

Young people and territoriality in British cities

October 2008

An exploratory study that examines the manifestations and impacts of territorial behaviour among young people in disadvantaged areas of British cities.

Keith Kintrea,
Jon Bannister,
Jon Pickering,
Maggie Reid and
Naofumi Suzuki

Territoriality among young people has been identified as a source of social exclusion and disadvantage, and as one of the roots of gang behaviour in some previous studies. It has also begun to be recognised by policy-makers working to improve young people's life chances and to promote safer communities. However, until now, there has been no research that has focused on understanding territoriality in its own right.

This report examines the following.

- What territoriality is, how it is experienced by young people and who is involved.
- The origins of territoriality in disadvantaged places, including the persistence of territorial cultures and young people's motivations for being involved in territoriality.
- The impacts of territoriality on young people's lives, including its potential to block access to opportunities, to foment violence and to act as an escalator to more serious forms of crime, including involvement in criminal gangs.
- The range of projects that aim to deter or counteract territorial behaviour.
- The public policy implications of recognising territoriality as an important social force in disadvantaged places.

The report encourages the significance of territoriality to be considered in the design of policies and programmes relating to the social exclusion of young people, community safety and neighbourhoods.

Contents

Executive summary	4
1 Introduction	9
2 Territoriality and place attachment	12
3 Cultures of territoriality	21
4 The impacts of territoriality	33
5 'Anti-territorial' projects	43
6 Conclusions and policy implications	49
Notes	56
References	57
Appendix: Profile of selected projects and cities	63
Acknowledgements	69
About the authors	69

Executive summary

Introduction and aims

For the purposes of the study, territoriality is defined as ‘a social system through which control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others’. This report is a first attempt to better understand territoriality among young people.

Territorial behaviour is frequently argued to be fundamental to human behaviour. However, some studies have suggested that it places significant constraints on the lives of young people, especially in disadvantaged areas. Recently, there has been considerable media and policy attention given to particular aspects of territorial behaviour – for example, ‘gang’ membership, ethnic segregation and anti-social behaviour. Territoriality is a kind of ‘super place attachment’; while there may be benefits of mutual support, there is also a darker side, which potentially leads to isolation and violence.

This study aimed to better understand the manifestations of territoriality, its origins and geography, who was affected by it, its impacts on young people and communities, and the appropriateness of current responses.

The research was carried out through a series of case studies based on ‘anti-territorial’ projects in Bradford, Bristol, Glasgow, Peterborough, Sunderland and Tower Hamlets, drawing on interviews with key local stakeholders and focus groups with young people, as well as discussions with national policy-makers.

Key findings

- Territoriality was part of everyday life in the six areas examined. It emerged where young people’s identity was closely associated with their neighbourhoods and they gained respect from representing them.
- Territoriality was a cultural expectation, which was passed down to young people from older generations and often had deep historical roots.
- Boys aged 13–17 were most involved in territorial behaviour; girls and younger children less so. Men in their 20s were also embroiled in territoriality, particularly where it was also associated with gangs and criminality.
- Young people often had positive motivations, such as developing their identity and friendships, for becoming involved in territorial behaviour, but territorial identities were frequently expressed in violent conflict with territorial groups from other areas.
- The negative impacts of territorial behaviour for young people included constrained mobility, problems with access to amenities relating to their location, and the risk of violent assault and criminalisation.
- Such impacts were felt most heavily by boys and young men who had a core involvement in territorial conflict. However, other young people, including those with no active involvement, also experienced problems.
- There was evidence in some of the sites that low-level territorial behaviour could be the foundation of criminal gangs involved in drugs distribution and violent crime.
- The report encourages consideration of the significance of territoriality in the design of policies and programmes relating to the social exclusion of young people, community safety and neighbourhoods.

The manifestations and significance of territoriality

The case studies showed that territoriality was important in the lives of many young people, although it manifested itself in various forms, ranging from young people who socialised on the streets, through groups with a stronger territorial affiliation, some of whom identified themselves as a gang, to more highly organised, criminally oriented territorial gangs. It often gave rise to physical conflict between groups of young people. Conflict was a feature of all the areas, although the frequency and level of violence varied. Mostly, conflict occurred on boundaries between residential areas, which were typically defined by roads, railways, vacant land or other physical features, or where there were incursions by one group into another's territory. There was also evidence in one of the cities of conflict being played out in the city centre between groups from different areas. The level of organisation of territoriality appeared to vary considerably between places. In some places, territoriality encouraged the formation of gangs. In each case study location, territorial behaviour was associated with other types of anti-social behaviour, such as drinking, drug taking and minor thefts.

Origins and geography

Territoriality was often associated with very tight boundaries, and was frequently identified as long-standing and often 'generational'. It was suggested that territoriality was learned behaviour and, importantly, that the stories told by older generations, combined with their own limited horizons, were significant in the intergenerational transmission of territorial culture.

The research also suggested a strong interrelationship between territoriality and disadvantaged areas. Connections were made in some of the case studies between poor housing conditions and often difficult family backgrounds and territoriality. Territoriality appeared to be a product of deprivation, a lack of opportunities and attractive activities, limited aspirations and an expression of identity. It could be understood as a coping mechanism for young people living in poverty, who were thus provided with leisure, excitement and an alternative focus of association outside their households.

In some places, tensions between areas or within areas arising from place attachment were heavily overlain or paralleled by other divisions between groups. By far the most important division was ethnic origin and this existed to some degree in all of the English case study locations.

Who is involved?

It appeared in the six sites examined that young men aged between 13 and 17 were the most active in territoriality and were certainly most visible and most likely to carry weapons. Girls were seldom involved in conflict and less affected, feeling safer to travel outside their home neighbourhoods. However, girls could be a source of conflict between different groups of young men, often linked to relationships.

Younger children often closely identified with territorial boundaries and were involved in territorial behaviour in some locations. Men in their late teens and 20s were also embroiled in territoriality in some places, particularly where territoriality was also associated with drug selling and other criminal enterprises.

Motivations

A large number of factors that motivated participation in territorial behaviour were identified in the study.

- Territorial affiliations were a source of friendship and group solidarity that provided an alternative to household and family affiliations.
- Young people sought recognition and 'respect' among their peers by taking part in territorial activities.
- Participation in territorial conflict was sometimes motivated by a sense of ownership over place, and the desire to protect the area itself and personal safety.
- Simply crossing a boundary into a neighbouring territory was regarded as an insult and could lead to conflict.
- As male teenagers became sexually aware, territoriality was intensified by the protection, or perceived ownership, of girls and young women.

- In some places, territoriality was a leisure activity, a form of ‘recreational violence’, where ‘gang fighting’ was ritualised.
- Territoriality was sometimes associated with material crime for financial gain.

The impacts on young people and communities

Many young people felt unable to cross territorial boundaries. Territoriality placed limits on young people’s freedom to go to areas outside their own, especially in the evenings and at weekends. The extent to which mobility restrictions and access to opportunities and facilities applied varied according to their level of involvement in territoriality, and between sites, but negative impacts were reported on young people’s potential, access to education, leisure and relationships. For some, mainly those who were involved in conflict, the fear of violence beyond their own areas was so strong that they were reported by the projects working with young people to be unwilling to travel to access them, even when transport to leisure facilities was provided. The impacts of territoriality extended beyond those directly involved in groups on the street. Even those young people who were not active in territorial groups on the streets sometimes faced restrictions on their mobility because of where they were from. The case studies revealed many examples of ‘innocent’ young people being caught in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In areas of mixed ethnicity, territoriality was sometimes exacerbated by ethnic differences; some areas were perceived as belonging to one group or another, despite having residents from more than one group. This impacted on young people, who were all the more easily seen to be in the ‘wrong area’.

Territoriality was associated everywhere, to some degree, with violent confrontation with rivals from other areas. The risk of harm, or even death, appeared to be much higher for those actively involved in territorial gangs compared to non-participants, as they were involved in fighting more frequently and/or were likely to be victims of revenge attacks. Territoriality could involve anti-social behaviour, including carrying weapons and violence, and often led to young people entering

the youth justice system, which was likely to provide barriers to future employment or other opportunities.

There was some evidence in three of the case studies that low-level, routine territorial behaviour could be a foundation for the formation of criminal gangs involved in drug distribution and ‘gun crime’.

Territoriality also had a wider impact on communities. The problematic territorial behaviour of some young people often led the wider community to demonise all of them, with any group of young men viewed with particular suspicion. Family members also sometimes became caught up in violence.

Current responses: ‘anti-territorial’ projects

The research identified over 200 local projects across Britain that could be described as ‘anti-territorial’ in some sense; these were funded from a wide range of government as well as charitable sources. They carried out a whole range of activities linked to particular local concerns, from diversionary activities (such as sport and leisure), to education (about the consequences for young people), association (to break down boundaries between communities by increasing contact) and conflict-resolution techniques (for more serious conflict). The projects in the areas examined appeared to play an important role in tackling young people’s motivations for involvement, such as boredom and peer pressure, but were not really able to tackle underlying problems, such as deprivation or disconnectedness from labour markets. They faced a number of challenges, including reaching out effectively to those most affected, and were hindered by limited capacity and access to funding. Overall, across Britain, these schemes appeared opportunistic, temporary and somewhat randomly distributed.

Public policy and research implications

Territoriality has potential significance for several themes in social and urban policy. However, recognition and understanding of it in policy circles appears to be at a fairly early stage.

The research indicates that there are substantial ‘social exclusion’ disadvantages for young people that follow from the restricted mobility and conflict induced by territoriality, and

suggests that it merits being taken seriously as an important problem in its own right. Because territoriality is associated with disadvantage, the research supports strongly programmes that are designed to create alternative opportunities for young people and offer them positive ways of affirming themselves other than on the streets. Projects that help young people to build bridges to other communities and break down their isolation appear to be especially helpful.

The research supports the idea that some of the most violent gangs have origins that are territorial. The local and wider significance of gang violence indicates that it would be useful to consider the causes of gang formation and to concentrate resources on prevention and conflict resolution, as well as tackling criminal behaviour by existing gangs. A clearer understanding, however, is needed of the links between low-level territorial behaviour and the formation of criminal gangs. It would also be useful to more closely identify the scale and scope of young people's involvement in territorial behaviour.

The historic origins of territoriality in patterns of residential differentiation can engender concerns about the settlement of migrant groups and how this might interact with territorial and gang behaviours. Thought needs to be given to the provision of services and support for migrants and existing communities affected by incomers in light of these issues.

From the research, we can also conclude that a consideration of problematic territoriality provides support to the current theme in planning and housing policy to encourage social mix in both existing and newly developed residential areas, and, within them, to consider the institutions and spaces that are necessary to allow social mixing to occur.

Finally, there are many useful anti-territorial projects across Britain. It would be beneficial to evaluate them in more depth with a view to disseminating good practice.

1 Introduction

Research aims

This report is a first attempt to better understand territoriality among young people. For the purposes of the study territoriality is defined as:

a situation whereby control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others.

Its context is the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's research programme on 'place attachment' – specifically, what creates people's sense of attachment to place and its impacts on mobility in deprived communities. While the hypothesis underlying the research is that territoriality is problematic for the life chances of the young people caught up in it and for the neighbourhoods that experience it, we recognise the potentially positive nature of territoriality as an expression of mutual support and community attachment. Territoriality leading to isolation and violence is the dark side of place attachment.

We set out with six aims.

1. *To better identify the nature of territoriality as an expression of place attachment:* it appeared, based on existing knowledge, that territoriality was widely prevalent and, in some places, a long-standing and pervasive feature of neighbourhood life. However, how territoriality manifests itself in different places was unclear.
2. *To better understand the origins of territoriality:* the second aim was to understand where territoriality 'comes from'. At the outset it appeared that some territoriality had deep historical roots. Although our concerns are centrally about youth justice and place-based social exclusion in the present day, an understanding of the historical background is necessary to identify the causes and reach of territoriality.
3. *To better understand the geography of territoriality:* while territoriality was frequently mentioned in relation to some cities, particularly Glasgow, it did not seem to be equally well documented throughout the UK. An important question, then, was whether this unevenness was a reflection of reality or just of a lack of knowledge. Also, while territoriality had been identified in deprived urban areas, the study sought to consider if it had an expression in city centres and suburban neighbourhoods, and the scale over which territoriality operates, potentially ranging from the level of individual streets to a systematic territoriality over a whole city.
4. *To understand who is affected by territoriality:* earlier work by one of our team (Suzuki, 2007) found that the impact of territoriality varied according to gender and age. Although this earlier work suggested that it was young men, especially teenagers, who were most caught up in territorial activities, our research sought to explore this more widely and to consider whether younger children, girls and older adults were also involved.
5. *To consider its impacts on young people and on communities:* a key starting point for the study was the potential of territoriality to lead to adverse consequences by limiting young people's opportunities, through accentuating an inward-looking focus on the local neighbourhood, and to lead them to an involvement in criminal behaviour. However, we also recognised that there was a potential for some positive impacts – for example, concerning friendship and self-actualisation.
6. *To consider the appropriateness of current responses to territoriality:* this study did not set out to formally evaluate the approaches

taken to challenge or ameliorate territoriality. However, it explored the range of interventions used as an element of the enquiry, with the aim of a broad understanding of their appropriateness to inform policy and practice responses.

Research approach

The study was carried out in England and Scotland, with fieldwork in two phases in the winters of 2006–07 and 2007–08. It centred on engagement with ‘anti-territorial projects’ (ATPs) operating in defined localities in six cities to access adults who were familiar with territoriality and young people involved in this activity.

The projects/localities were selected as a sample of ‘anti-territorial’ projects or initiatives in the UK as a way of ‘drilling down’ to neighbourhoods where there had been an active identification of problem territoriality. Through internet searches, publications and personal contacts, we identified 244 projects or initiatives. Not all of these were associated wholly with gangs or territoriality, but in all cases there was some element of intervention that was recognisable as being linked to these issues.

The 244 were located predominantly in England, and were particularly clustered in London, Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Nottingham. However, the searches also provided a considerable number of examples from central Scotland. From this process it appeared that projects in England were addressing more serious forms of crime, including ‘gun crime’, than in Scotland. There were few projects in Wales and those in Northern Ireland focused on the question of sectarian territoriality.

The projects chosen for further research were located in Glasgow, Sunderland, Bradford, Bristol, Peterborough and Tower Hamlets. These represented a range of locations and ethnic profiles, and were all projects that were well established and supportive of the aims of the research. Socio-economic profiles were constructed for the locations of the six case studies (see the appendix). Ethnic diversity varies across the case study locations; Glasgow and

Sunderland are relatively homogeneous, mainly white areas, while, by contrast, Tower Hamlets has only a relatively small majority white population. The case study areas all have significant concentrations of deprivation, particularly Glasgow and Tower Hamlets. Moreover, with the exception of Sunderland, all of the case study areas experience a higher volume of crime than the relevant national average rates in England and Wales and Scotland.

Because our intention was to conduct an exploratory study to better understand territoriality in its various forms and manifestations, we did not carry out each case study on the same spatial basis, but rather followed the coverage of the projects. The Glasgow case study information base was drawn from part of a large council-built residential area on the edge of the city, but it is known from other evidence that territoriality is widespread throughout Glasgow. Similarly, the Tower Hamlets case study was focused in one neighbourhood, although it was clear that other surrounding areas were also affected by territorial behaviour. In Bristol, the study was based around three well-defined inner neighbourhoods, but here it was less clear whether territoriality existed in the same way in other parts of the city. In Sunderland, Bradford and Peterborough, because the initiatives at the core of the case study had a city-wide remit, the information base covered the city as whole. So the studies are not precisely comparable and, although there are differences in the geography of territoriality across the six cities, our method did not enable us to assess exactly what the differences were. For ethical reasons, we agreed not to identify the neighbourhoods in the report, because of a risk of stigmatisation.

The data for the study came mainly from semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders and focus groups with young people. In the first phase, in each area, we interviewed up to six adults who had active knowledge of their localities and direct contact with young people. This always included the co-ordinator or manager of the project at the centre of the case study, usually other paid staff, but also typically volunteers and other adults such as regeneration staff, community workers, youth workers and police who had some involvement with the case study. In the second phase, we selected four of the six projects, leaving out Bristol

and Sunderland, and interviewed between two and six further adult stakeholders who were this time drawn also from outside the projects, including school heads, local authority youth service staff and police. In the second phase, we also ran between two and five focus groups with young people, both with those who were involved with the initiatives and, where possible, with others who had no involvement.

The semi-structured interview schedules were developed on the basis of a literature review. Interviews lasted typically between 45 minutes and 1 hour 15 minutes, but some ran for almost three hours. With the young people, we ran focus groups following an agreed agenda, which focused on their experiences of living in the area and of territoriality. This included an exercise where they were asked to draw a map showing the boundaries and main features of their home area, as well as areas in which they felt safe and unsafe.

Exploring territoriality was not always straightforward. The selection of case studies means there are limitations to their comparability. We also cannot say much about the extensiveness of territoriality; by definition, the areas that we went to had already identified territoriality in some form to be problematic, and so we can only surmise whether other areas in the same cities and other cities and towns in the UK might be similar. There was some resistance to the research, which resulted in difficulties in gaining access to case studies, cancelled arrangements and some discontinuation of communication. Part of this, we believe, lay in the sensitivity in discussing gang conflict, which was also apparent during the successful interviews. Some of the adult interviewees were not involved directly with conflict situations and their knowledge of some events was based on hearsay. Finally, even when young people were interviewed, they did not necessarily open up to the researchers the full extent of their knowledge. For example, some interviewees were former gang members and were reluctant to talk openly about their knowledge of gang organisation.

Structure of the report

The remainder of this report is structured as follows, in five main chapters.

- Chapter 2 reviews existing literature and current policy concerns. This sets out existing knowledge on the nature of territoriality and its relevance to young people, and examines where a better understanding of territoriality is relevant to current public policy.
- Chapter 3 looks at the culture of territoriality, in which we explore in depth what territoriality looks like and how and where it is experienced, addressing aims (1) through (4) above.
- Chapter 4 presents findings on the impact of territoriality on young people, looking at mobility, exclusion, criminality and the wider effects on the communities, addressing the fifth aim above.
- Chapter 5 is an overview of the responses to territoriality, based on our sift of projects around the UK and the approaches taken in the case studies, which goes some way in addressing aim (6).
- Chapter 6 summarises the findings and considers their implications for policy and future research.

2 Territoriality and place attachment

What is territoriality?

Territoriality as an aspect of human behaviour has drawn the attention of a wide range of authors and commentators, but little has been written about its contemporary manifestation among young people in disadvantaged areas.

