collective Efficacy, Deprivation, and Violence in London. *The British Journal of Criminology*. 53(6) pp.1050-1074. Available at doi: 10.1093/bjc/azt050 [Accessed: 29 December 2014].

Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, D.R. 1960. *Principles of Criminology*. 6th ed. Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott.

Sveinsson, K.P. ed. 2009. Who Cares About the White Working Class? *The Runnymede Trust* Available at: http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/WhoCaresAboutTheWhiteWorkingClass-2009.pdf [Accessed: 11 January 2015].

Swann, R. and Hughes, G. 2016. Exploring micro-sociality through the lens of 'established-outsider' figurational dynamics in a South Wales community. *The Sociological Review* 64(4) pp.681–698. Available at: DOI: 10.1111/1467-954X.12428 [Accessed: 18 January 2017].

Thome, H. 2007. Explaining the Long-Term Trend in Violent Crime: A Heuristic Scheme and Some Methodological Considerations. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 1(2). Available at: http://www.ijcv.org/index.php/ijcv/article/view/15/15 pp.185-202 [Accessed: 13 February 2017].

Tönnies, F. 1974. Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In: Bell, C. and Newby, H. (eds.) *The Sociology of Community*. London: Frank Cass, pp.7-12.

Treadwell, J. and Garland, J. 2011. Masculinity, Marginalization and Violence: A Case Study of the English Defence League. *The British Journal of Criminology* 51(4) pp.621-634.

Trickett, L.F. 2011. Fears of the Fearless. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 39(4) pp.280-302. Available at doi:10.1016/j.ijlcj.2011.08.004 [Accessed: 19 December 2014].

Tulloch, J., Lupton, D., Blood, W., Tulloch, M., Jennett, C., and Enders, M. 1998. Fear of Crime (Volume 2). *National Campaign Against Violence and Crime Unit*. Attorney-General's Department. Available at: http://crg.aic.gov.au/reports/1998-foc2.pdf [Accessed: 15 November 2013].

Tulloch, M. 2000. The meaning of age differences in the fear of crime. *The British Journal of Criminology* 40(3) pp.451-467. Available at doi: 10.1093/bjc/40.3.451 [Accessed 20 December 2014].

Tyler, I. 2008. Chav Mum Chav Scum. *Feminist Media Studies* 8(1) pp.17-34. Available at: DOI: 10.1080/14680770701824779 [Accessed: 30 August 2016].

UK Data Explorer. 2015. Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014. Available at: http://ukdataexplorer.com/wimd/ [Accessed: 4 July 2016].

UK Parliament. [No date]. *Improving Towns: Council Housing*. Available at: http://www.parliament.uk/about/livingheritage/transformingsociety/towncountry/towns/overview/councilhousing/ [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

UK Parliament. [No date]. *The Birth of Town Planning*. Available at: http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/towncountry/towns/overview/townplanning/ [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Urbanik, M-M., Thompson, S. K., and Bucerius, S. M. 2017. 'Before there was danger but there was rules. And safety in those rules': Effects of Neighbourhood Redevelopment on Criminal Structures. *The British Journal of Criminology* 57(2) pp.422-440.

University of the West of England. 2008. *The History of Council Housing*. Available at: http://fet.uwe.ac.uk/conweb/house_ages/council_housing/print.htm (Accessed: 5 May 2015)

Thatcher, M. 1987. Interview for "Woman's Own" ("No Such Thing as Society"). In *Margaret Thatcher Foundation: Speeches, Interviews and Other Statements*. Available at: http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689 [Accessed: 17 May 2017].

Tucker, H. 2017. *City of Light, City of Poison: Murder, Magic, and the First Police Chief of Paris*. London: W.W. Norton and Company.

Valentine, G. and Harris, C. 2014. 'Strivers vs skivers: Class prejudice and the demonisation of dependency in everyday life. *Geoforum* 53 pp.84-92. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.02.007

Van Krieken, R. 2001. Norbert Elias and Process Sociology. In: Ritzer, G. and Smart, B. (eds.) *Handbook of Social Theory*. London: Sage, pp.353-367.