Sack's (1986) *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* highlighted territoriality as fundamental to human organisation. At the international and national level, political organisations are the dividers of space, but, at the neighbourhood level, residents take on less formal roles so that the expression of territoriality entails an intertwining of personal identity and of place attachment. Because territoriality is an expression of control by one group over a given area, it can limit the freedom of other individuals and groups to use the same area, and can lead to conflict. Indeed, some writers see a willingness to defend space as a key feature (Ardrey, 1967).

It is apparent that territory can answer some fundamental needs. Relph (1976) suggested that there is a 'deep human need' for associations with 'significant places' and Gustafson (2001) has discussed the:

... quasi-natural bond ... between the place ... and its residents [which has] often been considered to be crucial for individual well-being and for social cohesion.

(Gustafson, 2001, p. 668)

Individuals and groups can achieve a sense of well-being through the exercise of control within predictable routines (Giddens, 1984), and neighbourhoods remain important to everyday experiences and self-identity. Place attachment also provides access to a community of neighbours through social networks (Low and Altman, 1992). In turn, this can reinforce a communal sense of identity, particularly through

shared experiences or a common culture or lifestyle. In other words, place attachment and territoriality appear to be mutually reinforcing.

Even though many people are increasingly mobile across urban space, immediate neighbourhoods remain a significant factor in people's lives (Mesch and Manor, 1998) and residential choices often still focus on living next to people with similar values (Savage *et al.*, 2005). For those who are less mobile, and in poorer places, the immediate neighbourhood may take on even greater significance (Gore *et al.*, 2007; Green and White, 2007). So, control over the immediate neighbourhood is central to both a sense of well-being and access to community resources.

Territoriality is also bound up with the presence of social capital. Although there are various views on how social capital 'works', its central idea is about the benefits that people get from their relationships, which can be focused on common norms and trust, or can be used to access resources and exclude others from them. Two forms of social capital, 'bonding' and 'bridging', can be identified (Putnam, 2000). Bonding capital is characterised by strong ties generated from repeated interaction with immediate social networks. It is inward-looking and exclusive, and may inhibit interaction with others. Bonding capital is often a feature of disadvantaged neighbourhoods where it provides social support in adversity ('getting by') but it can also reinforce inward-looking tendencies rather than facilitating wider geographical and social engagement. It is therefore closely associated with the expression of territoriality. Bridging capital is a resource generated by connections to more extensive networks and more diverse social relationships across community divides. It is characterised by weaker, if more extensive, ties that are arguably more characteristic of middle-class social networks, and is said to facilitate social mobility ('getting on').

Central to our concerns is understanding territoriality as a social problem. On the one hand, it has potential to reinforce social networks and maintain the quality of an area through pride, creating a local sense of belonging and place attachment. That is why public policy has supported the development of place attachment in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. On the other, it is possible that territoriality reinforces inward-looking tendencies; the expectation of loyalty to the local through an excess of bonding capital isolates residents from wider opportunities (Forrest and Kearns, 1999).

Territoriality may result in inter-area conflict. Suttles (1972) identified the 'defended neighbourhood' – that is, a local area defined by mutual opposition to another area. Within defended neighbourhoods, insiders by definition are trustworthy but outsiders are either superfluous or threatening and may be resisted by physical means.

In some places, territoriality is also associated with religious and ethnic dimensions, a theme that emerged from the Bradford and Oldham riots of 2001 and the subsequent report of the Community Cohesion Panel (2004). Social class is also potentially significant. But it is important to note that territoriality has been reported in a very wide range of urban settings, including within areas that are hard to distinguish in any of these terms.

Young people and territoriality

Some authors suggest that territorial behaviour is particularly characteristic of young people. Childress (2004, p. 196) argues that a main reason for teenagers' use of public spaces is their lack of control over private space:

Teenagers have limited ability to manipulate private property. They can't own it, can't modify it, and can't rent it. They can only choose, occupy and use the property of others. This limitation is true in their communities, it's true in their schools, and it's true in their homes.

Wallace and Coburn (2002), Robinson (2000) and others suggest that territoriality may provide

young people with positive psychological and social benefits. Following Abraham Maslow, it seems an attractive idea that territoriality provides a solution to basic human needs, including security, belonging, esteem and self-actualisation (see Ardrey, 1967). If this is so, these benefits might be important as drivers of territoriality, even in situations where there are also disbenefits and such behaviour is discouraged by adults. Other authors have suggested that using public space might be useful for young people's self-development (Karsten and Pel, 2000; Thomson and Philo, 2005), their development as citizens (Hall *et al.*, 1999) and their ability to deal successfully with others (Karsten, 2005).

What is clear is that young people's use of space frequently brings them into conflict with adults, with many writers conceptualising it as a spatial expression of intergenerational conflict and the privatisation of space (see, *inter alia*, Watt and Stenson, 1998; Williamson, 1999; Cahill, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Pain and Francis, 2004; Holland *et al.*, 2007).

It seems apparent that reports of problematic territoriality among young people come mainly from disadvantaged places. Marshall *et al.* (2004), reviewing young people's concerns in New Deal for Communities areas, reported:

Actual and perceived territorialism is a prominent issue amongst many young people. There is a fear of leaving the street or estate because of the perceived threat of gangs operating in adjacent localities. Similarly, some people express wariness in relation to new people coming into the area.

(Marshall *et al.*, 2004, p. 15)

An associated factor is certainly poverty and young people's low achievement, which is associated with poverty. More widely, there is the question of whether engaging in collective territorial behaviour is a logical survival strategy in high-crime areas where violence is fairly routine (Seaman *et al.*, 2006) or a way of giving meaning to lives that would otherwise be subject to mundane forms of authority (Katz, 1988). However, there are few clear explanations about what the material and situational connections are between living in deprivation and territorial behaviour.

Impacts of territoriality

Social exclusion

There is evidence that territoriality can be damaging in circumstances where fear dissuades young people from travelling beyond their own areas. Diverse studies have mentioned, but not explored deeply, the importance of territoriality as a limiting factor in the lives of young people, especially in disadvantaged areas. In these studies, territoriality is recognised as a factor that prevents access to services and reinforces social exclusion. Examples include in the contexts of local health services (Caldwell *et al.*, 2003); mental well-being (Scottish Development Centre for Mental Health *et al.*, 2003); substance misuse (Scottish Executive Effective Interventions Unit, 2003); neighbourhood safety (Atkinson and Flint, 2003); area effects (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004); homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 2000, 2005); transport (Turner and Pilling, 1999); parenting (Seaman *et al.*, 2006); and leisure (Bairner and Shirlow, 2003; Suzuki, 2007). It also appears that some young people are very rooted in their localities, even in the absence of fear (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005, Green and White, 2007). Highly localised kinship and friendship networks, and labour market and housing market behaviour help to provide coping strategies and to normalise social exclusion. Territoriality may have a negative impact on opportunities for employment, particularly through the increased potential to acquire police records, but also through self-imposed travel restrictions.

Finally, it is not just the fact of the negative impacts of territorial behaviour that appears to be the issue for young people, but also that they occur at a crucial stage in their lives. An important perspective on youth sees it as a period of transition when key choices are made (or constraints become evident) relating to education, work and relationships. If this transition does not 'work' effectively, disadvantage is likely to be perpetuated (Furlong *et al.*, 2003).

Gangs

Territoriality is also associated with 'gang' membership, although, to be clear, gangs are not the only expression of territoriality and by no means all gangs are territorial. The idea of a gang

is a flexible one and may cover a wide range of types of youth association (Young *et al.*, 2007), and there is a tendency to (mis)label any group of young people as a gang. Leap (2007) has developed a 'gang activity spectrum' ranging from low-level group offending to organised criminal gangs with international links and Young *et al.* (2007) present a very similar 'continuum'.

The key factor in identifying a group as a gang is criminal involvement; a common definition of a gang is:

A relatively durable, predominantly street based, group of young people who see themselves (and are seen by others) as a discernable group for whom crime and violence is integral to the group's identity.

(Hallsworth and Young, 2004, p. 12)

Surveys give some insight into the problems faced by young people in gangs, although there are numerous methodological problems. Sharp *et al.* (2006) found that belonging to 'a delinquent youth group' (slightly different to a gang) was associated with:

... having friends in trouble with the police, having run away from home, commitment to deviant peers, having been expelled or suspended from school and being drunk on a frequent basis.

(Sharp *et al.*, 2006, p. v)

Gang membership may also mean more frequent substance misuse and may have adverse consequences for offending behaviour and for the development of a criminal career, on the evidence of the same studies (Smith and Bradshaw, 2005; Sharp *et al.*, 2006).

There is no reliable existing information on the extent of participation in territoriality, although there are various estimates relating to 'gang membership'. It is commonly understood that the organisation of youth gangs is fluid and their membership difficult to identify (Esbensen *et al.*, 2001; Sullivan, 2005); also researchers sometimes use different definitions, or none, so estimates are difficult. Young *et al.* (2007) reach the conclusion from the available evidence that, while identifiable gangs that engage in violent crime are known

to persist across the main metropolitan areas in England, uncertainty surrounds the existence of youth gangs.

Much of the literature on youth gangs concerns the characteristics of members. Smith and Bradshaw (2005) found that one-fifth of a cohort of some 4,000 young people in Edinburgh claimed to be gang members at the age of 13. This fell to 12 per cent at 16 years and to 5 per cent by the age of 17. Sharp *et al.* (2006) found that membership peaked between the ages of 14 and 17 for men. However, the proportion that were members of a gang with a name and a 'tag' (a sign or visual identity) remained around 2 to 4 per cent throughout the ages between 13 and 17.

Existing research suggests most gang members are boys or young men and the evidence on the extent to which girls are involved in gangs, as well as what part they play, is fragmentary. Sharp *et al.* (2006), however, found girls equally prevalent. Smith and Bradshaw's (2005) Edinburgh study indicates considerable involvement of girls as well as boys, especially in the younger age groups.

Although it has been recognised in some American research that gangs often have territorial roots, the significance of territory to gang formation is just starting to emerge in the UK. Young *et al.* (2007) conclude that gangs have social origins, rather than being motivated by a desire to take part in criminal activity. A key finding is that young people's association in public spaces, arising out of their need for social support and protection, is an important risk factor for involvement in serious offending and getting involved in a gang.

Territoriality and public policy

Responses to territoriality have fallen mainly to local authorities and the third sector until recently, as well as to the police. Territoriality is now being recognised more fully in government, although this is across several spheres rather than any single, directed response. For example, in both the *Aiming High for Young People* strategy (HM Treasury and DCSF, 2007a) and the Home Affairs Select Committee (2007) report on *Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System*, territoriality is identified as a significant barrier to young people's mobility. The Home Office's new *Action Plan for*

Tackling Violence identifies a problem with gangs and submits that 'many gangs are territorial or postcode based' (Home Office, 2008a, p. 37).

A better understanding of territoriality among young people has relevance to several policy areas. Each of these is complex, conjoined and subject to continual changes to the administrative arrangements and responsible departments, as well as the funding streams. Also, there are different arrangements in each of the four nations of the UK, as responsibilities for young people, social welfare and social exclusion, justice and area regeneration are devolved responsibilities. The section below examines the situation in England, where most of our case studies were located, and follows with some remarks about Scotland. In practice there are many similarities across the UK.

Territoriality is relevant, then, to at least six policy fields:

- the promotion of social inclusion, targeted at improving the life chances of young people;
- addressing relatively low-level crime, disorder and incivility, intended to reduce conflict and improve the functioning of society and local communities, known until recently in England as the 'Respect' agenda;
- public safety, especially in the context of concerns about gang violence and 'gun crime' and tackling violence;
- the renewal of disadvantaged neighbourhoods;
- the enhancement of community cohesion, aimed specifically at areas where there has been conflict between different ethnic groups;
- the promotion of the 'urban renaissance' – that is, policy to make living in major cities more attractive and popular, including the use of public spaces within cities.

These concerns intersect with each other and cross a number of government departments in England, as well as within the devolved administrations in the other parts of the UK.

Social inclusion

Since 1997, there has been a clear concern by the UK Government about disadvantaged young people (Williamson, 2005). A minority, albeit a significant one, of young people has been identified as suffering from multiple social problems and deprivation. The Social Exclusion Unit (2005) identified that there were disproportionate numbers of young people in disadvantaged areas, with about one in eight 16 and 17 years olds being in neither work nor education, and one in five of 18–24-year-old young men are victims of violent crime. Young people are also often politically marginalised; hence attempts to improve their representation and to give them a voice (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1998) and a say over spending programmes.

The Government has recently reviewed how to provide more and better opportunities for young people. The *Youth Matters* Green Paper (DfES, 2005) led to an action plan (DfES, 2006) stressing the engagement of young people in shaping local services. As part of the Comprehensive Spending Review in 2007, a review of policies towards children and young people was undertaken by the HM Treasury and DCSF (2007b). This was followed by the *Aiming High Strategy* (HM Treasury and DCSF, 2007a), which was focused specifically on how to facilitate successful transitions to adulthood for young people during the next ten years. In addition, the *Children's Plan* (DCSF, 2007) focuses on well-being, safety and educational disadvantage of children and young people, with a number of new spending programmes planned.

This whole field is characterised by many programmes and initiatives, sometimes short-term, which are intended to advance young people's social inclusion. Current and recent schemes include the following.

- The New Deal for Young People – the largest labour market programme in Britain, which aims to get more young people into work (Department of Work and Pensions [DWP], UK programme).
- Connexions – a comprehensive support and guidance service on an individual basis, especially for those not in education, work or training, from 2008 directed through children's trusts at local authority level (DCSF).
- Greater support for Youth Work services provided by local authorities, including support for more integrated provision and a more skilled workforce (the Children's Workforce Strategy) as outlined in *Youth Matters* (DfES, 2005) and in *Aiming High* (HM Treasury and DCSF, 2007a).
- Providing more things for young people to do, including through a new capital programme known as Myplace (delivered by the National Lottery Fund on behalf of DCSF) and a programme to build or renew playgrounds.
- Positive Activities for Young People – support, guidance and better things to do for young people at risk of offending (Department of Culture, Media and Sport).
- Young People's Development Programme (to 2007) oriented towards health and risky behaviour such as teenage pregnancy and drugs misuse (Department of Health).
- The Empowering Young People Pilot, which allocates credit to disadvantaged children and young people to enable them to take part in positive activities of their choice, such as sports, arts and outdoor activities (piloting to 2009 by DCSF).
- The Youth Opportunity Fund and the Youth Capital Fund from 2006, announced in *Youth Matters* (DfES, 2005) and extended for three years in 2007. In 2008, the *Youth Taskforce Action Plan* (DCSF, 2008) introduced additional funding. These are capital and revenue budgets intended to improve youth facilities in areas where crime and anti-social behaviour are particular problems; allocation of these funds is 'youth-led'.
- Reforms and proposed reforms to education, including programmes designed to improve school attendance, enhance achievement and ambition, provide a more tailored approach and raise school standards through giving them more independence.

- Programmes supporting parenting skills, intended to have a lifelong effect, with partnership with parents intended to be a 'unifying theme' of the *Children's Plan* (DCSF, 2007).

Territoriality is potentially relevant in several respects to strategies for the social inclusion of young people. As discussed above, it may contribute to young people's disadvantage by cutting them off from opportunities in the labour market or in education, or from access to services. For some, it may lead them to engage in violent or confrontational behaviour where there is a risk of criminalisation.

Youth crime, disorder and incivility

Young people commit a disproportionate number of offences. Young men have rates of cautioning and successful prosecution three times higher than men of all ages. They experience a high arrest rate (25 per cent of those arrested are under 18) and are seen as a significant source of anti-social behaviour (see Adamson, 2003b).

This is a key area of policy and it has been supported by significant legislative and policy changes. The 'Respect' agenda (Respect Task Force, 2006) for England was intended to conjoin actions against anti-social behaviour and incivility, and was heavily focused on young people in its quest to find ways to improve behaviour and civility. From 2007, a Youth Task Force was established within DCSF to deliver the Respect agenda. Many of the policies associated with this are concerned with greater control over offenders, but there are also actions concerned with diversion, more positive activities as an alternative to crime and disorder, and support for families.

Programmes that follow from the crime and disorder agenda and are particularly aimed at young people are numerous – see Smith (2005) for a review of earlier programmes. The Crime and Disorder Act of 1998 introduced into England the now infamous Anti-social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), as well as Parenting Orders, Child Safety Orders and curfews. Further measures and more specialist kinds of Orders were introduced in the Criminal Justice Act of 2003 and the Anti-social Behaviour Act of 2003. The Youth Justice Board was set up in order to reduce custodial treatment

of young offenders and has led to measures including the Youth Inclusion Programme and the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (including electronic tagging).

This area of policy has attracted controversy and many commentators have been hostile. Aspects of the policy have been seen as coercive and have given rise to criticisms about restriction of freedoms, social cleansing and the promotion of the interests of business and capital over those of people (Mizen, 2003; Smith, 2005). In particular, it is said that the criminalisation of young offenders through 'youth justice' is often at variance with the agenda to improve social inclusion (Jones, 2002). It is also claimed that social policy has become secondary to social control and to refining human capital to help achieve economic ends. There are also questions about whether the crime and incivilities that are targeted are really so important to the public as they seem, and whether there is a risk that the Respect agenda produces anxieties that would not otherwise exist and so decreases tolerance, which leads to cities that are less, rather than more, liveable (Bannister *et al.*, 2006).

Territoriality is highly relevant to this policy area because it may contribute to disorder among the young by providing motives for conflict among groups of young people from different residential areas. The Home Affairs Select Committee (2007) recently reported on 'negative youth associations' as a motive for violence, recommending preventative and 'gang exit' schemes working at the local level.

Public safety and tackling violence

The concern with youth disorder sits within broader concerns about more serious threats to public safety and violence in England, and there are a range of strategies, plans and action plans. As well as Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, included in the *National Community Safety Plan* (Home Office, 2007), there are many policies that are effectively targeted at young people. Territorial behaviour is relevant to a number of the concerns that these plans are looking to address – for example, 'public space violence', often involving gangs, is highlighted in the *Action Plan for Tackling Violence* (Home Office 2008a) as a pressing challenge and a large number of initiatives are associated with this. Broadly, they

can be divided into equipping and strengthening the police and powers of the courts, and prevention. Prevention programmes include Be Safe, an education programme about weapons, and Connected, which funds a wide range of programmes to tackle guns, gangs and violence.

Interest in how gangs can be best presented and/or combated has risen steeply up the policy agenda, particularly since the murder of Rhys Jones in Liverpool in the summer of 2007, but also in response to the large number of apparently gang-related murders of youths and young men in England. Following the Prime Minister's condemnation of the murder of Rhys Jones, the Government set up the short-life Tackling Gangs Action Programme (TGAP) in autumn 2007, with additional funding for tackling gun crime and gangs in four cities.

TGAP's recent *Tackling Gangs* report (Home Office, 2008b) encourages a conjoined, multi-agency approach to gangs. Much of the emphasis in the report is about identifying gangs, assisting gang members to leave gangs and tackling gangs through a full range of civil and criminal measures. However, it also recommends actions to prevent gang membership, noting that 'defending what they regard as their territory' (Home Office, 2008b, p. 39) is one of the reasons given by young people for joining gangs. However, none of the preventative interventions discussed appears to centrally target this aspect of gangs.

Renewal of disadvantaged communities and neighbourhoods

Disadvantaged young people are disproportionately found in disadvantaged areas, including those targeted by neighbourhood renewal policy.

Of the 'floor targets' of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (ODPM, 2004) focusing on health, crime, worklessness, housing and liveability, 19 related directly to children or young people, and young people are a key agenda item for neighbourhood-based regeneration programmes, such as the New Deal for Communities. Also, in practice, many projects and programmes come to ground in deprived areas, even when they are not targeted specially to them. The main programme targeted at disadvantaged areas in England is now the

Working Neighbourhoods Fund operated by the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG). From 2008, this replaces the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and the Deprived Areas Fund, with a greater emphasis on tackling worklessness and improving employment.

The Safer and Stronger Communities Fund (SSCF) since 2005 is a wrapping together of DCLG and Home Office funding streams aimed at tackling crime, anti-social behaviour and drugs, empowering communities, and improving the condition of streets and public spaces. Although available to all local authorities, it is targeted particularly at disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Although on the face of it these kinds of schemes are intended to be generally beneficial, in practice many are youth-oriented.

A key object of area-based regeneration is to create a greater sense of place and a greater sense of ownership and control by local residents. There is now a Public Service Agreement (PSA) target for England, which is 'to build more cohesive, empowered and active communities' (Home Office, 2007, p. 15).

Territoriality would seem to be a potential concern of this area of policy. As we noted above, it has been identified as a problem in some of the New Deal for Communities areas (Marshall *et al.*, 2004). The issues are about the extent to which territoriality may impact on young people's detachment from the rest of society, which renewal policy is centrally designed to address, and on the use and control of public space within disadvantaged areas.

Young people and community cohesion

Community cohesion is a term used mainly to denote the desired state of relationships between ethnic and religious communities. The core idea is that a set of shared values, a sense of belonging and common citizenship should pervade society across racial and ethnic divides (Community Cohesion Panel, 2004). There is significant segregation by race, ethnicity and religion in UK cities (as well as by class and income), although there is debate about its trajectory and significance (Simpson, 2004).

Noting that young people were to the fore in the Oldham and Bradford disturbances of 2001, one of the key aims is that young people from

different backgrounds should 'grow up with a sense of common belonging' (Home Office, 2005, p. 11) instead of apparently living 'parallel lives', which is said to generate ignorance and lack of tolerance (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001).

Territoriality, especially when it has a clear ethnic underlying cause, can be viewed as a possible manifestation of 'parallel lives'. One of the aspects that was found to underlie the disturbances in 2001 was a perception by residents that areas were treated unequally in the distribution of public services and targeted regeneration measures, which raises questions about the extent to which spatial targeting helps to emphasise the differences between places.

The urban renaissance and public spaces

Last, it is worth noting that there are crossovers from the regeneration, crime and disorder and community cohesion agendas with the wider agenda of urban renaissance, which is intended to encourage more liveable cities with the ultimate aim of promoting urban economies and stemming counter-urbanisation (Rogers, 1999, 2005). The urban renaissance agenda has a significant focus on public spaces. One element of policy focuses on the design of spaces – for example, the work of the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment – while a second strand focuses more on the management and the governance of space, particularly the Cleaner Safer Greener Communities initiative led by the DCLG.

It has become widely acknowledged that public spaces can play a key role in the social and economic life of communities:

These places can provide opportunities for social interaction, social mixing and social inclusion, and can facilitate the development of community ties.

(Worpole and Knox, 2007, p. 5)

However, territoriality is very much about the appropriation of space and its defence against outsiders. In that sense, it presents a challenge to the view that public spaces can simultaneously promote local attachment and community ties, while also being open and tolerant of outsiders and newcomers.

Policy in Scotland

In Scotland, where one of our case studies is located, there are equivalent programmes to many of those discussed above, with some changes in emphasis. The previous administration produced a strategy aimed at improving young people's opportunities (Scottish Executive, 2007), which has been followed by funding youth facilities and services under the Scottish National Party (SNP) Government. Other recent measures have sought to improve youth justice and children's services. Ethnic segregation has been less of a concern in Scotland, although there have been recent initiatives to combat sectarianism between Catholics and non-Catholics.

Perhaps, though, there has been a slightly longer-standing recognition that territoriality plays a part in social exclusion in Scotland. For example, government reports about community well-being (Scottish Development Centre for Mental Health *et al.*, 2003), drugs misuse services (Scottish Executive, Effective Interventions Unit, 2003) and anti-social behaviour (Flint *et al.*, 2003) recognised the potential impact of territoriality a few years ago, although none of these reports had a particularly high profile. There has been little or no association between gangs and 'gun crime' in Scotland, and a corresponding more muted policy concern. However, Scotland has a significantly high level of other kinds of violent crime, particularly violence using knives, which is frequently linked to 'gang culture' – for example, in the Justice Minister's recent statement on knives and gangs (MacAskill, 2008). There is an established approach to tackling violence in Scotland, recognising that it has cultural roots; the Government's high-profile Violence Reduction Unit (2006) argues that violence is a public health problem, not just a criminal justice problem. In the Strathclyde police area, including Glasgow, 'operations' against territorial gang activity are frequently live.

The SNP Government elected in 2007 has as one of its five strategic objectives the promotion of a 'safer and stronger' Scotland, designed to 'help local communities to flourish, becoming stronger, safer places to live, offering improved opportunities and a better quality of life' (Scottish Government, 2008a). While there has been some government funding to 'anti-territorial projects' in Scotland – through regeneration funds, for example – in

2008, the focus on tackling territorial gangs was boosted with a new government 'challenge fund', which is supporting 19 anti-gang projects across the country. Alongside this there was a Collective Violence Campaign in spring 2008 led by the Violence Reduction Unit. The campaign involved some diversionary activity and awareness-raising but also a national police initiative, which resulted in 5,000 'potentially violent' individuals being stopped and searched and 500 weapons being seized (Scottish Government, 2008b).

Conclusion

Although territoriality in neighbourhoods in British cities has not been examined closely before, this chapter shows there is a good deal of existing knowledge. Territoriality is fundamental to people's identity and the way they behave in their neighbourhoods. The literature suggests that motivations for territorial behaviour can be positive

and life-affirming, especially in contexts where other social connections are weak. However, there is a substantial dark side, which has the potential to exacerbate disadvantage and disorder because of its tendencies to isolate those involved and to foment conflict.

Young people seem especially at risk of negative impacts of territoriality; however, existing knowledge is mainly incidental, rather than systematic. Although there is a fair knowledge about youth gangs, and it is recognised that gangs can have territorial roots, few, if any, of the available sources discuss these roots in depth.

There is a wealth of policy initiatives aimed at improving life chances for young people, reducing youth offending and its impacts, and renewing disadvantaged neighbourhoods. A better understanding of territoriality is important to all of these, but our assessment is that government seems only now to be starting to appreciate its potential importance.

3 Cultures of territoriality

Introduction

In this chapter, we examine what we have learned from the six case studies in Glasgow, Sunderland, Bradford, Peterborough, Bristol and Tower Hamlets¹ about the nature of territoriality. We consider the manifestations of territorial conflict, who is involved and at what geographical scale, drawing on the interviews with local stakeholders including project staff and the focus groups with young people.

At the start of the interviews, almost all of the adults immediately recognised the term ‘territoriality’ and clearly shared our understanding of it as ‘a situation whereby control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others’. Of the few who were unfamiliar with the term – for example, some of the youth workers in Sunderland – almost all expressed a familiarity with the idea once it had been explained. While the scope of the interviews (and the focus groups) was wide-ranging, a key focus was on territoriality as a source of tension and conflict, so this is where we begin.

Territorial tension and conflict

The case studies uncovered a mixed appreciation of the significance of territoriality in the lives of young people. Where conflict was between groups of the same ethnic origin (Glasgow, Sunderland, Tower Hamlets, parts of Bradford and Peterborough), territoriality was readily identified as the key problem, whereas, when it was overlain with ethnic tensions or criminal gang rivalries, the position was less clear (Bristol and parts of Peterborough). In Bradford, the situation appeared to be multi-layered and complex. There were territorial tensions within and between the white housing estates on the periphery of the city, and there were also territorial divisions between Asian groups in the centre of the city.

A greater number of manifestations of territoriality were noted in Bradford and Peterborough, but this may be because the case studies drew on interviewees across the cities, whereas the other case studies were neighbourhood based. Figure 1 shows the complex identification of groups in one part of the Bradford area.

Figure 1: BDFG4, white young woman, 15



The scale of the territories varied across the case study locations. In Glasgow, Sunderland and Bradford, a recognisable territory might be as small as a 200-metre block or segment. In Tower Hamlets, territories were hardly any larger, estimated at half a mile across. This led to a very complex network of small gangs. In inner Bradford, for example, it was clear that groups with different Asian origins lived in distinct parts of one inner area. Material from a Bradford focus group illustrates how young people are keenly aware of these boundaries and how the boundaries serve to inhibit social interaction between young people from different territories.

Certain people keep to their own parts of the areas, like the top end ...

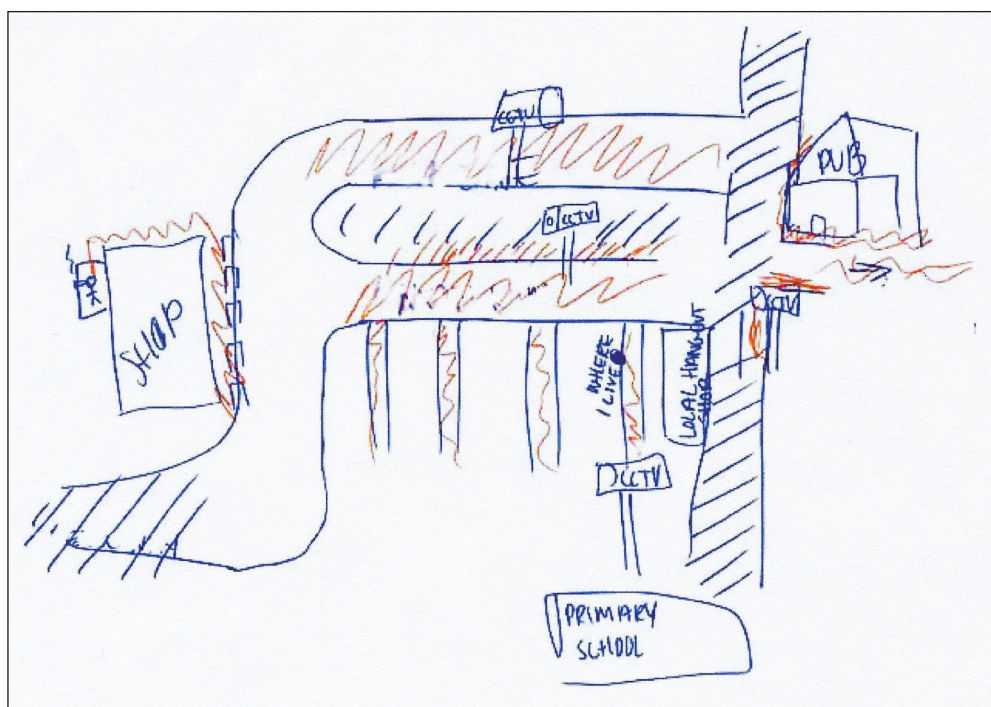
That's right, at the top, keeps to their own side. We won't, we don't mix with them lot there; we keep to our own side. If you look out that window, that's us right up the top, there ... up the top end, they won't mix with the bottom end of the estate.

They clash – World War 3, innit?
(BDFG1, two white young men and one mixed-race young man, all 16)

The most obviously problematic manifestation of territoriality was physical conflict between groups of young people. Conflict was a feature of all the areas, although the frequency and the level of violence appeared to vary. Some adult interviewees pointed out that violence was normal, accepted behaviour in some of the areas where territoriality was rife. The conflicts sometimes reached very serious levels, with major injuries and occasional deaths (see Chapter 4), and could involve a large number of children and young people. Weekend evenings, especially in summer, were typically identified as the period when most conflicts took place. Some areas held a reputation for fighting.

Figure 2 illustrates the immediacy of conflict as seen by a focus group participant in Peterborough. The streets shaded blue indicate areas of possible conflict, while the orange shading indicates places of safety.

Figure 2: PBFG3, black young man, 18



Mostly, conflict occurred on the boundaries between residential territories, which were typically clearly defined (and well known) by roads, railway lines, vacant land or other physical features, or where there were incursions by one group into another's territory. Many of the young people who were interviewed felt unable to cross these boundaries (see Chapter 4). Where conflict took place in a 'neutral' venue such as the city centre, as was the case in Peterborough, groups from different residential 'islands', who otherwise had no contact with each other, came into conflict:

The flashpoints are in the city centre, the 'big stage', the one place they all, you know, congregate on a Saturday, so there may not be conflict within each of the areas.

(PB1)

In Bradford, Peterborough, Glasgow and Bristol, it was reported (by adult interviewees) that territorial conflict was carried into schools, or manifested itself in conflict in their vicinity at 'going home time'. In Tower Hamlets, it had been manifest in local further education (FE) colleges.

'Gang fighting' occurred as a consequence of a territorial transgression (entering the territory of another gang), or a slight (real or perceived) against one gang by another, in all of the case study locations. In Glasgow and Sunderland, violence erupted more frequently. In parts of Peterborough and Bradford, this was also the case. The eruption of violence could lead to ongoing conflict, for several days or even weeks.

A Glasgow adult interviewee reported that gang members communicated with one another using the internet. They did so in order to alert fellow gang members of, and organise a response to, the (perceived) transgressions of other gangs. In Peterborough, it was mentioned in one focus group that social networking sites were used to 'wind up' rival gang members (PBFG3).

Groups and gangs

The groups of young people who engaged in this study varied in terms of their organisation and activities. Adult interviewees were usually very keen to recognise these distinctions, identifying three

distinct categories, very similar to Hallsworth and Young's (2004) typology.

1. Groups of young people who socialised on the streets or in public areas without any particular territorial affiliation: these were present everywhere.
2. Groups of young people with a strong territorial affiliation: these were also universal and some of them identified themselves as a gang.
3. More highly organised 'gangs' populated by 'gangsters', implying a high level of criminality. The territorial aspect is the control of neighbourhood markets for drugs. This type of organisation was discussed most frequently in Tower Hamlets and Bristol.

In Peterborough, for example, adult interviewees were keen to stress that some groups of young people (category 1) were:

... just hanging out on the street, drinking, talking. That's basically it.

(PB6)

They grew up together they do everything together. They might look like a gang but they are not. They might do certain things that are a bit naughty a bit illegal but they are not an organised gang.

(PB7)

In Glasgow, interviewees observed that the distinction between a group and a gang (categories 1 and 2 above) was that a gang 'marked' its territory and engaged in other 'anti-social behaviours', with the key difference being aggression: 'young people will strut; gang members will strut with weapons' (GL1). Similarly, in Tower Hamlets, interviewees identified groups as being involved in minor anti-social behaviour and vandalism, and fighting with each other, whereas gangs were very much linked to the control of the supply of drugs, and any violence was more serious and purposeful. There was a relationship between the two; it was said that: 'Groups always exist in areas where gangs exist' (TH1).

The case studies showed varied levels of connection with more serious forms of crime, which are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

Organisation and identity

The level of organisation of territoriality appeared to vary considerably between places. In Glasgow, gangs all had names that were clearly territorial, in that they were named after places (and the places were sometimes known locally by young people by the names of their gangs). Gangs in Peterborough were also named after their area. However, the researcher was warned not to take this too seriously as an indication of a high level of organisation:

Young people may call themselves 'the [name of neighbourhood] Massive', but it's a group of friends. It is very much, you hit my friend and I will hit your friend.

(PB2)

In Sunderland, gangs did not seem to have names. In Bradford, the identification was often with postcodes; 'what we have a lot of problems, round here, is postcode wars' (BDFG1, white young man, 16). Only a couple of young people referred to specific 'crews' or gangs attached to those particular postcodes (BDFG1). Similarly, in Bristol, postcodes were used as identifiers.

Spraying or drawing the name and visual identity of a gang on walls, houses and suchlike was routine in some areas. In Glasgow, gangs used 'tags', whereas, in Peterborough and Sunderland, there appeared to be lower levels of organisation and less fixed identities. Tagging was also carried out in Tower Hamlets. In Bristol, the first three digits of the postcode relevant to the gang's origin were sprayed in another gang's territory. This was designed to insult their counterparts while showing off their boldness. However, since there was said to be more than one gang active within each postcode area, the fit between the tagging and the gangs was unclear. Tagging did not take place in the third area where territoriality was internal to the neighbourhood.

It was said that some gangs appeared to maintain an identity through an internet presence,

and we were able to verify the presence of some gangs on the internet, but the links between websites and actual gang behaviour are unclear.

Other problematic behaviour

In each case study location, gang membership was associated with the presence of other types of anti-social behaviour, such as drinking, drug taking, minor robbery and so on. In Tower Hamlets, groups 'hang out, take drugs, drink alcohol and are involved in small crime, mugging and intimidation' (TH1). Some interviewees directly related this kind of behaviour with territoriality, as young people in gangs were likely to be involved in them, but others saw it as an essentially separate matter. Where conflict erupted between groups of young people, interviewees in Glasgow and Peterborough made a strong association with alcohol consumption, for example:

Say, like, one night we were going out, getting drunk and that, and then, like, say if a large group of people got together and then someone will say 'ah, I've got an idea, let's go down to [place name] and cause trouble' or 'go down a different area', that sometimes happens.

(PBFG3, white young man, 16)

While alcohol might be a key trigger of conflict in some situations, it must be noted that young Asian men indicated they rarely drank.

The impacts of territoriality on individuals are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

Who is involved?