Walby, S., Towers, J., and Francis, B. 2016. Is Violent Crime Increasing or Decreasing? A New Methodology to Measure Repeat Attacks Making Visible the Significance of Gender and Domestic Relations. *The British Journal of Criminology* 56(6) pp.1203-1234.

Walkerdine, W. 2016. Affective history, working-class communities and self-determination. *The Sociological Review* 64(4) pp.699–714 Available at: DOI: 10.1111/1467-954X.12435 [Accessed: 22 May 2017].

Walklate, S. and Evans, K. 1999. *Zero Tolerance or Community Tolerance?* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Walklate, S. 1998. Crime and Community: Fear or Trust? *The British Journal of Sociology* 49(4) pp.550-569. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/591288 [Accessed: 6 December 2014].

Walklate, S. 2001. Community and Crime Prevention. In: McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (eds.) *Controlling Crime*. London: Open University/Sage.

Walklate, S. 2002. Gendering Crime Prevention. In: Hughes, G., McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (eds.) *Crime Prevention and Community Safety*. London: Sage/The Open University.

Wacquant, L. 2004. *Body & Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Watt, P. 2006. Respectability, Roughness and 'Race': Neighbourhood Place Images and the Making of Working-class Social Distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(4) pp.776-797.

Welch, D. 2009. Demolition Ordered for Rosemeadow Estate. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 8 January. Available at: http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/demolition-orders/2009/01/07/1231004105780.html [Accessed: 12 May 2015].

Welsh Government. 2017. Communities First. Available at: http://gov.wales/topics/people-and-communities/communities/communitiesfirst/?lang=en [Accessed: 11 May 2017].

Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation. 2014. Executive Summary (Revised). Available at: http://gov.wales/docs/statistics/2015/150812-wimd-2014-summary-revised-en.pdf [Accessed: 6 September 2016].

Welshman, J. 2017. Troubles and the Family: Changes and Continuities Since 1943. *Social Policy & Society* 16(1) pp.109-117. Available at: doi:10.1017/S1474746416000415 [Accessed: 7 March 2017].

Wheeler, B. 2015. *A History of Social Housing*. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14380936 [Accessed: 14 March 2017].

Whyte, W.F. 1967. *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, G.A. 1985. *When was Wales?: A History of the Welsh*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Williams, M., Edwards, A., Housley, W., Burnap, P., Rana, O., Avis, N., Morgan, J. and Sloan, L. 2013. Policing cyber-neighbourhoods: tension monitoring and social media networks. *Policing & Society*. 23(4) pp.461481 Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2013.780225 [Accessed: 16 May 2017].

Wilson, J.Q. and Herrnstein, R.J. 1985. *Crime and Human Nature*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Wilson, H.F. 2013. Collective Life: Parents, Playground Encounters and the Multicultural City. *Social & Cultural Geography* 14(6), pp.625-648.

Winlow, S. 2001. *Badfellas: Crime, Tradition and New Masculinities*. Oxford: Berg.

Winlow, S. and Hall, S. 2013 *Rethinking Social Exclusion: The End of the Social?* London: Sage.

Wolfinger, N.H. 2002. On Writing Fieldnotes: Collection Strategies and Background Expectancies. *Qualitative Research* 2(1) pp.85-95.

Yates, J. 2004. Criminological Ethnography: Risks, Dilemmas and their Negotiation. *Policing in Central and Eastern Europe: Dilemmas of Contemporary Criminal Justice.* Available at: http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=208043 [Accessed: 12 April 2017].

Yates, J. 2006. 'You Just Don't Grass': Youth, Crime and 'Grassing' in a Working Class Community. *Youth Justice* 6(3) pp.195–210. Available at DOI: 10.1177/1473225406069494

Yin, R.K. 2014. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage.

Young, J. 1997. Left Realist Criminology: Radical in its Analysis, Realist in its Policy. In Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, J.1999. *The Exclusive Society*. London: Sage.

Young, J. 2002. Crime and Social Exclusion. In: Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, J. 2006. Relative Deprivation. In McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (eds.) *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage, pp349-350.