Number of participants

In each case study location, adult interviewees reported that it was only a minority (estimated as between 5 and 10 per cent in Glasgow and Bristol) of young people from a given area who took part in problematic territorial behaviour, even if the broader community perceived most young people from the area to be participants. Adult interviewees suggested that a 'gang' would typically have 'hard-core' and 'peripheral' members. While the core could usually be easily identified, the membership of those on the peripheries was more

obscure, and the distinction between peripheral and non-members was blurred. Those who regarded themselves as 'non-members' might still participate in some gang-related activities. For this reason, it is hard to define the number of young people involved in any given group or gang. In Bristol, one gang was said to consist of approximately 50 members. In Glasgow, Peterborough and Sunderland, interviewees noted that gangs would normally comprise much smaller numbers, but could also number as many as 70.

Age

The age of participants varied from place to place and also according to the prevailing degree of criminality. While we found evidence of children of primary school age adopting territorial behaviour, especially in Glasgow, and of some people in their 20s and 30s, it was typically young people aged between 13 and 17 who were the most active, most visible and most likely to carry weapons:

Thirteen to 16 [year olds] perceive territoriality more than older teenagers, because [the older ones] are exposed to wider experiences, if it's only going down to the bloody dole office!
(BD2)

In Tower Hamlets the age range was slightly older, between 15 and 20, and in Bristol older still, up to 25. Some younger children were also involved, especially in Glasgow. Typically, children between the ages of 11 and 13 would be associated as 'wannabe' gang members and there was imitative behaviour and often junior gang identities, using terms such as 'wee', 'baby' or 'young' in conjunction with an established gang name.

Territoriality was closely associated with the period of transition to adulthood. Some interviewees explicitly discussed it as a rite of passage or an inevitability of the transition. By the age of 18 or 19, activity was reported to decline as young adults went into jobs or long-term relationships. In Bradford, group interviewees gave key reasons for moving on:

Because they get a life. They get to go down the pub, and they get more money.
(BDFG1, Asian young man, 15)

What's the point in coming in with a bloody face with your kids, man? They're gonna think something's up, so they've stopped it, they've settled down.

(BDFG1, mixed-race young man, 16)

There is a caveat to this pattern in that, if the person held a strong affiliation to a gang (perhaps as one of the core members), they would usually find it more difficult to 'break the cycle'. For this group, adult interviewees in Glasgow reported that the only way to escape was to move out of the area or join the army. It was very difficult for this group of young people to turn their back on their entire friendship group. In Peterborough, one group interviewee stated:

You know you said earlier [name] is never gonna grow out of it cos he can't, man, think how many people he beat up when he was younger yeah. Now they all wanna get him back, how can he like stop hanging around with boys that are gonna have his back yeah?

(PBF1, white young man, 18)

Also, where there were connections to more organised crime, there were typically older participants. In Tower Hamlets, the criminal territorial gangs were said to have older members, typically about 25, with any over 30 'hardened criminals'. In Bristol, some young people were reported as 'waking up' and moving on from gang participation only in their late 20s or early 30s.

In all case study locations, interviewees reported that, as one generation drifted away from territorial/gang-related activity, they were replaced by a new generation. Where crime was neighbourhood-based, there was some reporting of more active recruitment:

... you've got kids, now, that are involved in smaller gangs ... but they'll also develop and draw others into that gang, and there'll be clear lines that they will draw. But you've got people that have grown 35, 40 years of age now, that were part of those gangs. Some of those that are still involved in that area are obviously involved in some of our criminal underworld, and involved in orchestrating those kids to do a variety of different things for them.

(PB3)

Gender

Most participants who were reported to be involved in territoriality were boys or young men. A few girls, however, participated in focus groups in Glasgow, Peterborough and Bradford. Girls and young women took a more minor part; they were less often involved in gang conflict and they were less constrained by territoriality in their personal dealings, and it was believed that the impact on their life chances was much less than for boys. In Bradford, Peterborough and Tower Hamlets, no interviewees identified Asian girls as having participated in gang-related behaviour. Rather, the almost complete absence of Asian girls from public space was cited.

A typical comment about girls' role was:

The girls play a background role to the gang. They are there, and they are there for their boys but they are not as territorial as the boys are. They are proud of their areas and they are proud of where they come from and they stick by their lads, but they are not as visible ... for the girls it's part of hanging out with the lads.

(PB6)

However, girls did play important roles in encouraging gang activity. In Glasgow:

Girls can feed it through wanting to have a boyfriend who is the biggest, baddest guy in the scheme, through wanting to make boys in their area jealous by deliberately cultivating friendships with guys from other areas. There are some negative aspects to girl power and that is one of them.

(GL2)

And similarly:

Some of them get caught up in the hype of who're selling drugs ... some of them want to be seen with some of the biggest drug dealers or some of them want to be seen with some of the hardest people out there because it makes them feel good ... someone who's got a big reputation ... half the time out here some of the younger girls, like girls from maybe 14 to 16, 17, are confused and confused about what they want to do with their life.

(BR5)

Only in Sunderland was there a sense that as many girls could be associated with gangs as boys. Overall, there was little discussion of 'girl gangs', although, in Glasgow, there were apparently girls who had adopted an imitative 'she' gang identity. In Bradford, though, one adult interviewee noted a narrowing of the gender gap:

I mean you'll find this all over, girls are becoming a real bloody problem. Yeah, they em, they're hunting in packs, they're becoming very, very laddish in their behaviour ... very much heavily into drinking, em that leads to an awful lot of violence and em, they've continued with what they've always done, which is incitement to violence with the lads.

(BD1)

This last point is developed further below; protection, or a sense of ownership, of girls could be a pretext for conflict.

Origins and motivations

It was clear that territoriality is something deeply embedded in the culture of the communities we investigated and that territoriality had multiple underlying, as well as immediate, causes.

Historical and learned territoriality

Territoriality was frequently identified as long-standing. In no case study area was it something recent or new. Especially in the white estates of Bradford, Sunderland, Glasgow and Peterborough it was apparent that territoriality was long-standing: 'Those areas just don't mix. It's just the way it's been since the year dot' (PB3). Glasgow gang names were frequently the same as, or versions of, names used in the past, even 30 or 40 years ago, and used the same local idioms.

Territoriality was also 'generational' in these areas; there was an expectation by older generations that there would be territorial behaviour among young people based on their own experiences:

I think it's historical, it's very historical. I mean, when I was younger, you know, you had the [gang name], do you know what I mean? It's

just history and like I can, you know, I'm in me 30s now, you didn't expect that thing to still carry on but this new generation now, it's still, it's still there, you know where the [gang name] are.

(PB2)

Given territorial behaviour among children, adult interviewees often believed that it was learned behaviour and importantly that the stories told by older generations, combined with their own limited horizons, were significant in the intergenerational habituation of territoriality:

A 5 year old doesn't know where they come from, they are told by their parents.

(GL1)

Parental advice leads to hysteria, it causes territoriality ... parents never leave their territories; it's a rarity. It generates myths.

(SU3)

I can't say where it started from ... they stigmatise [sic] themselves by going into these groups and having their territories and obviously there, it's like a self-fulfilling prophesy, yeah, yeah, they're doing it and they see it, and it just grows with them, and it stems down from the parents to the youngsters, it's throughout their lives, and the only way they are going to get away from that is ... they've got to step out of that area, but it's hard for a lot of them because they won't step out of that area.

(BD5)

Similarly, young people were aware of the long-standing nature of territoriality:

Like, stuck in mud, really. You are knee deep in crap, in other words. As soon as you come into the world. You can't help but not get in trouble and stuff.

(BDFG5, Asian young man, 15)

Young people's motivations

What was striking, across the case studies, was the very strong level of identity with neighbourhood held by young people as they entered their early teens. Young people had a keen sense of who they were, where they came from and who they were in conflict with:

You live in a certain area, you get to a certain age, you go to a certain youth group, you hang out with certain people, you are part of that crew. You are their people.

(PB2)

Similarly, in Tower Hamlets, young people demonstrated a solidarity with each other and a close affinity with the area in which they grew up (THFG2):

Researcher: So ... [Place name] Massive? Are you a member?

South Asian young man, 16: It ain't a gang that you apply for and that, it's not a gang like that.

South Asian young man, 17: It's just an area; everybody represents it.

South Asian young man, 17: If you grow up around here, you're a [place name] boy.

Altogether we identified five broad factors motivating participation in territorial behaviour:

- recognition and respect;
- protection of the neighbourhood;
- protection of girls;
- territoriality as a leisure activity;
- perceived personal safety.

Recognition and respect

First, young people pursue recognition and 'respect' by taking part in gang activities. In

Bradford, conflict between two neighbourhoods was seen to be the consequence of a long-standing desire for both areas to be seen as the 'hardest' (BDFG5). Two focus group participants held the following discussion (BDFG5):

White young man, 15: [Estate name] has always been the hardest estate. This is where we're from. I'm not being funny and all but we are hard, and they think, they try and fight, they always see if they can come up and fight us.

White young man, 15: We don't go to [a neighbouring estate] looking for trouble, they come to us, and when they come to us, they just ...

White young man, 15: ... get annihilated.

In a similar vein, respect and recognition was identified as a key reason why young people participate in territorial activities in Bradford, Glasgow and Peterborough. For example:

It's not turf, it's respect.
(BDFG1, white young man, 16)

Respect from each other. Each other, man. It's getting respect from fuckin' everybody else ... if you don't have respect, you don't have nothing.
(BDFG1, Irish Gypsy/Traveller, male, 18)

I think it's definitely something to do with you have to live to certain expectations, especially the environment you've living in you, you have to kind of be identified with someone and that identity can be kind of taking place if you're in a gang or something and you kind of get a name for yourself, like.
(PBF2, Asian young woman, 17)

While much of the quest for recognition was in accord with locally generated values, some interviewees mentioned the role of the media in providing images that young people sought to live up to:

That's the danger of sort of, you know, youth culture, isn't it? I mean I think you know there's, there's areas where young, young [Asian] guys are mimicking and following you know somebody or something in terms of you know whether it's some of these rap stars ... it's not healthy ... when you talk to some of the young guys here now, they are influenced by you know American music and this you know gangster image and the whole scenario so it's, it is starting to come in slowly, very slowly.

(BD3)

Protection of the neighbourhood

Second, participation in territorial conflict was motivated by the desire to protect the neighbourhood itself. Interviewees in Tower Hamlets described how minority ethnic gangs formed in the face of racist attacks in the 1970s and 1980s. Protection was the main focus of these groups at this stage. As time passed, the ethnic make-up of the area changed and the minority expanded. Thereafter, racial friction subsided, only to be replaced by territorial conflict within ethnic groups.

The sentiment of protection was wrapped up with an acute sense of place attachment and could quickly lead to revenge activity if one group thought that another had caused offence. Thus:

It's a lot to do with who your friends are, who you grew up with, where you lived because, as you can see, it's a very tight-knit community around here, everyone knows everyone ... You know it is safe in that sense. But, if someone treads on someone's toes, the whole family knows about it.

(PB2)

If you done something to me or someone else done something to me in a different crew, I'd go for him. The only way somebody else in his crew will get hurt is if he's with you and then their people will be thinking, okay then, if I touch you, that person's gonna try to defend you because he's in your crew, he's one of your friends, he's gonna try to back you, so I'm gonna have to go for both.

(BR2)

Simply crossing a boundary, for whatever reason, was regarded as an insult and could lead to conflict. Being in the 'wrong place' could lead to the young person being chased and assaulted. It was clear that trouble could flare up over very trivial and/or unintended incidents, such as 'a dirty look'. An anecdote from Tower Hamlets was a long-lasting and violent dispute between two gangs that started over a doughnut. Incidents generated reprisals and then violence could escalate with intended incursions by one group into another's territory.

Protection of girls

Third, as the young men became sexually aware, territoriality was intensified by the protection (or perceived ownership) of young women.

Thus:

I rule in [my area], no one touches our sisters. Especially Gypsies, anyway.

(BDFG1, White Irish Gypsy/Traveller, male, 18)

And this girl ... she got with a boy from ... quite a like a known area ... and then she got with the boy and then she said that he hit her, we said, she said that he hit her and then so like the whole of [particular area] ... there was like 80 to 100 lads were there. All tooled up like they had koshers, nun-chucks, baseball bats with nails came in the centre. Yeah riot vans come down, helicopters everything. And it was all over a girl.

(PBFG1, white young man, 18)

Territoriality as a leisure activity

Fourth, territoriality was a leisure activity, a form of 'recreational violence', notably in Glasgow and Sunderland where gang fighting was more ritualised. In these case study areas, but not exclusively, there were few opportunities for young people that provided much sense of excitement. In each case study area, adult interviewees reported the general lack of opportunities or facilities for young people as a key factor reinforcing the expression of territoriality:

... the reason that kids do bad stuff is basically because they are bored – they've nothing else to do.

(BD3)

For young people, territorial conflict provided:

The adrenalin rush, that's what you click onto as well. So you go through that peer pressure stage and then, once you get to doing the stuff, then you start getting a buzz out of it and then you start getting an adrenalin rush from it and you want to do it and do it again. It's like taking drugs, but then ... yeah, it's like that.

(PBFG3, white young man, 16)

Perceived personal safety

Last, there was a sense that involvement in territorial fighting was unavoidable for young people who were regularly on the streets. There was a perceived need for *personal safety* in areas where violence was common. This had a recursive effect; young people who feared territorial violence associated with a gang to help defend themselves. Where there were groups of friends who hung around together, eschewing participation was seen as a weakness that would lead to victimisation:

Well, if we don't fight, then we ... if we try and avoid it then, yeah, we get battered if we don't fight.

(BDFG5, white young man, 15)

Territoriality and disadvantage

All of the areas we examined were multiply disadvantaged (see the appendix). Asked where territoriality existed in Sunderland, an interviewee gave a characteristic reply:

Areas where it is most prominent are poor, the housing is run-down and the shops are boarded up – very poor areas with high levels of deprivation.

(SU1)

Similarly, in Peterborough: 'Poverty is the number one factor in territorialism and conflict' (PB3).

By way of contrast, territorial behaviour was noted to be much less evident in the more advantaged areas of each city. There were also several more specific explanations connecting different aspects of poverty and disadvantage with territorial behaviour; however, it was not really possible to closely attribute different causes in each of the localities.

In Glasgow and Tower Hamlets, connections were made with the prevailing deprived housing conditions. In Tower Hamlets, prominent among multiple disadvantaging factors was said to be a highly pressured housing market comprising mainly small flats, where overcrowding was the norm. For many young people, this meant an absence of personal space at home, which, combined with a strong generation gap, led to young people seeking support elsewhere among their friends, who were plentiful in very high-density neighbourhoods:

Say when you have boys and girls living together, sisters and brothers and stuff and it's a tight space, what they do naturally is go out and, cos everyone's in a tight community, they hang around with their mates.

(TH1)

There was also a common lament that there were few activities for young people in the areas we considered. Figure 3 shows a map of part of Bradford with a lot of empty space. When the young man was asked why the map was so blank, his response was because 'there's nothing to do' (BDFG5, white young man, 15).

As well as area factors, there were household-based explanations; territoriality, was explained as a reaction to unsupportive family backgrounds. Referring to young people from outer estates in Bradford, one interviewee reported:

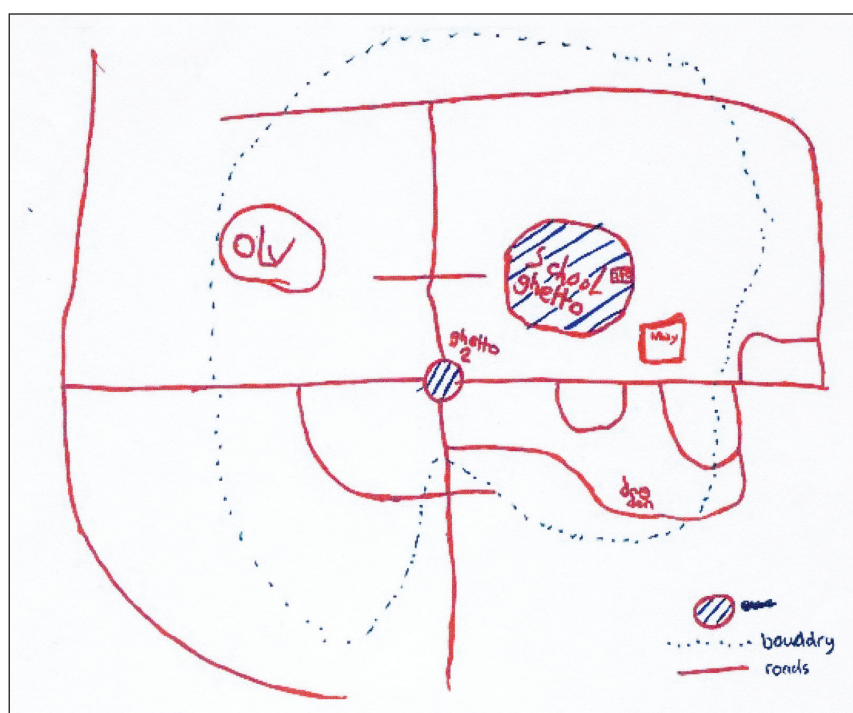
Given the sort of home lives they have, I can see the Co-op doorway being a more entertaining place to be than with mum and dad watching the telly.

(BD2)

In Peterborough, territoriality was said to be influenced by:

... their outlook on life and their aspirations – what can they hope to achieve if they are not high-flyers? ... So if you are, you know, heading for four A levels and you can see you're not likely to be involved with a gang.

Figure 3: BDFG5, white young man, 15



So there's a real link between ... I think ... between poverty and the sort of young people that get involved in conflict.

(PB1)

And:

... some of the most significant members, with the significant criminal problems have usually come from dysfunctional families in some way or another, and there is some real difficulties that they've had in their upbringing that's driven them more to that gang side of it.

(PB3)

Young people's own sense of material inequality was also said to be a factor in territoriality, as it fostered a sense of difference between places. So, in Bradford:

Teenagers see for themselves the differences between areas/communities and that's when they form gangs.

(BD3)

And in Peterborough, referring to the experiences young people had in different areas of the city:

When they are in poverty, yeah, and they aren't doing particularly well in life, they blame other groups for their predicament.

(PB1)

Material inequality was also said to be a motivation in Tower Hamlets and Bristol for getting involved in gang activities that might lead to economic gain, such as drug dealing. Money was a route to 'respect', which was not easily obtainable in legitimate ways:

Jewellery; a flash car, designer clothes; [name of anti-gang project] can't compete.

(TH1)

Finally, the media treatment of deprived areas was also implicated in the perpetuation of territoriality:

You would always associate certain things with certain areas and that's just the way the media puts it, it's just the way that we've seen it growing up and you know everyone's perceptions.