Young, J. 2007. *The Vertigo of Late Modernity*. London: Sage.

Young, J. 2011. *The Criminological Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Breakdown of Interviews

Interview No.	Participant(s)	Duration (minutes), and method of recording (Audio Recording – AR; or Notes – N).
1.	Donald	61/AR
2.	Doreen	80/AR
3.	Wendy, Louise, Sophie	120/AR
4.	Kieran, Wendy	110/AR
5.	Paula	28/AR
6.	Clive	83/AR
7.	Sandra	79/AR
8.	Carly	67/AR
9.	Clifford	208/AR
10.	Edward, Shirley	249/AR
11.	Duncan	99/AR
12.	Craig	88/AR
13.	Gerald, Irene	113/AR
14.	Lee	199/AR
15.	Leslie	103/AR
16.	Paige, Liam	75/AR
17.	Richard, Dawn	45/N
18.	Heather, Malcolm	90/AR
19.	Scott, William, Jason	65/AR
20.	Scott, William, Ross, Elliot	55/AR
21.	Father Stephen	75/AR
22.	Jordan	90/AR
23.	Harry, Georgina	60/AR
24.	Gemma	69/AR
25.	Peter	63/AR
26.	Aaron	71/AR
27.	Dylan	75/AR
28.	Adrian, Rhys	90/AR
29.	Michelle, Reese, Baily	75/AR
30.	Dan, Tomos	75/AR
31.	Andrew, Margaret, Beverley, Michael	85/AR
32.	Paul	70/AR
33.	Julian	33/AR
34.	Ian, Donna	180/AR
		Total: 3,128 minutes

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form

<u>AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH INTERVIEW</u>

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview today. Before we start I would like to make a few things clear about what I am doing, what will happen during the interview, and how the information will be treated.

This interview is part of a research project that I am doing at Cardiff University. The project is about how residents in this community get on with everyday life safely. Our interview will be relaxed and informal; it will be more like a conversation. We will talk about what life is like living here, what you see as the problems in the community, and how you get on with life with these things in mind.

Our conversation is likely to last for at least an hour and will be recorded. It's fine to have a break if you want to. Later on, I will listen to the interview and write it up. Once it is written up, the recording will be destroyed and the written copy will be stored, on a flash drive or paper copy, or both, in a locked cupboard, and will be retained for at least five years or two years' post-publication. The information might be used as part of the project, as teaching work, or used in articles or books.

Your real name will not be used; it will be replaced by a fictional name. Any information that may allow specific people or places to be recognised will be changed to maintain your privacy and anonymity.

What you say will remain confidential and anonymous <u>unless</u> there are clear and overriding reasons to do otherwise, for example, in relation to harm to children.

You can withdraw from the interview at any time, both during the interview and afterwards by letting me know. You do not have to give a reason for withdrawing. If you have any questions about the interview or the research, please feel free to ask. You can talk to other people about the project, and I would encourage you to put me in touch with other people you think may like to be involved.

Researcher: …………………………….. Date: ……………….
Print your name: ……………………………………………………………………………
Participant: ……………………….. Date: ……………….
Print your name: ……………………………………………………………………………
Address: ……………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
Telephone: …………………………………………………….......................................
Email: ………………………………………………………………………………………

How to contact me:
Steve Meredith, Cardiff School of Social Sciences, Glamorgan Building, King Edward VII Avenue, Cardiff, CF10 3WT. My mobile number is ██████████, and my email address is ████████. The project has the approval of the School Research Ethics Committee, and is supervised by Professor Gordon Hughes (████████) and Dr Rachel Swann (████████). The research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

Appendix 3: Breakdown of Known/Named Participants[117]

Participant context; number of participants; male or female.	Male (age) [interview number]	Female (age) [interview number]
Zone 1, Stonebrook (total – 2; 1 male/1 female)	Glenn (48) Civil servant.	Sue (56) Ashmill Catholic Church.
Zone 2, the surrounding community (total – 50; 29 male/21 female)	Adrian (46) [iv28] Hospital technician. Alfred (mid-60s) Retired steelworker. Ashmill Catholic Church. Andrew (55) [iv31] Methodist Minister. Baily (15) [iv29] School pupil, used to live in Zone 4. Christopher (24) Shop worker. Clifford (74) [iv9] Retired businessman. Clive (78) [iv6] Retried steelworker. Dan (22) [iv30] Communities First worker. Dylan (19) [iv27] University student. Edward (65) [iv10] Retired taxi driver. Father Stephen (55) [iv21] – Priest at Ashmill Catholic Church.	Betty (80) Retired. Beverly (55) [iv31] Retired nurse. Methodist church. Donna (38) [iv34] Proprietor of Blackacre shop. Ella (24) University student. Gail (61) Ashmill Catholic Church. Gemma (25) [iv24] University student. Georgina (22) [iv23] Teaching assistant. Gill (45) Teaching assistant. Heather (early 40s) [iv18] Community worker. Jenny (mid-60s) Ashmill Catholic Church. Julie (66) Ashmill Catholic Church. June (66) Ashmill Catholic Church. Margaret (62) [iv31] Retired teacher. Methodist church. Mavis (mid-70s) Ashmill Catholic Church.

|		
	Harry (26) [iv23] Civil servant. Huw (67) retired steelworker. Ashmill Catholic Church. Ian (48) [iv34] Proprietor of Blackacre shop. Ivan (77) Retired steelworker. Jack (35) Unemployed/disabled Jason (24) [iv19] Sports instructor. Used to live in Zone 3. Kieran (24) [iv4] manages a gym. Used to live in Zone 4. Kyle (19) Ashmill Baptist church. Lee (35) [iv14] Unemployed Michael (57) [iv31] Retired nurse, Methodist church Paul (50) [iv32] Unemployed plumber. Reverend Simon (60) Ashmill Baptist church. Rhys (20) [iv28] University student. Ross (24) [iv20] Factory worker. Scott (24) [iv19, 20] Factory worker. Sean (26) Police officer. Stuart (43) Warehouse worker. William (30) [iv19, 20] Cook.	Michelle (40) [iv29] Teaching assistant, used to live in Zone 4. Reese (14) [iv29] School pupil, used to live in Zone 4. Sandra (54) [iv7] Unemployed. Shirley (65) [iv10] Retired. Sophie (24) [iv3] University student. Wendy (52) [iv3] Customer services assistant, used to live in Zone 4. Zoe (26) University Student.

Zone 3, Ashmill estate (total – 10; 5 male/5 female)	Aaron (16) [iv26] Entertainment worker. Julian (50) [iv33] Steelworker and local councillor. Leslie (mid-70s) [iv15] Retired hospital porter, also Ashmill Neighbourhood Watch (NHW) Co-ordinator. Malcolm (early 40s) [iv18] Warehouse worker. Used to live in Zone 4. Peter (60) [iv25] Retired civil servant.	Emma (38) Ashmill Community Centre. Louise (30) [iv3] Teaching assistant. Carly (35) [iv8] Unemployed. Carol (49) Ashmill Community Centre. Caroline (50) Ashmill Community Centre.
Zone 4, the Blackacre estate (total – 24; 18 male/6 female)	Carl (24) Unemployed. Craig (45) [iv12] Unemployed. Darren (26) Unemployed. Danny (35) Electrician. Donald (70) [iv1] Semi-retired lorry driver. Duncan (44) [iv11] Civil servant. Elliot (25) [iv20] factory worker. Geoffrey (Adult – unknown age) Disabled, unemployed. Gerald (72) [iv3] Retired armed forces. John (30) Unemployed. Jordan (19) [iv22] Construction worker. Kevin (45) Unemployed/construction worker. Liam (25) [iv16] Labourer. Mark (35) Unemployed.	Doreen (78) [iv2] Retired. Fiona (38) Ashmill Community Centre. Hilda (70). Irene (70) [iv13] Retired armed forces. Paige (19) [iv16] Teaching assistant. Paula (40) [iv5] Ashmill Community Centre.