(PB2)

There was sense that young people, already steeped in locally driven norms surrounding territoriality, were additionally aware of the wider image they were expected to live up to.

Ethnicity and conflict

In some places, tensions between areas or within areas arising from place attachment were heavily overlain or paralleled by other divisions between groups. By far the most important division was ethnic origin and this was prevalent to some degree in all of the English case study locations.

But it was clear that, even where there was clear residential separation along ethnic lines, territorial division could exist within the areas dominated by particular ethnic groups. For example, in Bristol, there was territorial conflict between African-Caribbean groups who happened to live in two areas separated by a motorway, but there was also conflict between different ethnic groups who lived in adjoining parts of a nearby area. In Sunderland, with just one notable area of minority ethnic settlement and one main minority ethnic group, the pervasive territoriality across the poor white areas of the city was said to be accentuated in the area settled by the minority.

The relative importance of ethnic divisions and spatial divisions was sometimes hard to draw. In Bradford and Peterborough, all interviewees had difficulty in distinguishing between the two. Thus, in Bradford:

It's just like the racial, racism, it's just like the racial wars, except the whites don't like the black and the black don't like the white. Like [postcode A] don't like [postcode B].

(BDFG1, white young man, 16)

In Bradford, it was noted that white groups from rival estates would team up to oppose Asian groups, and then go back to fight each other,

suggesting an ascendancy of ethnic conflict over territoriality. In Bristol, in one area at least, it was reported that established white and African-Caribbean groups teamed up to oppose the more recently arrived Somalis, suggesting that ethnic differences could sometimes be set aside. However, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions and it should be noted that different groups are involved in these examples.

The history of settlement patterns in the localities was also an important influence. A common thread was that established groups often attacked later arrivals who settled in clusters; they were consistently seen as inferior people and an unwanted presence. The origin of territoriality among South Asian young people in Tower Hamlets was said to be their congregation for protection against attacks by the existing white population in the 1970s. In Bradford, conflicts arose between Asian groups on the basis of who was there first. In the Bristol case study, in a predominantly white neighbourhood, it was reported that an incoming group of Asians had been driven out in the past by the white majority, who were also in conflict with black groups in the same area. However, a more recent group coming from Somalia were more resilient, and now both blacks and white groups allied together against them.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, in Glasgow, interviewees were clear that territorial conflict was no longer linked to religion, in spite of the names of some gangs in the city having an origin in sectarian iconography. This is perhaps surprising when sectarianism is still recognised as an important fracture in Scottish society (e.g. Scottish Executive, 2006), although it is consistent with Robertson *et al.* (2008) writing about Stirling.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have examined the factors underlying territoriality across the six case study locations and there are many common themes.

Territoriality in each case grows out of a deeply ingrained, learned place attachment. It is not just a product of material conditions, although they are important, but about values and practices that are shared between young people and are transmitted across generations. Its most

obvious and problematic symptom is violent physical confrontation between young people acting in groups. Fighting is seen as 'normal' in most of the case study locations. Territoriality is ritualised on the boundaries between territories or involves routinised violent, or at least threatening, responses to real or perceived territorial or personal transgressions. Territorial boundaries are well-known, even among those who are not active in territorial behaviour.

There is irony in the fact that the areas that generate such fierce loyalties are often ones that have little that conventionally invokes pride. Indeed, some territories were just corners of run-down housing estates, with very little there except houses and streets. However, in the context of deprived areas and (sometimes) inadequate home backgrounds, a sense of inalienable belonging appeared to persist as something that no one could, and could be allowed to, take away.

Territorial attachment was deeply infused within communities, among adults as well as young people, and some interviewees stressed the introspective lives of many adults in the case study areas, consistent with some other neighbourhood studies (e.g. Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). But young people, especially male teenagers between 13 or 14 and 17 years old, were at its epicentre. A case can be made that their search for recognition, their desire for excitement and their assumption of 'ownership' over girls, which figured strongly among motivations for territorial conflict, are all fundamentally shaped by emerging gender roles and self-conceptions of masculinity. Social problems thrive when these forces are trammelled by deprivation.

The form that territoriality took varied quite a lot between areas: in the size of the territories; in that extent to which it was alloyed with ethnic conflict; in the age and gender of participants; in the amount of 'gang fighting'; and in the degree to which there was an escalation into material forms of crime. It is evident that any reading of territoriality must remain sensitive to the particularities of place and social context to get an understanding of motivations for involvement, and manifestations and impacts of territoriality.

4 The impacts of territoriality

Introduction

Having established that territoriality is a pervasive feature of the six locations that were studied, albeit with different historical and social bases and degrees of importance, this chapter examines the impacts of territoriality, not only on the lives of the young people who experience territoriality, but also on the communities within which territoriality is prevalent.

As we discussed in Chapter 3, the age range over which territorial behaviour is apparent is quite wide: at the lower end, primary school children, for example in Glasgow; at the upper end, men in their 20s, for example in Bristol and Tower Hamlets. But the core age group that is most active territorially is around 14–17. In other words, this is the age group that must negotiate the ‘youth transitions’ between childhood and adulthood. Indeed, territorial behaviour is a central part of that transition for many of the young people we talked to – a phase during which large amounts of time are spent with other young people from the same neighbourhood, as freedom is gained from the constraints of the household, but before they are able to acquit themselves in society as independent adults. This chapter, then, focuses on the impact of territoriality for those in their mid-teenage years.

Four impacts of territoriality on young people stood out:

- limitations on mobility;
- impacts on employment, leisure opportunities and personal relationships;
- risks to personal safety;
- risks of criminalisation.

There were also impacts of territoriality on communities. These impacts are now considered in turn.

Mobility

Respondents agreed that territoriality placed limits on young people’s freedom to go to areas outwith their own, especially in the evenings and at weekends. Although the profile of territoriality varied substantially between case studies, in all cases it was associated to some degree with violent confrontation with rivals from other areas. This created a situation where some young people were fearful of attack outside their own areas. It was suggested by adult interviewees that, in areas affected by ‘gangs’, young people would not usually go into other areas because they felt unsafe. Young people were able to corroborate this, for example in Tower Hamlets (THFG2):

Researcher: If you go into another area, what happens?

South Asian young man, 16: They will stop you and ask you who you are.

South Asian young man, 17: They will pick you up, take your phone, and after that take your money, innit?

In Tower Hamlets, it was clear the reverse was also true; young people from elsewhere would not go into the area that was the heart of the enquiry. Since this was a centre for ethnic retailing, food outlets and cultural facilities, this seemed like a serious deprivation, but it was reported:

And some of the areas are very notorious, you know, even in the local area, you wouldn’t expect to see youth ever coming into this area.

Someone from another area? They would never, ever come.
(THFG1, South Asian young man, 16)

In areas of mixed ethnicity, territoriality was exacerbated by ethnic differences. In Peterborough, ethnicity and territoriality were inexorably linked; some areas were perceived as Asian and some as white, despite having residents from other ethnic groups. These impacted on the mobility of young people, who were all the more easily seen to be in the 'wrong area' (PBF1):

Asian young man, 16: You can't, you can't put petrol in a diesel car.

[Laughter from group]

White young man, 18: Mr Philosopher.

Asian young man, 16: You can't.

Researcher: What do you mean by that?

[Laughter from group]

Asian young man, 18: He's saying that the car won't go!

Asian young man, 16: You do know what I'm trying to say though do you?

Asian young man, 18: Explain it man, just fill him in.

White young man, 18: I think basically what he's trying to say is, yeah, if you put summit there that's not meant to go there.

This close association between ethnicity and place therefore increased the visibility of 'slipping' and being caught could have very serious consequences in the form of violent assault.

In Bradford, it was even said that it was not safe for some young people to go by car to some other areas. An adult reported:

If you're in the middle of [name of neighbourhood], if you're a young white lad

driving down that road, you're very lucky to get out the other side without a smashed window or getting beaten up.

(BD2)

The perceived lack of safety meant that some young people never travelled alone. Going to school in one part of the Bradford area was described in terms of a carefully constructed strategic exercise that involved avoiding certain streets before leaving the territory to travel in numbers. But, perhaps with some inevitability, it was travelling in numbers that often triggered confrontation. In Bradford it was reported:

If there's more than a group of three, well, no, I'd say a bit more than three, if there's a big group walking through [name of nearby neighbourhood], we know there's trouble.

(BDFG3, white young man, 15)

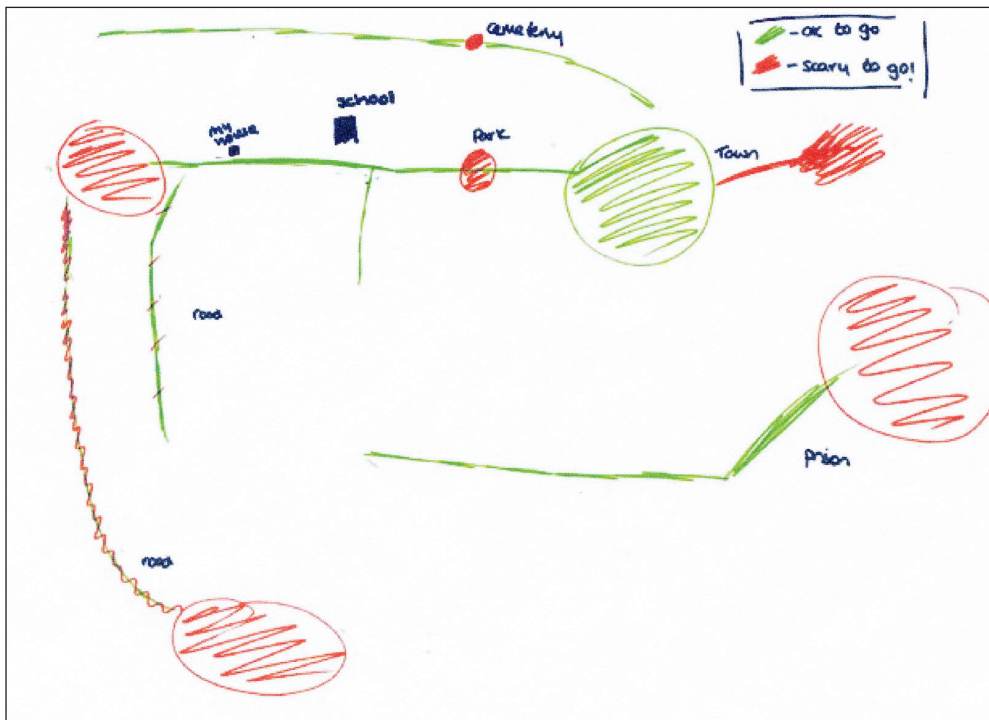
Of all the areas, perhaps the one least affected was Bristol. Territoriality seemed to be a localised phenomenon in what is the most deprived cluster of neighbourhoods in the city (Bristol City Council, 2007).

Restrictions on mobility were not exclusive to young men, as female participants in the focus groups also talked of having a fear of crime, although this most often related to sexual rather than violent offences and was not necessarily linked to territory. Girls in Bradford and Peterborough stated that they felt particular unease when walking through areas that groups of young males were known to frequent. Figure 4 illustrates this point.

Access to leisure, relationships and opportunities

The practical problems this threw up were easy to determine and were apparent in Glasgow, Tower Hamlets, Bradford and Sunderland. In disadvantaged areas, where the frequent lament from young people is a lack of things to do and where anti-territorial project activities provide diversionary alternatives to hanging around on the streets, territoriality frequently made it hard for young people to access services and facilities.

Figure 4: PBF2, white young woman, 18



They had to be accompanied by adults and often had to have special transport provided. In Sunderland, for example:

A problem is they can't access youth facilities. They have to take a minibus to go to the youth group; they feel so unsafe that they don't want to walk the streets.

(SU1)

Similarly, from a Bradford youth worker's point of view:

You can't set up a [youth] provision in south Bradford. You have to set one up in [name of estate] and [name of another estate] because the kids from the two estates wouldn't cross the road – and there is literally a main road that separates the two estates.

(BD2)

It seems, at an intuitive level, as one male focus group participant in Tower Hamlets put it, that 'being stuck in a sardine tin and not getting out' (THFG2, South Asian young man, 19) would disadvantage young people in their transitions to adulthood. There is a risk that opportunities of jobs and of further education would be unavailable where fear limited freedom to travel outside their own neighbourhoods. Thus, one interviewee in Glasgow noted that:

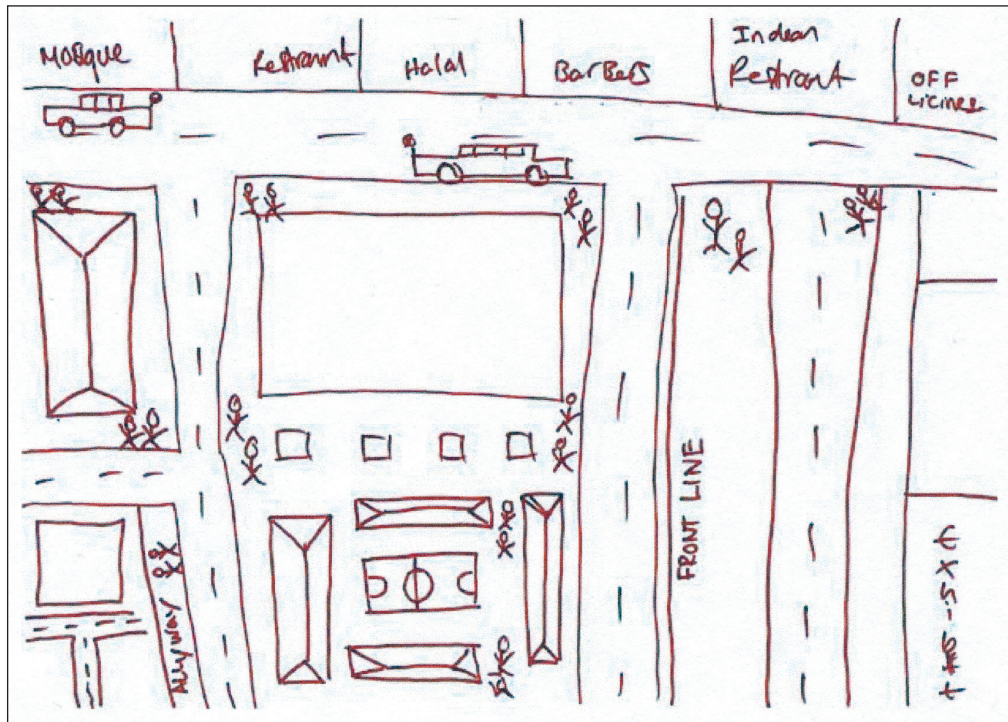
If your horizons are limited to three streets, what is the point of you working really hard at school? What is the point of passing subjects that will allow you to go to college or university if you cannot travel beyond these streets? What's the point of dreaming about being an artist, a doctor, etc., if you cannot get on a bus to get out of the area in which you live?

(GL2)

In Tower Hamlets, there was a similar fear of travelling and a similar use of minibuses to access services. However, it was also noted by an adult interviewee in a context where threats of violence appeared to be periodic that willingness to travel depended on the current 'conflict intention level' (TH1).

However, when young people in focus groups were asked about specific opportunities forgone, they were often vague. For example, in Tower Hamlets, the 16- and 17-year-old South Asian males who were participants in one of the focus groups all inhabited a very tight, closed neighbourhood, rarely travelled far and

Figure 5: THFG1, South Asian young man, 16



expected to meet violence when they did. Figure 5 illustrates the tightness of those boundaries that young people felt unwilling or unable to cross. They seemed completely unaware of the rich possibilities of life in the capital beyond. In Bristol, there was reported to be a long-standing detachment from the labour market by those involved in gangs and their families. A similar set of constraints was discussed in Sunderland:

There's a lack of knowledge about what's beyond the estates. You're brought up ... you don't leave, you blend in. It deters young people from spreading themselves around ... It accentuates inward-looking behaviour – it doesn't so much prevent outward-looking freedoms.

(SU4)

This lack of knowledge beyond perceived boundaries was tangible in Glasgow. Figure 6 shows, side by side, two maps of the same area drawn by young men. Both were in the same class at school and shared similar interests and experiences, yet they existed very much on different sides of the same road, rarely crossing over to the other side. The result is a 'mirror effect', as shown in Figure 6.

The extent to which access to opportunities and facilities applied to young people varied according to their level of involvement in territoriality and from case study to case study. For some, the fear of violence outwith their own areas was so strong that, even when transport to leisure facilities was provided, they were reported still to be unwilling to go. These were the most active gang members who feared reprisals from rival gangs. In all of the case studies, it was generally agreed that the more deeply young people had been involved in gangs, the more likely they were to withdraw into their own territory and fail to seek opportunities outside.

Compared with boys, girls appeared to be relatively mobile, although this varied across the case studies. Some females were restricted by gang activity; however, it seemed clear that girls had more freedom than boys (GLFG2):

White young woman, 12: I go into all different schemes [i.e. estates]. Cos I don't fight, I'm all right.

White young man, 13: She's a lassie, but ...

White young man, 13: Boys wullnae touch lassies.

Figure 6: GLFG2, white young men, 11



But the view from Bradford was that territoriality was not so important for boys as to limit relationships across boundaries; it was said that, for the majority, 'It never gets to the point that you wouldn't go out with a girl who lives on another estate' (BD2).

Even in Glasgow, it was said by one youth worker that it was possible for some young people to have much broader relationship networks and to travel anywhere in the broader area, even if gang members could not leave the estate, although this did not sit easily with what the young people said.

It may be that the geography of territoriality is important here. In Glasgow, with pervasive territoriality across large areas of the city dominated by multiple deprivation, almost all areas have a gang presence (Kintrea and Suzuki, 2008, forthcoming), so whole sectors of the city may feel unsafe. Perhaps in other locations, while there are specific rival areas that are risky, there are a greater number of safer neutral areas in less universally deprived cities.

Violent assault

This discussion also raises issues of personal safety. In all the areas we looked at, it was clear that territoriality was accompanied by a degree

of violence, which inevitably resulted in risks to personal safety. The risk of injury, or even death, would appear to be much higher for those who are actively involved in territorial gangs compared to non-participants, as they are involved in gang fighting more frequently and/or are likely to be victims of revenge attacks. However, it was clear that some young people joined gangs for safety (GLFG3):

White young man, 14: Some people think that if they join a gang they'll be safe.

White young man, 15: You won't get battered by them if you join them.

This did not, however, appear to be the case. Adult respondents all agreed that it would be much safer to be non-members. In light of the descriptions of violence, maybe this was not a surprise; in most of the areas we looked at, the main weapons used were discussed:

There's violence, physical contact. Twenty years ago it was a punch-up, now it's blunt instruments, rocks, bricks, and knives.

(SU4)

It also seemed to be the case that the older the age group, the more serious the violence was. It often involved weapons other than fists, although this varied a little between locations:

Older groups now, the argument will last about five minutes and there'll either be a stabbing or a shooting, or they might have a fight but mostly stabbing.

(BR2)

In Glasgow, where 'gang fighting' was a widespread, frequent 'leisure' activity, there was a high awareness of the possible impacts (GLFG3):

White young man, 14: You can get stabbed, or hit an artery or something.

White young man, 15: Smashed in the head with a brick, get brain damage.

However, what was perhaps surprising was that there was no particular sign that violence was a deterrent to involvement in territoriality. It appeared that, for many of those who were involved, the benefits, such as camaraderie, respect and excitement, outweighed the risks.

Criminalisation

It was reported by many interviewees and in the focus groups that territoriality leading to anti-social behaviour, carrying weapons and violence often led to young people becoming criminalised – that is, being caught up in the youth justice system and generating a police record, which might provide barriers to employment or other opportunities. It is important to distinguish here between the impact of being involved in a loose territorial affiliation and being involved in active criminal gangs that operate on a territorial basis, although there are potentially close connections between the two.

First, it was evident that territoriality was for many participants also associated with low-level forms of crime such as under-age drinking, drugs misuse and sometimes theft of different kinds. Although this was not something that the research probed deeply, it is consistent with the results of surveys of young people discussed in Chapter 2.

Second, where there were affiliations conforming to the lower end of the gangs spectrum, the risk of criminalisation arose chiefly from the fighting discussed above. When fighting escalated to a certain level, the police would get involved to split up the group and make arrests relating to assaults and carrying weapons. Adults sometimes suggested that this kind of criminalisation did not worry some young people:

They're not bothered about criminalisation, 'I'd rather face me mates than be called a coward' is the attitude. 'At least I had a go.'

(SU4)

Third, the most serious risk was that involvement in territorial behaviour might be an escalator to involvement in more organised, material and more violent forms of crime, mostly involving drugs. Although this is an issue that has risen to attention in the past two years through a large number of well publicised murders of young people using firearms in various parts of England (particularly Tower Hamlets), the tendency for local territorial groups to transmute into criminal gangs involved in the distribution and sale of drugs appeared to be variable in our case studies.

In Glasgow, with its widespread territoriality and large numbers of young people with some involvement, connection to the world of adult criminals was considered to be weak or non-existent. Youth gangs based on place identity and criminal 'firms' were two separate forms of organisation. While 'gangsters' in the city from time to time were involved in violent incidents using guns, there was no connection to the territorial groups of teenagers that were inescapable in our research. In Bradford, similarly, none of the adult interviewees said they were aware of criminal territorial gangs in any of the areas where they lived or worked; rather, drug-related 'crime firms' were not area-based. One of the interviewees believed that 'identifiable area gangs' seemed to have declined (BD2). The issue was not raised at all in Sunderland.

But, in the other three areas – Peterborough, Tower Hamlets and Bristol – it was reported that there were upward links from young people's territoriality to gangs with criminal intent. Perhaps Peterborough was the least serious case; of the

dozens of identifiable gangs, most were said to be purely territorial. In Tower Hamlets, though, involvement in territorial groups was perceived by adult interviewees to lead to an increased risk of involvement in criminal gangs. Discussion with young people suggested that the area was saturated with drug dealing, so that young people on the streets and dealers were inescapably in contact. Young people in the focus groups complained that it was hard to avoid getting into trouble in their area. Drug dealing featured on some of the maps that they drew of their home area. When one South Asian young man was asked to draw his neighbourhood, he solely portrayed drug trading (see Figure 7).

Adult interviewees believed that territoriality in the traditional form of groups of teenagers hanging about their streets and prepared to defend them was still prevalent, but that territorial activity now included more 'material' forms involving drug dealing and unspecified 'scams'. The boys and young men who were most vulnerable to being recruited were those who had had contacts with the youth justice system:

Illegal substances had a profound effect on how gangs operate and how they're structured. And today it's inextricably linked with territorialism and gang behaviour; they use and supply the drugs, OK? So with that I make the distinction between who we really say are gangs and gangsters, and young people who are out associating themselves with their friends, local youth and stuff like that.

(TH1)

In Bristol, far more attention was given by interviewees to the existence of territorially based drugs gangs than in the other locations. Some of the interviewees were former gang members who had direct experience and contacts with current criminals.

A black man in his 30s from the area suggested that divisions between identifiable neighbourhoods were long-standing and apparent in the early 1990s, and were perhaps rooted in minority settlement patterns, but it was the coming of drugs that had made the difference:

Figure 7: THFG2, South Asian young man, 17



Those [referring to patterns of migration] kind divided a lot of things before I was born, you know what I'm saying. Now crack, heroin and drugs divided it even more, you know what I mean. So young people's starting selling crack, young people's getting attacked and young people start joining gangs.

(BR3)

the issue was the clash between Muslim and western culture. In Bristol, it was about being black in a white city:

They are an English black person. I don't see an identity for that person ... so this is why they have taken on American identity.

(BR3)

There were said to be various drug-dealing specialisms among different ethnic groups, and the use of firearms and shootings occurred from time to time:

There is shooting but not really that much. We're getting more knives, more stabbing. There's been a lot of stabbing and some that's been revealed to TV, some that hasn't. Really I've had some experiences, relatives have had some experiences ... well, that is how it is.

(BR2)

In Tower Hamlets and especially Bristol, but also elsewhere, adults were at pains to stress that the life of a 'gangster' was seen as a glamorous one and attractive to young people for whom it was difficult to imagine ways in which they could make decent money through conventional employment. In Tower Hamlets, it was suggested that 'they all want to be gangsters now' (TH2) and it was reported that Asian youths looked to black US rappers as role models:

Without a doubt, images that are played on the screen, in movies ... and gangsta rap, characters they see on the screen, Tupac Shakur, 50 Cent, people like that, it has a big impact on young people and their mentality, you know? We see ... young people who fall into that lifestyle and you can see it coming in their dress code, the language they use, the sort of music they listen to.

(TH1)

Similar ideas were heard in Bristol, where interviewees also referred to rap culture originating in US cities. Both Tower Hamlets and Bristol informants suggested young people's identity was confused or ambivalent and the media helped them to make their minds up. In Tower Hamlets,

The escalation of territoriality into more dangerous, organised forms of crime and high levels of violence was not a special focus of this study. While the Glasgow experience suggests that territoriality does not have to have a material component to be violent, it appears from some of the case studies that there is no necessary connection between territory and organised crime, although it would be useful to probe this more deeply to be sure. What is clear, though, is that the presence of young people on the streets who are regularly prepared to fight to defend their neighbourhoods and their own reputations, and have become criminalised as a consequence of relatively low-level anti-social behaviour, has the potential to present criminals with recruits for their enterprises. In Tower Hamlets, there was a sense by adults and the young people themselves that they were vulnerable to 'turning out bad', as the level of drugs-related activity in the area appeared to be on the rise. In Bristol, this tipping point had been reached a few years ago, and problematic territoriality was said to be less now about young teenagers involved in fights and more about men in their 20s involved in the defence of their territorial drugs businesses.

Consequences for the wider community

The last section here looks at the effects of territoriality on other people in the neighbourhoods. There was clearly a perceived issue of community safety in all of the case studies; older generations were reported by local stakeholders to feel insecure as a result of young people 'hanging about' the streets. However, this impact is not just or even necessarily related to young people's actual involvement in territoriality or gangs. The insecurity often came from the simple presence

of a group of young people, regardless of the nature of the group or whether they occupied a specific area in a territorial sense. They could be just 'normal' young people being with friends in a public space. An interviewee from Glasgow noted:

When I was growing up, I used to be in a group of 20 or so, thought of as a gang by older people within and outwith the area. But we weren't, we were just really good friends, liked hanging out with one another, it gave us a sense of being part of the community. We were involved in fundraising, other acts of neighbourliness, but did not participate in violence. Those who knew us knew we were not a gang.

(GL3)

There can be, then, a tendency for the wider community and outsiders to negatively label the majority as a consequence of the actions of a minority. So all young people in an area can be impacted on by territoriality, and discriminated against and complained about, not just those who participate in its more extreme forms.

Of course, this is not to say that a real threat to the safety of others never exists. In most of the six case studies, there were stories of 'innocent' parties becoming involved in violence and getting injured. When retribution is exacted, gangs will often pick on someone because he lives in an area, regardless of whether he is a member of the original group whose actions triggered the dispute, but particularly if he is close to the gang member – for example, a brother or other relative.

With respect to the impact on adults, if it is true that young people are limited in their life chances owing to territoriality, those adults who have grown up experiencing territoriality might well have been affected in the same way, so that their lives at present are in part the consequence of their limited opportunities as young people. In a similar vein, parents of children engaged in extreme forms of territorial behaviour might also face a limitation being placed on their own life chances.

Then there is psychological damage for parents:

Parents are sitting waiting [for] their kid to come in at night. They don't know whether he is going to come in beaten or stabbed.

(GL3)

Finally, it was reported that families often got caught up when there were high levels of violence. Family membership in Bristol overlaps between crews and often blood is thicker than water. However, in some instances, gangs or crews can become a 'street family' for those involved:

If you stab somebody, most likely their family's coming for you instead of their crew ... So, if you don't know who someone's family member is, and you go and harm ... them ... their family member could even be a member of your crew ... You can either go with your crew and get disowned from your family, so then your ... your crew becomes your family and then you get lost into ... street life completely ... So that means you've dedicated everything to your crew. That's all you've got left.

(BR2)

This scenario was also discussed in Bradford and Peterborough, particularly with regard to strong family ties in Asian communities.

Conclusions

The overwhelming evidence from the case studies was that involvement in territoriality was highly problematic, but we should always bear in mind that the methodology involved snowballing contacts via projects that were designed in some way to tackle problematic territoriality. Their disadvantaged backgrounds led some young people into territorial behaviour and territoriality served to further increase their disadvantage.

It is very clear that, for a significant group of young people, territoriality is an important factor in limiting their lives and inhibiting a successful transition to adult life. In our case studies, we saw no evidence of positive social impacts of territoriality among young people. This is not to say, however, that territoriality offers nothing in the short term to those involved in it, quite the opposite. Clearly, the pull of becoming involved

in territoriality is strong and, for many young people, it can overpower any perceptions of the considerable risks faced by those most deeply involved.

That territoriality is a problem for life chances applies certainly to those involved most closely in territorial gangs, but also some of the evidence shows that its negative impacts affect large numbers of young people, and have corrosive effects on other members of communities and on intergenerational relationships. These effects on the community are not necessarily well appreciated by the young people themselves.

This chapter has confirmed that territorial behaviour provides limitations on young people's freedom to travel, hence their opportunity to access services and opportunities in other parts of the urban area. This was especially apparent when territoriality was widespread across an urban area, as it appeared to be in four of our case study areas. However, to some extent, the young people's appreciation of the seriousness of this problem appeared to be masked by their own limited horizons. These horizons were, of course, themselves a product of young people consistently looking inwards to their areas, which themselves frequently offered few amenities or jobs.

There are also important questions that have not been answered about opportunities. A key one, perhaps, is about the scale of adverse effects. The relationship between territoriality and limited opportunities is real, but it is not fully clear how many young people are affected and to what extent, and what its longer-term impacts might be – for example, in accessing the labour market.

It is also clear that territoriality usually leads to physical conflict and so some young people become involved with the police, who intervene

when violence gets serious, and it then becomes more difficult to exit from territorial involvement. This appeared to be an everyday experience, but potentially it has significant drawbacks for young people's success in other spheres. There was also a significant risk of personal injury, which itself suggests that the fears that young people have in travelling are not wholly ill founded.

The research identified young people with limited territorial behaviour, those with a strong territorial affiliation and those engaged in more organised (but also territorial) criminal behaviour. This is consistent with other studies of 'gangs'. Three of the case studies did provide evidence of the upward links between boys hanging around and defending their turf and recruitment into violent criminal enterprises, partly because the more vulnerable young people with records to their name were obvious soldier material, but also because training in a territorial group provided some of the experience necessary for promotion to escalated forms of crime. Deprivation and isolation from opportunities also gave a motivation for joining more materially oriented gangs.

This would appear to be an important issue for further research, given the impacts on individuals and communities of drug selling and knife and gun crime. There is now considerable effort among policy-makers in England to find ways to stop the murders of teenagers in wars between rival gangs, yet what is not often appreciated is that the roots of the organisation of some of these gangs might be essentially territorial, going back to local subcultures that existed long before the drugs trade became prevalent. It is also not clear from this study why this escalation seems to operate in some areas and not in others.

5 ‘Anti-territorial’ projects

Introduction

The preceding findings chapters underline the complexity and embeddedness of territoriality, suggesting that complex, locally sensitive solutions are required to address it.

‘Anti-territorial projects’ (ATPs) is a loose term given here to a range of services delivered to young people by a range of local statutory bodies, voluntary organisations and community groups. ATPs are funded from numerous sources. Government funding includes Community Champions, Neighbourhood Renewal Community Chests and numerous relevant departmental funds, including the Home Office’s Connected Fund, which is targeted specifically at reducing gun crime. In addition, there are a multitude of independent sources of finance such as the Big Lottery (and Awards for All), the Black Londoners Forum, Charities Aid Foundation, Children in Need, Comic Relief, Disarm Trust, Lloyds TSB Foundation and the Prince’s Trust.

The ATPs that participated in this research exhibit a range of approaches to tackling territoriality-related issues. This chapter of the report considers the nature and rationales of the projects, and then comments on the activities

undertaken. It should be emphasised, however, that it was not within the scope of the research to fully evaluate the ATPs. Rather, the report seeks to highlight the types of responses that are available to tackle territoriality and to consider what these can achieve and the wider implications for policy.

How the ATPs address territoriality

Table 1 presents a summary of the main features of the ATPs. Four general approaches¹ were identified across the six ATPs. These aimed to:

1. generate opportunity to participate in positive diversionary activities;
2. educate young people about the consequences of territoriality;
3. break down boundaries between different communities through increasing contact and therefore understanding about different areas or cultures;
4. address serious conflict, using conflict-resolution techniques.

Table 1: Summary of ATPs

Project	Established	Coverage	Age range (years)	Key approaches
Bradford	1989	Citywide	8–21	Diversion, education, association
Bristol	2003	Inner-city estates	Early teens to mid-20s	Conflict resolution, education, diversion
Glasgow	1989	Specific area	10–16	Education, diversion
Peterborough	2001	Citywide	13–25	Conflict resolution, education, diversion, association
Sunderland	2001	Regional	9–21	Diversion, education, association
Tower Hamlets	1998	Specific area	16–25	Education, diversion, conflict resolution

The ATPs were geared pragmatically towards tackling territoriality and so tended to use more than one of the approaches outlined above. The rationales that were provided by project managers and workers for these activities suggested that the approaches used were linked to different understandings of the origins of territoriality, as well as the extent of young people's immersion in territorial conflict. They also resemble well-known methods used in community development and youth work. For example, community education practices are heavily influenced by Freire (1972) and the use of drama in conflict resolution leans on Boal (1992).

Diversion

Diversion from negative activities such as territorial conflict was linked predominantly to involvement in sport on the basis that this offered an accessible and attractive 'hook' for young people engaged in territorial conflict into projects, allowing them to subsequently participate in educational work. This skirted one of the main challenges noted by project managers and workers – getting young people 'in the door' in the first place. Diversion had value beyond this and was used as a preventative measure, targeted at those who were at risk of becoming involved in territorial conflict.

In Glasgow, Peterborough and Bradford it was suggested by young people that boredom was a driver of territoriality and that the ATPs gave them an alternative to negative pursuits such as drinking, drug misuse, vandalism and, in particular, recreational conflict. In Glasgow, it was stated: 'there's not enough things to do' and 'there's nae youth club' (GLFG1, white young man, 11). Further, one young man in Bradford commented: 'We just drink, that's all we can do. We just get drunk, hang around on the street and just drink, that's all we can do. We're bored' (BDFG5, white young man, 15). These sentiments were shared by many other young people in the focus groups.

The diversionary approach was utilised by the Glasgow, Bradford, Peterborough, Tower Hamlets and Sunderland ATPs. (The Bristol ATP did start up football and basketball teams in 2007, although its work is still primarily focused on conflict resolution.) The reasoning given was to entice young people out of participating in territorial behaviour:

'something more positive than hanging about on streets or getting involved in gangs' (GL2) and 'getting young people off the streets to stop them getting into trouble' (BD3).

There were differences in the diversionary approaches and activities undertaken by the ATPs. For example, the Bradford ATP's interventions overlaid existing Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) schemes in high-crime, predominantly homogeneous, ethnic neighbourhoods. Interventions focused initially on particular neighbourhoods across the city in order to improve opportunities for young people to become involved in group activities. The ATP used a wide range of diversionary activities such as sports, dance, drama, motor vehicle and marine-based resources.

In Peterborough and Sunderland, football teams were made up of people from different ethnic communities across the cities, with an emphasis on building bridging then bonding social capital among young participants. The Sunderland ATP used football activities, particularly 'Football Fridays', as a hook to link up young people with further educational interventions, while the Peterborough ATP provided the incentive of participation in national and international tournaments.

Education

Interventions involving education addressed more directly the issue of territoriality. This was most associated with areas where there had been long-standing territorial frictions. Education about the nature and consequences of territoriality was targeted at young people at different stages of their development, the intention being to either prevent young people from becoming involved in territorial behaviour or to develop awareness of ways of exiting from gangs and conflict.

This approach is common in radical community development, with participants encouraged to consider the structural forces and institutions that prevent them from achieving life goals, such as deprivation, racism and territoriality. Moreover, this process encourages young people to consider the consequences of their own choices and actions (Ledwith, 2005). The critical reflection of participants is the paramount component of radical

community development and it was identified as essential in the Peterborough ATP and in some of the Bradford interventions. Young people were encouraged to consider the impacts of territoriality on their lives and the wider community in which they lived, and to explore the similarities they had with young people from different cultural groups or areas.

This critical reflection also opened up paths for young people to exit territorial conflicts, as it allowed them to reassess their options beyond territorial involvement:

I'm a big believer in terms of – I mean youth work is youth work but I get frustrated when I see youth workers and what's going on in terms of the young people. But I think a community development approach to stuff and the broader, you know the stuff about empowering, educating, enabling ... you've got a much better chance in terms of local long-term objectives and getting people to feel sort of, you know, part of their community.