	Tom (46) Bin man. Paddy (48) Labourer. Paul (45) Unemployed. Tomos (22) [iv30] Works for Communities First.	
The Shop (total – 3, 1 male/2 female)	Ian (48) [iv34] Also zone 2.	Donna (38) [iv34] Also zone 2. Mae (mid-20s) Shop assistant, university student, community work at Ashmill Community Centre.
Ashmill Community Centre Staff (total – 7; 1 male/6 female)	Wayne (48) Unemployed/disabled.	Angela (early 50s) Care worker. Carol (49) Also zone 3. Caroline (50) Also zone 3. Emma (38) Also zone 3. Fiona (38) Also zone 4. Paula (40) [iv5] Also zone 4.
Ashmill NHW (total – 1; 1 male/0 female)	Leslie (mid-70s) [iv15] Also zone 3.	
Police Community Support Officers (total – 2; 1 male/1 female)	Richard (early 30s) [iv17]	Dawn (late 30s) [iv17]
Ashmill Primary School (total – 3; 0 male/3 female)		Gill (45) Also zone 2. Louise (30) [iv3] Also zone 3. Paige (19) [iv16] Also zone 4.
Housing Officers (total – 3; 1 male/2 female)	Des (mid-30s) Also a committee member for Ashmill Community Centre.	Melanie (35) Alison (Adult – unknown age)
Total – 94 known and named participants	**56 males**	**38 females**

Appendix 4: Map of Ashmill

Figure 1: Map of Ashmill
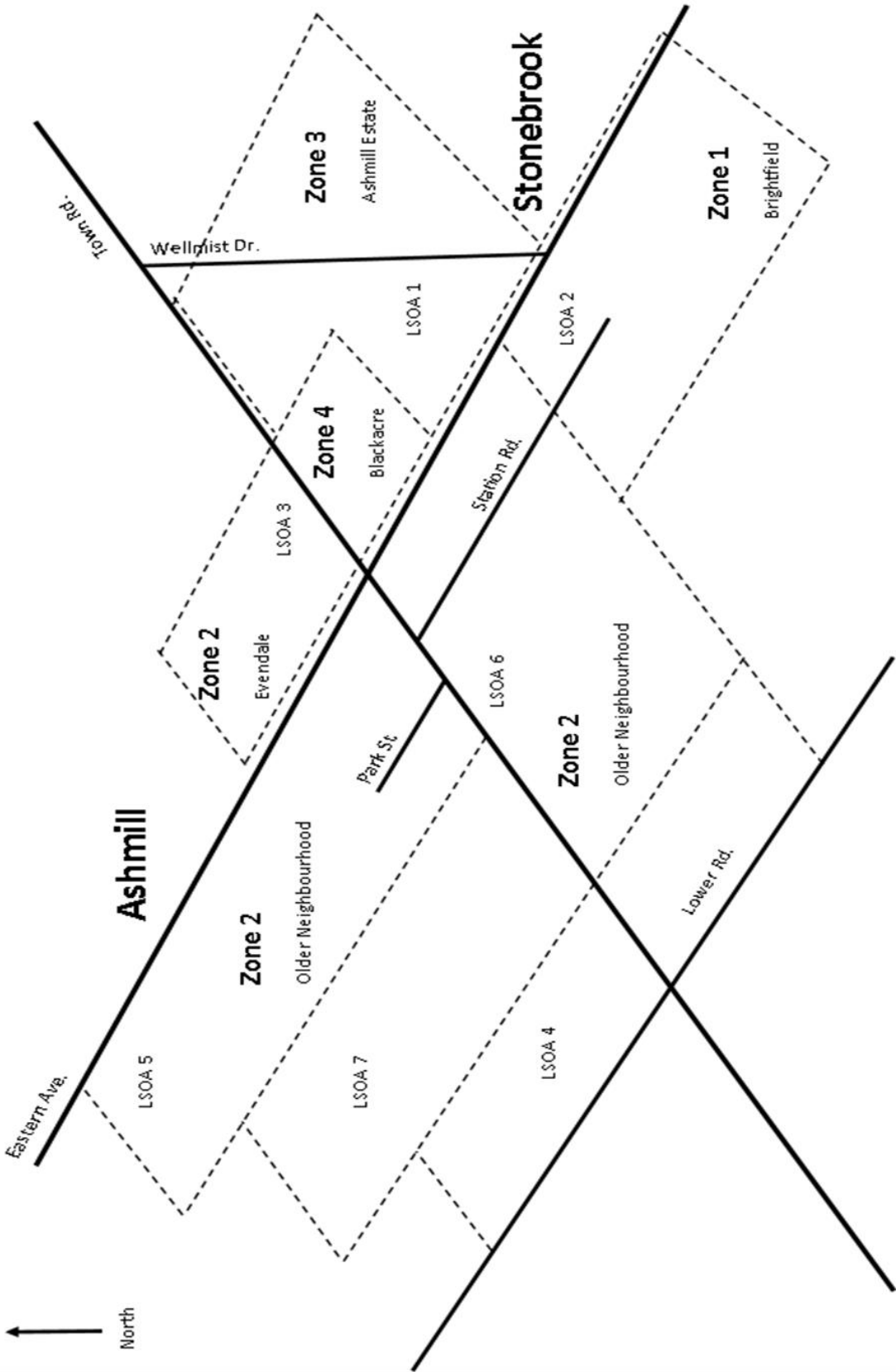
Appendix 5: Statistical Tables