(BD3)

The Glasgow ATP project had an eight-week territoriality education programme that was delivered in five primary schools. The programme was aimed at those children in Primary 7 (11 to 12 years old), using discussion groups and creative skills workshops to explore the meanings and impacts of territoriality. This was viewed as a critical stage for young people:

It's at secondary school when the gangs become more important, so, if you can get to them before then, dispel some of the myths about gangs, stop them getting involved, it enables them to move around the scheme a bit easier.

(GL1)

Creative activities are also a method used in radical community development. These were used in Bradford, such as the dance/drama intervention aimed at young women, which ran alongside discussions on community cohesion that were aimed at dispelling myths about other ethnic groups and cultures. The Peterborough ATP ran

a similar programme, working with young people to express their feelings about territoriality through music.

Peer education was also used in Peterborough, Bristol and Tower Hamlets, largely to add legitimacy to the projects' work:

Like, you can't really send a bunch of older people to get through to some of the younger ones. You've got to kinda let them spread their own message and let them ... some of the smarter ones talk to some of those who don't know what's going on.

(BR5)

The Peterborough ATP, for example, annually selected twelve young people aged 16–21, because of their involvement in racial incidents and leadership qualities, to take part in the project's 'youth crew'. They were trained in youth work and participated in voluntary placements, with the intention of influencing a broader group of young people. The Bristol ATP used peer education methods to train young people as conflict-resolution trainers and this is discussed in more depth below.

Educational approaches were not confined to territorial issues, as the Bradford ATP delivered traditional education programmes in partnership with other local service providers to more directly address the opportunities of the young people involved in the project.

Association

The idea that some young people had little opportunity to come face to face with their peers from different locations within a city underlay approaches involving association. Activities that linked young people from different communities were used to build social capital:

The only way to combat [territorial attitudes] is to take young people out of the areas they are being brought up in – that is the responsibility of adults, as young people do not have any reason to go to other areas.

(BD10)

The Bradford ATP ran football tournaments for area-based football teams to compete in. The sides were initially made up of people from the same areas for pragmatic reasons – that is, to maximise participation. However, the best players from each side were then selected to play against reserve and youth players from the local football club. If the young participants impressed watching scouts, then the football club took them on trial. This provided a powerful incentive for young people from different areas to bond through sport.

The Peterborough ATP addressed cultural tensions through residential and non-residential group activities where young people from different cultures were put into mixed groups so that barriers could be broken down. The underlying objective was for young people to realise that they had many things in common:

They've got their crew with them. They may be in different streams, different rooms, but they've got their crew with them. They've got their island with them. After a while their island was everyone's island.

(PB2)

This rationale of emphasising what naturally unites young people in different areas was shared with the Glasgow ATP, whose residential activities were facilitated to: 'show that people from other areas don't eat babies, that they have common interests and concerns in their lives' (GL1).

These activities also created space between young people and their day-to-day problems, which gave them an opportunity to reflect on the wider context of their actions:

Taking them out of the area allows them to leave their baggage behind and their guard comes down, they are more willing to be open. It also gives some young people the chance, if they have problems back home, to [just] enjoy being themselves.

(GL2)

Thus, associative approaches, as with education and diversionary activities, can prove effective in drawing young people at risk or on the periphery away from territorial conflict. They also had the benefit of challenging assumptions about

geographical boundaries where 'residential' or other travel were involved. However, other means are sometimes required to reach out to those most involved in territoriality such as the core members of gangs.

Conflict resolution

There is a long history of the use of drama in radical community development (Boal, 1992; Feinstein and Kuumba, 2006) and drama-based techniques formed the basis of the conflict-resolution approaches used by the ATPs.

The ATPs in the Bristol, Tower Hamlets and Peterborough case study areas all utilised conflict-resolution techniques. This type of intervention occurred when all others had failed and was usually aimed at the core members of gangs involved in territorial conflict.

The aim of the Bristol ATP, for example, was to give young people the tools and strategies they needed to deal with conflict and so enable them to create a local environment where they felt safe and comfortable. The project applied conflict-resolution techniques used for international conflict to, for example, the racial conflict between Somali and white communities.

The Peterborough ATP used two-day conflict-resolution events to explore reasons for territorial conflicts among young participants. A time limit was set for resolution of differences and for drawing up a pledge of unity.

The Bristol ATP used drama to explore the causes and impacts of territoriality with a youth theatre group. Again, this aimed to encourage critical reflection among the young participants:

Our approach is to bring people together from different areas to dispel their myths and their stereotypes and their imaginings, to get them embarked on common work tasks, so they develop relationships and to get them to think about political systems that they're working inside and how – you know, there's a film that was made recently and there's a phrase in it ... a local community film ... and it was like, you know, until young black men realise they're a pawn in society's game, nothing's going to change. So we take that statement to young black men and we ask them what it means.

(BR1)

Evidence of success

While this research has not aimed to evaluate the six ATPs involved, it has been possible to explore what is perceived by interviewees to be working. Interviewees discussed impacts on the individual young people who have participated in the projects and wider groups of young people.

It is important that ATPs have legitimacy in the eyes of young people for them to work effectively. This positive branding of projects can perhaps allow young people to replace territorial loyalty with a sense of ownership of the projects. This in itself can bring challenges for young people who successfully leave territoriality behind as others, still embroiled, attempt to draw them back in.

To an extent, evidence suggested that some young people had replaced territorial loyalty with attachment to the project. The projects had, albeit in relatively small numbers, generated social capital among young people from different ethnic groups and territories:

This one, in this project innit, we were the first ones doing it. Yeah we used to scrap, I used to just to scrap with all his mates, when I see his mates man they stop and they talk to me.

(PBF1, white young man, 18)

Yeah obviously yeah look just imagine if you see him with his mates yeah and he sees your mates ... so your group will come to his group, you two will chat and then maybe they'll just like you know say hello to each other.

(PBF1, Asian young man, 16)

A diversionary 'hook' seemed an effective way of getting young people in through the door in the first instance and then promoting community cohesion by breaking down boundaries between young people from different ethnic groups and areas. This was particularly evident in the projects in Peterborough, Glasgow, Bradford and Bristol.

Establishing a critical dialogue with young people also seemed to be a valuable exercise. This highlighted the similarities between young people from different areas and cultural groups, such as a sense of limited opportunities, life experiences

and aspirations. However, a limitation of this is common to most radical community development approaches – that is, critical dialogue often takes a long time, with relatively small numbers of people involved at any one time.

Conflict resolution was shown in the work of the Peterborough, Tower Hamlets and Bristol ATPs to be an effective means of providing young people with alternative means of settling territorial disputes. Moreover, peer mediation seemed to be particularly effective in building the confidence, self-esteem and skills of young participants, providing them with alternative avenues for dealing with territorial conflict:

They can have an impact on their community ... and by training those young people up in community work skills you are enabling them to help out their younger peers, to act as a positive role model for those younger people. And also, at the same time, when these issues take place and they see each other they can say: 'I know that person quite well. He's from a different community but he's OK. We are friends.'

(PB2)

It is important to note that community development cannot be perceived as a stand-alone solution to territoriality. It is also important to improve the degrees of connectedness between local areas and the labour market, and consider the impacts of urban planning on territoriality (Green and White, 2007). Furthermore, an obvious proviso for the success of anti-territorial work is that young people at risk or involved in conflict have to be willing to, first, participate in initiatives and, then, change their behaviour.

Alternative approaches to tackling territoriality were evident in some of the areas in the study. Other non-punitive measures have been pursued in the case study locations, with mixed success. In Peterborough, for example, the police have engaged with local community leaders within territories to appeal to them to speak with identified gang leaders and their families, which has had varying degrees of success (PB3). This is an extension of the suggestion commonly put forward that young people could avoid territorial conflict by being protected by their parents and by

staying at home, rather than joining groups in their neighbourhoods.

Most interviewees argued that punitive measures are less successful and that a combination of 'carrot and stick' approaches was required. It was put forward that ASBOs, for example, were not a very effective means of dealing with territoriality, as some young people perceived them as 'badges of honour'. Similarly, it was suggested that custodial sentences have little impact on addressing gang behaviour in the long term:

To go to jail is kind of ... it's kind of like a badge on your shoulder ... 'I've been to jail.' 'Cool.'
'I've been to jail twice.' 'Cooler.'

(BR4)

Conclusions

The six ATPs included in the research appeared to be effective in dealing with many of the manifestations of and motivations for territoriality discussed in the previous chapters, such as racism, boredom, peer pressure, excessive place attachment and ignorance of consequences of

conflict. However, like other forms of community development, ATPs are limited in addressing wider structural factors that shape territoriality, such as deprivation, disconnectedness from the labour market and the design of physical space.

The various approaches identified within the case studies appear to be based on ideas about the nature of territoriality and the severity of the situation. Where territorial attitudes are evident within communities, interventions such as diversion, education and association with young people from different areas may be effective. These types of response act in different ways to change perceptions that young people have about both their own neighbourhoods and other locations within the cities where they live. However, where there are serious conflicts between different areas, then conflict-resolution techniques come to the fore.

The success of 'anti-territorial' projects is bounded by several common factors: the challenge of reaching out to disaffected young people (in particular, core gang members); the time it takes to carry out effective community development; limited capacity; and access to funding.

6 Conclusions and policy implications

Conclusions

In this study, we had six aims relating to territoriality among young people and these are now revisited.

1. To better identify the nature of territoriality as an expression of place attachment

The report shows that, in the areas we visited, problematic territoriality is a feature of everyday life and its impacts are something that people have to live with. The phenomenon we have looked at is very different from the occupation of space by youth lifestyle groups or by skateboarders, or the conflicts over young people's rights in semi-public spaces such as shopping centres, which have been the focus of much of the recent research about young people's use of space. It challenges the prevailing view from that literature on the personal and social benefits of using public space, and the claims about young people's rights. In the broadly deprived locations where our research was conducted, we struggled to find any real benefits. Rather, there is evidence of deeply disadvantaging impacts.

Many writers have commented on the decline of local attachment in modern urban society. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, on the basis of a public consultation exercise, concluded that individualism, consumerism and the decline of community was thought to be a prominent 'social evil' in the UK, with concerns expressed that 'no one cares about each other anymore' and 'people aren't connected with their neighbours' (Watts, 2008, p. 9). Yet an alternative view has challenged the idea that modern society is one of increasing detachment from locality for all groups. For example, Gore *et al.* (2007) argue for the greater recognition of the local sphere in which many working-class people live and work, unaffected by wider trends, while Green and White (2007) and MacDonald and Marsh (2005) substantiate the constrained views of labour markets taken by

many young people from poorer backgrounds, with potentially damaging consequences for their life chances.

Territoriality is a kind of 'super place attachment'. As we have discussed it here, it is an extension of these tendencies. It builds directly from young people's close identification with their neighbourhoods. However lacking their neighbourhoods are in attractive features (and, in any case, residents may be oblivious to a wider view), young people feel their estates or inner urban areas are the places that they belong to and, in turn, the places belong to them. For young people who have few resources and are living in a stigmatised place, in the words of a respondent in one of our earlier studies in Scotland, territoriality is 'having a sense of belonging, that no one can take away from you' (Kintrea and Suzuki, 2008, forthcoming).

Young people cohere around their neighbourhoods and seek to represent them whenever they are outside their own areas, and are prepared to defend them as required to gain or maintain respect. Territoriality emerges out of these emotions plus young people's routine use of the streets as a place of assembly and recreation. It is accentuated by inadequate home environments, so that the group they associate with on the streets becomes a kind of parallel to, or maybe in some cases a substitute for, household affiliations. At a time of adolescent uncertainty, there is a need for security in the form of a group to run with and to identify with. Young people then closely identify with their friends who inhabit the same spaces.

Territorial behaviour and territorial conflict is also consistent with the need to exert young men's emerging masculinity in environments that are fundamentally mundane (Katz, 1988; Hallsworth and Young, 2004) or perhaps have been emasculated by deindustrialisation (Campbell, 1993) and offer few outlets for excitement. Participants in territorial behaviour feel they have

a uniqueness borne out of their relationships, and get satisfaction and excitement from supporting their peers and defending their space.

However, according to our research, what territoriality looks like and the impacts that it has vary a great deal from place to place. In some places, it operated at a relatively low level, was habitual and endemic, but had not emerged as a major social concern. Perhaps Sunderland was the place in the current study where it appeared to be least malign, albeit well entrenched. In other places, it had developed extensively and involved large numbers of people, regular fighting and significant violence, even if the main focus was still on place, such as in Peterborough and Glasgow. In Tower Hamlets, to some extent, and especially in Bristol, territorial rivalry appeared to have transmogrified into material criminality.

It is important to note that territoriality was not the province of any particular ethnic group. The case studies included areas dominated by white, black and Asian groups who were in conflict with other groups of the same ethnicity. Where the ethnic map was complex, territorial divisions usually coincided with ethnic segregation, but it was reported that in parts of Bristol at least territoriality overrode ethnic division.

2. To better understand the origins of territoriality

The second aim is about understanding where territoriality 'comes from'. In several of the areas, the origin in the past of territoriality appeared to be in some need for defence by one recognisable group, sometimes an incoming group, against another, sometimes more established group. In Peterborough, which was the youngest urban area here, having expanded as a city from the 1960s, there was a sense of a variety of distinctive, mainly ethnic groups competing over space. The story in London, Bristol and Bradford was also one originating in migration. Migrant groups are often resented by the already settled population, so the incoming group gathers together to defend its legitimacy and/or the existing locals form groups to resist the incomers. We do not have the full story about settlement in Glasgow and Sunderland, but accounts such as Damer (1989) suggest that the pattern of housing development and the perceptions of people as they settled were critical

to long-standing identities. Other sources as far back as the 1920s in the USA have noted that second-generation migrants are the ones who form gangs.

In some of our case studies, the original reasons for defensive territoriality had often completely disappeared; this was especially the case in Glasgow and Sunderland where there were now no apparent social differences between areas. But territoriality remained in a new, more inward-looking and purer form. Here, an established tradition of territorial behaviour has been passed down the generations, in part through immediate siblings and 'olders and younger', but it was also remarkable how ingrained territoriality was in many of the areas. Successive generations seemed to be involved in near-identical behaviour and today's adults often condone territoriality by regarding it as inevitable. This finding stresses the importance of understanding working-class and youth cultures in any discussion of the forces of social exclusion.

It is consistent with some of the historical studies of other poor neighbourhoods that have been carried out recently, such as Meen *et al.* (2005) and Robertson *et al.* (2008), but adds a new dimension. The former suggests there is a 'path dependency' that binds neighbourhoods into established roles that are difficult to shift without complete redevelopment, while the latter finds that class distinctions constructed and then locked down the identities of estates over many decades.

3. To better understand the geography of territoriality

The fact that we identified over 200 projects that had something to do with overturning territorial behaviour or addressing its manifestations suggests that this is something that is found in many, if not most, big cities in the UK, as well as in some smaller towns. However, this geography is not terribly reliable, as projects are often voluntary and seem to depend on rather random factors, such as a clutch of deaths or a major gang clash to provide a sufficient head to generate concern and funding. Also, public funding in England has tended to follow major crime, rather than be aimed at lower-level incidents or social exclusion caused by territoriality, so less spectacular manifestations of this trend might be easier to overlook. In Scotland, the recently announced public funding

of 19 anti-gang projects was focused mainly in the Strathclyde and the Lothian and Borders areas, but also in more rural parts of Scotland, including the Highlands (Scottish Government, 2008b); again, this is but a weak guide to incidence. But we are on sure ground to say that this phenomenon is not confined to Glasgow and one or two other places, as might have appeared from previous literature.

Territoriality has some common factors across locations, but there are many variants in terms of levels of organisation, the extent to which violence is used, the breadth of coverage within the city (a few neighbourhoods, some or many) and the strength of connections to drug crime and 'gun crime'. It also clearly has strong associations with poverty and economic depression. Although our study was focused almost exclusively on deprived areas, in the three cities where we obtained a whole-city perspective it did not appear that territoriality, in the same problematic form at least, was much of a feature of the middle-income and better-off areas. This is not to say that there is no territoriality in middle-class areas, which are often well-known for defending their own interests and resisting outsiders. However, it probably does not manifest itself in inward-looking behaviour and physical conflict.

To an extent, this finding does not match that of Livingston *et al.* (2008) who were able to report that people in deprived areas were less attached to them than their counterparts in more affluent places, and that social mix was not associated with reduced attachment, and that the characteristic population churn of poorer areas undermined attachment. In our study, it appeared that, among people in deprived areas, there was fierce attachment. This apparent inconsistency may be a consequence of different research approaches but it leads to two possible avenues for further investigation. One distinction between the two studies is that ours is of young people and Livingston *et al.*'s (2008) is of adults, and perhaps they need to be reconciled. The second avenue is to examine more closely the particularities of places where problematic territoriality occurs.

The territories that young people defend and to which they are often confined are generally small, often very small. In a world that appears to offer many educational, job and leisure opportunities,

it was difficult to say which was more depressing – the relentless defence of a featureless piece of open space on the fringes of a Glasgow housing scheme where there is nothing whatsoever by way of amenities, or the confinement to a socially isolated but densely populated and built-up quarter-square-mile of London of young men for whom the culture and wealth of one of the world's great cities might as well be on another continent. Our conclusion is that territoriality accentuated inward-looking perspectives in areas that, in any case, had a high degree of social and economic isolation.

The case study areas were, though, quite varied in their built form including: high-density, flatted, inner-city estates; traditional, pre-1914 areas of terraced housing; and suburban, often council-built environments. The variety appears to confirm the notion that places are largely socially constructed rather than physically planned, although poor housing conditions and dreary surroundings were common to several of the case studies.

4. To understand who is affected by territoriality

We have focused here on male teenagers roughly between the ages of 13 and 17 as those most affected, which is consistent with other studies of 'gang' involvement. As with earlier studies, girls seem to have some involvement with territoriality but the consequences are less serious, in terms both of mobility and certainly of violence and criminality. The age range, combined with the lack of local alternative opportunities, is important to understand the appeal of territoriality. The mid-teen years are when young people are seeking alternative forms of identity from their families, who in any case might be unsupportive. The potential for excitement in being involved in conflict is also a draw.

It is apparent that the deeper the young person's involvement in territoriality, the more risk there is to his (or her) life chances. But, in many of the areas we looked at, it was hard for many of the young people to isolate themselves from the continual challenge of 'where are you from?' (or the local vernacular equivalent) as they tried to make their way around. However, because the young people who participated in the focus groups

were often associated with the anti-territorial projects in some way, even if they just took part in educational sessions as in some of the Glasgow cases, we did not necessarily get access to a representative selection of young people. We do suspect, however, that territoriality is widespread among young people in many deprived areas.