Table 1: Comparison of Crime Types in Ashmill and Blackacre Between August 2015 – July 2016

Crime Type	Ashmill	Blackacre
Anti-social behaviour	361	60
Bicycle theft	4	1
Burglary	63	4
Criminal damage and arson	140	26
Drugs	22	2
Other crime	15	1
Other theft	45	6
Possession of weapons	3	0
Public order	20	5
Robbery	5	2
Shoplifting	24	0
Theft from the person	2	0
Vehicle crime	57	3
Violence and sexual offences	173	27
Total number of all crimes	**934**	**137**
Ashmill total adjusted to disaggregate the police recorded crimes in Blackacre	**797**	

Gender Structure: (count)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	Total
All usual residents	1,496	1,531	1,609	1,550	1,461	1,155	1,247	10,049
Males	707	738	829	779	710	566	616	4,945
Females	789	793	780	771	751	589	631	5,104

Age Structure: (per cent)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
Aged 0-15	18.3	23.6	19.8	19.9	18.6	17.7	21.1
Aged 16-24	10.1	10.5	10.7	15.6	8.6	10.5	12.8
Aged 25-49	29.6	32.7	35.6	34.8	33.9	29.5	34.3
Aged 50-64	18.1	17.3	19.6	16.5	16.7	22.4	20.3
Aged 65 and over	24	15.8	14.3	13.2	22.2	20	11.5
Aged 16-64	57.8	60.6	65.9	66.9	59.1	62.3	67.4

Table 4: Ethnicity

Ethnicity: (per cent)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	Mean
White British (English/Welsh/Scottish/ Northern Irish)	92.9	94	91.5	88	94.3	88.4	94.9	92
White and Asian	0.5	0.3	0.9	1	0.4	1	0.3	
Asian/Asian British; Pakistani	0.8	0.8	0.9	3.7	0.8	1.8	0.9	
Asian/Asian British; Bangladeshi	0.4	0.7	0	0.8	0.1	1.3	1.4	
Black/African/Caribbean/black British; African	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.4	1.4	0.3	

Households: Tenure status (count)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	Total
All households	778	604	700	619	653	457	506	4,317
Owned (outright or mortgage)	316	463	247	437	527	378	385	
Shared ownership (part owned and part rented)	6	0	2	2	2	1	1	
Social rented	383	101	190	22	25	5	35	
Private rented	56	34	68	150	91	119	30	
Shared dwelling	2	0	0	8	0	0	0	

Table 6: Occupational Status

Occupational status[118]: (per cent)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
All usual residents aged 16-74 in employment (count)	522	667	727	709	697	566	603
Managers, directors and senior officials	6.7	8.2	7.6	8	6.5	9	7.5
Professional occupations	9.4	11.4	14.3	12.1	14.1	14	16.3
Associate professional and technical occupations	7.5	11.5	11.3	11.4	11.2	10.8	10.9
Administrative and secretarial occupations	12.6	10.8	10.9	15.5	14.3	15.5	12.4
Skilled trades occupations	11.1	12	11.1	11	10.5	11.3	14.8
Caring, leisure and other service occupations	15.5	14.7	8.1	7.8	10.8	8.8	8
Sales and computer service occupations	12.1	9.9	13.8	11.3	10.2	12.5	10.4
Process, plant and machine operatives	8.2	8.5	8.7	7.9	9.6	8.1	6.1
Elementary occupations	16.9	12.9	14.3	15	12.9	9.9	13.6

---

[118] There are nine occupational groups in the ONS Standard Occupational Classification hierarchy; Group 1 – managers and senior officials; group 2 – professional occupations; group 3 – associate professional and technical occupations; group 4 – administrative and secretarial occupations; group 5 – skilled trades occupations; group 6 – personal service occupations; group 7 – sales and customer service occupations; group 8 – process, plant and machine operatives; group 9 – elementary occupations (Office for National Statistics, 2010).

Economic activity: Residents aged 16-74 (per cent)

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
Economically active;							
Part-time	14.8	18.2	16.1	14.7	14.8	17.3	15
Full-time	30.6	37.6	36.7	37	44.5	41.2	40.3
Self-employed	4.3	6.7	5.4	7.2	4.3	6.1	7
Unemployed	6.6	5	7.1	4.4	3.7	2.6	5.8
Full-time student	2.4	2.9	2.6	5.7	2.3	3.8	4.4
Economically inactive;							
Retired	18.8	14.4	13.8	12.7	20.5	16.7	10.3
Student (Inc. FT)	3.6	5	4.5	8	3.4	4.1	7.9
Looking after home or family	5.5	3.7	4.4	3.9	2.5	3.1	3.4
Long-term sick or disabled	11.2	4.4	6.9	4.5	3.2	4.7	4.2
Other	2.1	2.3	2.6	1.8	0.8	0.4	1.9
Unemployed;							
Never worked	1	0.9	1.4	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.4
Long-term unemployed	3.6	2.2	2.3	1.6	1.4	1.1	2.8

Table 8: Qualifications

Qualifications (count)

LSOA	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
No qualifications	500	321	340	260	332	188	195
5+ GCSEs or equivalent	223	297	372	444	366	355	355
Apprenticeship	87	126	138	80	109	114	98
2+ A level or equivalent	101	123	133	217	159	141	169
Degree level, including higher degrees	86	116	134	182	156	117	129
Professional qualification (e.g. teaching, nursing)	84	139	157	128	145	129	121

Dimensions of Deprivation

LSOA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zone(s)	*3*	*1, 2*	*2, 4*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
Household not deprived in any dimension	184	247	249	253	275	210	224
Household deprived in 1 dimension	234	194	232	207	223	144	173
Household deprived in 2 dimensions	266	132	155	124	138	88	87
Household deprived in 3 dimensions	88	29	58	34	17	15	22
Household deprived in 4 dimensions	6	2	6	1	0	0	0
Total number of households	778	604	700	619	653	457	506
Total number in 1-4 dimensions of deprivation (count)	594	357	451	366	378	247	282
Total number in 1-4 dimensions of deprivation (per cent)	76.3	59.1	64.4	59.1	57.9	54	55.7

Table 10: Community Facebook Groups/Pages

Facebook Identity	Status	Members	Created
Ashmill Matters	Closed group	915	March 2012
Ashmill Community Group	Public group	334	August 2016
Ashmill Community Centre	Profile	570 'friends'	December 2015
Ashmill Community Centre	Community page	1,650 'likes'	January 2015
Ashmill Community Talk	Public group	206	November 2016
Blackacre Estate	Public group	64	February 2016
Blackacre Group	Community page	100 'likes'	December 2012