5. To consider its impacts on young people and on communities

The main impacts on young people can be summed up as being about limited mobility, reduced access to the amenities and services that mobility can facilitate, risks to the person through violence, the potential for involvement in criminality at minor and more major levels, and contact with the youth or criminal justice system.

While it is clear that the fear wrought by territorial conflict was an important reason for young people to confine themselves to a small turf, perhaps it could be better understood as a process that serves to exaggerate the underlying inward-looking tendencies among young people that are found in deprived areas (e.g. MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; Green and White, 2007). However, since territoriality did not feature in their studies, and other factors did not feature much in ours, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions.

It also seems that territoriality can have substantial effects on the communities where it is found, creating a climate of fear and sabotaging intergenerational relationships.

6. To consider the appropriateness of current responses to territoriality

Local authorities and third-sector organisations use a blend of pluralist and radical community development models to tackle territorial problems. The various approaches identified within the case studies appear to differ according to their ideas about the nature of territoriality and the severity of the situation. Where territorial attitudes are evident within communities, interventions such as diversion, education and association with young people from different areas might be effective. These types of responses act in different ways to change perceptions that young people have about both their own neighbourhoods and other locations within the cities where they live. However,

where there are serious conflicts between different areas, then conflict-resolution techniques come to the fore.

Community development can be effective in dealing with many of the underlying social reasons for territoriality discussed in the previous chapters, such as racism, boredom, peer pressure and ignorance of consequences of conflict. However, it is limited in addressing wider factors that shape territoriality, such as settlement patterns, deprivation and disconnectedness from the labour market.

Policy implications

The phenomenon we have explored here has not been examined much before, and certainly not as widely. We conclude it is real, complex, not trivial, certainly malign and probably widespread.

Territoriality has potential significance for a large number of themes in social and urban policy. However, recognition and understanding of it in policy circles appears to be at an early stage. In England, territoriality now has just started to be identified in key policy documents, as we discussed in Chapter 2, and a low level of penetration of its potential importance was also apparent in some interviews with policy-makers that we conducted. In Scotland, it has perhaps been recognised for slightly longer, but not always at a high level. This research has been exploratory and there are still many aspects of territoriality that are not well understood. However, we believe there is enough evidence here for the problem to be considered more fully, both as an underlying cause of the social exclusion and marginalisation of young people in deprived areas, and as a potential source of violent conflict.

The historical origins of territoriality that we discuss here in the report are sometimes obscure or even mythologised, but there is a strong sense across our case studies that the taproot of territorial conflict lies in the ways that particular areas of cities were settled by migrant groups, and not just where there are ethnic differences. We concur with the Community Cohesion Panel (2004) that more must be done to 'manage settlement' in the sense, not just of promoting a sense of citizenship, but also of working with local communities and providing sufficient

resources to accommodate the new needs of incomers while not ignoring the needs of existing populations. We are living now in an era of strong immigration, much of it from groups who have had no tradition of settlement in the UK. As with previous migrations, there are probably immediate advantages to migrants in settling in areas with other migrants (Robinson and Reeve, 2006), but this would appear to provide a new risk of future territorial conflict as settlement patterns begin to coalesce.

There is sometimes a conflation of territoriality with gangs, which is not without foundation in that some groups of young people who strongly identify with their place have a focus on violence, and there are signs of 'upward' connections to material crime in some locations. Importantly, though, we have shown here that territoriality is not all about high levels of violence and gangs. Our evidence demonstrates that there are substantial 'social exclusion' disadvantages to young people that come from living in areas where there is strongly embedded territorial behaviour, which means they are restricted within tight boundaries where opportunities are few. This merits a response in its own right, whatever the extent of 'upward' connections.

In many senses, territoriality is a product of disadvantage and a lack of opportunities, and it has a recursive effect that helps it to persist and therefore to accentuate disadvantage. The many policies and programmes that are designed to provide better support to vulnerable young people, better access to educational and job opportunities, more appropriate leisure facilities and support to their parents are certainly all to be welcomed. Territoriality is very much a product of life on the streets where young people satisfy their desires for friendship, association, freedom and challenge. The key is to provide better alternatives that offer the same qualities. The idea that young people should themselves have influence over youth services and facilities, which was a key concern of *Aiming High* (HM Treasury and DCSF, 2007a), is also valuable if, in practice, this really is a route to devising popular solutions. Territoriality is also fundamentally about the 'ownership' of space. There is always a dilemma about where youth services are to be provided and many will argue for localised provision. However, the logic of a

concern with 'inward-lookingness' and territoriality is to think about how services for young people might be developed that encourage more sense of integration across boundaries.

Attempts to renew disadvantaged neighbourhoods and (re)connect them to the mainstream are also valuable. Territoriality is a heightened expression of the strong place attachment that has often been found to be characteristic of poor neighbourhoods, whose introspection often looks irrational to outsiders, unaware of the bonding social capital that suffuses them and helps people 'get by'. For a while now, in England and Scotland, there has been a policy emphasis on creating 'mixed communities' in the face of long-term trends towards socio-spatial segregation. The core idea is to sponsor new forms of neighbourhood social dynamics, emphasising the importance of bridging social capital. From this research we can conclude that a consideration of problematic territoriality redoubles the desirability of developing social mix in residential areas and, within them, considering the institutions and spaces that are necessary to allow social mixing to occur. However, significantly differentiating the range of income levels in extensively deprived, deeply segregated areas such as in Glasgow or the East End of London where two of our case studies were based is a formidable challenge. Social mix policies need to face up to long-term social and economic trends, which are proving to be not easily upset by regeneration and land-use planning strategies, particularly in areas where long-standing concentrations of social housing continue to act as a receptacle of disadvantage (Hills, 2007; Kintrea, 2008, forthcoming).

Regarding the further impacts of territoriality, we distinguish between anti-social behaviour and violent disorder. Concerning anti-social behaviour, we did not find any particular evidence from the study that supported further 'Respect'-type initiatives, which were often believed by our respondents to be counter-productive, in line with some of the literature we mentioned in Chapter 2. Firmin *et al.* (2007) contend that 'Respect' relies on a view that youth culture is alien to mainstream society, whereas our research shows that territorial culture is embedded in widely shared values and motivations that surface in malign ways in

disadvantaged areas.

While the violence that was often associated with territorial conflict was itself rarely very distinctive (beatings, stabbings, etc.), and could be pigeonholed alongside the results of any after-hours city-centre fracas, its origins certainly were. This means that actions to address knife carrying or to reduce the abuse of alcohol among under-age drinkers (to highlight two current law and order themes) are unlikely to be effective in themselves against territorial violence in any fundamental way, even if they reduce harm somewhat, as the causes are far more fundamental.

Of course there has to be an important role for 'clamp-downs' on violent disorder and criminal behaviour in the streets where public safety is threatened and communities are frightened. There is some inevitability that the 'negative youth associations' most focused on by government are the ones where the level of violence is extreme, because there is high public concern and strong media attention. Murders of young men – often boys, in fact – stand out starkly, perhaps especially when other kinds of crime figures appear to be falling. There are now very pressing concerns about gangs and 'gun crime' in several English cities and conjoined, interagency strategies for prevention and for law enforcement are recommended by the Home Office (2008b). The use of knives has also surfaced as a key concern in England, while there is longer-standing concern in Scotland about persistent knife crime and the association between gangs and knife carrying.

It is reasonably apparent from other research in England that some of the most violent gangs who use guns – mostly on each other – have a neighbourhood origin, even if they are now not fully territorial in their activities (Bullock and Tilley, 2002; Pitts, 2007; Aldridge and Medina, 2008). Our research also suggests that involvement in territoriality for individuals can be a ramp to involvement in violent and criminally intentioned gangs, and that territorial behaviour in a neighbourhood can become more virulent and violent over time. While not enough is known about these processes, it would seem useful to concentrate more resources on 'anti-territorial projects'.

As far as we can see, the kind of 'anti-territorial' projects that were at the core of our

case studies appear to be appropriate and effective responses, although we have not carried out a full evaluation by any means. Like other types of community work, the projects tend to tackle symptoms rather than underlying causes, but that does not mean they are not worth doing, and they appear to have the potential to deter or deflect involvement in territoriality, at least for those who are not too deeply embedded. Across the UK, there are hundreds of local projects that can be described as 'anti-territorial' in some sense; certainly far more than we expected at the outset of the study. They are funded from a wide range of government as well as charitable sources. New funding, such as the recent government initiative in Scotland, means that new projects will come on stream and existing old ones will be continued.

It is striking how opportunistic, temporary and randomly distributed many of these projects seem to be. Our fieldwork also showed they were isolated and fragmented; some have had little opportunity to learn from each other, although regional forums have now started to develop, for example through the Youth Justice Board, and conferences for practitioners and policy-makers around gangs have started to take place. There is also a useful toolkit available on conflict resolution (Feinstein and Kuumba, 2006), based on local experiences of gangs and territoriality. It appeared that many projects were bottom-up and often community-based, which provides good promise of relevance to local concerns, but at the same time they were usually built on insecure and temporary funding streams. Current proposals in England to strengthen partnerships in youth services, improve the workforce, pull together funding streams and encourage high-quality strategies at local authority level are certainly to be welcomed.

Across the whole field of policies for young people at a national level in England, it is quite hard to make sense of the range of relevant targets, policies, plans, action plans, strategies, pilots, programmes and projects, which all seem forever in flux. Responsibility crosses over between several government departments and government agencies. Clearly, we have not researched the governance of youth policy, and it might be no worse or no better than any other area of policy, but there must be risks, at least, of a lack of

coherence. The complexity of the field means that there is some inevitability that policy-makers working from one perspective will struggle to know about all of the relevant schemes and initiatives emanating from other departments.

Future directions

This has been an exploratory study, and it is worth highlighting some areas for future research. Three areas in particular stand out.

First, while we believe that territoriality is an important limiting factor in the lives of many young people in deprived areas, its full incidence and scale are still unknown. It would be worthwhile doing similar research in more locations and to consider more fully the geography of territoriality across cities. It would also be useful to get a more comprehensive view of how many young people are involved, what their backgrounds are, the extent of their involvement and the impacts they experience. This probably means some kind of survey-type research. Given the existing problems of gathering data on the phenomenon of gangs through surveys, definitions of territoriality would have to be watertight and survey questions fully tested.

Second, while research that seeks to better understand gangs as a source of violence and crime is now emerging, it would appear also to be a vital enterprise to try to find out more about the neighbourhood territorial roots of gangs. The study shows that young people using the streets as a place to assemble often escalates to them physical defending those neighbourhoods through the fairly routine use of violence. The study also suggests that this in turn can form the basis of territorial drugs gangs and associated inter-gang violence using weapons. This would be challenging research to undertake, ideally requiring the use of deep ethnographic methods and exposure to groups of young people over a period of time.

Third, if, as appears to be the case, there is a rising number of 'anti-territorial projects' operating across the UK, it would be a good idea to take a closer look at 'what works'. It is fine for *Tackling Gangs* (Home Office, 2008b) and conferences for professionals to promote some examples of projects that appear to be successful, but there has been no national evaluation of impacts (although some individual projects have been evaluated) and no assessment and dissemination of best practice, except for Feinstein and Kuumba's (2006) conflict-resolution toolkit.

Notes

Chapter 3

1. Each quote has a case study identifier attributed to it: BD Bradford, B Bristol, GL Glasgow, PB Peterborough, SU Sunderland and TH Tower Hamlets. Interviewees are identified with a number, while data from focus groups is identified with a number prefixed with FG. BDFG 4 and 5 were carried out in a town outlying Bradford but still captured in the local authority area.

Chapter 5

1. A similar, four-level gang intervention model has been developed independently by Pitts (2007).

References

- Adamson, S. (2003a) *Youth Crime: Offender Based Approaches to Reduction*. Research Report 4, New Deal for Communities National Evaluation. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University
- Adamson, S. (2003b) *Youth Crime: Diversionary Approaches to Reduction*. Research Report 5, New Deal for Communities National Evaluation. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University
- Aldridge, J. and Medina, J. (2008) *Youth Gangs in an English City: Social Exclusion, Drugs and Violence*. Research Report ESRC RES- 000 23-0615. Manchester: University of Manchester
- Ardrey, R. (1967) *The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Origins of Property and Nations*. Glasgow: Fontana
- Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2003) *Locating the Local in Informal Processes of Social Control: The Defended Neighbourhood and Informal Crime Management*. CNR Paper 10. Bristol: ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research
- Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2004) "Opportunities and despair, it's all in there": practitioner experiences and explanations of area effects and life chances', *Sociology*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 437–55
- Bairner, A. and Shirlow, P. (2003) 'When leisure turns to fear: fear, mobility, and ethno-sectarianism in Belfast', *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 230–21
- Bannister, J., Fyfe, N. and Kearns, A. (2006) 'Respectable or respectful? (In)civility in the city', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43, Nos 5/6, pp. 919–37
- Bennet, T. and Holloway, K. (2004) 'Gang membership, drugs and crime in the UK', *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 44, pp. 305–23
- Boal, A. (1992) *Games for Actors and Non-actors*. London: Routledge
- Bristol City Council (2007) 'Statistics and census information: deprivation', <http://bristol.gov.uk/council-democracy/statistics-census-information> (accessed 28 June 2007)
- Bullock, K. and Tilley, N. (2002) *Shootings, Gangs and Violent Incidents in Manchester: Developing a Crime Reduction Strategy*. Crime Reduction Research Series Report 13. London: Home Office
- Cahill, C. (2000) 'Street literacy: urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their neighbourhood', *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 251–77
- Caldwell, C., McCann, G., Flower, C. and Howie, J. (2003) *Have You Been PA'd?: Using Participatory Appraisal to Shape Local Services*. Glasgow: Oxfam GB
- Campbell, B. (1993) *Goliath: Britain's Dangerous Places*. London: Methuen
- Census (2001) www.scotland.gov.uk; www.statistics.gov.uk/census/default.asp (accessed 28 April 2008)
- Childress, H. (2004) 'Teenagers, territory and the appropriation of space', *Childhood*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 195–205
- Community Cohesion Panel (2004) *The End of Parallel Lives: The Report of the Community Cohesion Panel*. London: Home Office
- Community Cohesion Review Team (2001) *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. Chaired by Ted Cattle. London: Home Office
- Damer, S. (1989) *From Moorepark to Wine Alley: The Rise and Fall of a Glasgow Housing Scheme*. Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press

- DCLG (Department of Communities and Local Government) (2008) *The English Indices of Deprivation 2007*, www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/733520 (accessed 28 April 2008)
- DCSF (Department for Children, Schools and Families) (2007) *The Children's Plan: Building a Brighter Future*. Cm. 7280. London: DCSF
- DCSF (Department for Children, Schools and Families) (2008) *Youth Taskforce Action Plan*. London: DCSF
- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2005) *Youth Matters*. Green Paper. London: DfES
- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2006) *Youth Matters: Next Steps: Something to Do, Somewhere to Go, Someone to Talk to*. London: DfES
- Esbensen, F., Winfree, L.T., He, N. and Taylor, T.J. (2001) 'Youth gangs and definitional issues: when is a gang a gang, and why does it matter?', *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 105–30
- Feinstein, J. and Kuumba, N.I. (2006) *Working with Gangs and Young People: A Toolkit for Resolving Group Conflict*. London: LEAP Confronting Conflict
- Firmin, C., Turner, R. and Gavrileides, T. (2007) *Building Bridges Project: Empowering Young People through Human Rights Values: Fighting the Knife Culture*. London: Race on the Agenda
- Fitzpatrick, S. (2000) *Young Homeless People*. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Fitzpatrick, S. (2005) *Poverty of Place*. Lecture to the Centenary Conference. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Fitzpatrick, S., Hastings, A. and Kintrea, K. (1998) *Including Young People in Regeneration: A Lot to Learn?* Bristol: The Policy Press
- Flint, J., Atkinson, R. and Scott, S. (2003) *A Report on the Consultation Responses to Putting our Communities First: A Strategy for tackling Anti-social Behaviour*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. (1999) *Joined Up Places: Social Cohesion and Neighbourhood Regeneration*. York: York Publishing Services/ Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Freire, P. (1972) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Furlong, A., Cartmel, F., Biggart, A., Sweeting, H. and West, P. (2003) *Youth Transitions: Patterns of Vulnerability and Processes of Social Inclusion*. Edinburgh: Central Research Unit, Scottish Executive
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gore, T., Fothergill, S., Hollywood, E., Lindsay, C., Morgan, K., Powell, R. and Upton, S. (2007) *Coalfields and Neighbouring Cities: Economic Regeneration, Labour Markets and Governance*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Green, A. and White, R. (2007) *Attachment to Place: Social Networks, Mobility and Prospects for Young People*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Gustafson, P. (2001) 'Roots and routes: exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility', *Environment and Behaviour*, Vol. 33, No. 5, pp. 667–86
- Hall, T., Coffey, A. and Williamson, H. (1999) 'Self, space and place: youth identities and citizenship', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 501–13
- Hallsworth, S. and Young, T. (2004) 'Getting real about gangs', *Criminal Justice Matters*, Vol. 55, pp. 12–13
- Hills, J. (2007) *Ends and Means: The Future of Social Housing in England*. CASE report 34. London: Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics

- HM Treasury and DCSF (2007a) *Aiming High for Young People: A Ten Year Strategy for Positive Activities*. London: HM Treasury and DCSF
- HM Treasury and DCSF (2007b) *Policy Review for Children and Young People*. London: HM Treasury and DCSF
- Holland, C., Clark, A., Katz, J. and Peace, S. (2007) *Social Interactions in Urban Public Places*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Home Affairs Select Committee (2007) *Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System*. London: Home Affairs Select Committee
- Home Office (2005) *Improving Opportunities: Strengthening Society*. London: Home Office
- Home Office (2007) *National Community Safety Plan*. London: Home Office
- Home Office (2008a) *Saving Lives, Reducing Harm: Protecting the Public: An Action Plan for Tackling Violence, 2008–2011*. London: Home Office
- Home Office (2008b) *Tackling Gangs: A Practical Guide for Local Authorities, CDRPs and Other Local Partners*. London: Home Office
- Jones, D. (2002) 'Questioning New Labour's youth justice strategy: a review article', *Youth Justice*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 14–26
- Karsten, L. (2005) 'It all used to be better? Different generations on continuity and change in urban children's daily use of space', *Children's Geographies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 275–90
- Karsten, L. and Pel, E.S. (2000) 'Skateboarders exploring urban public space: ollies, obstacles and conflicts', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 327–40
- Katz, J. (1988) *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions of Doing Evil*. New York: Basic Books
- Kintrea, K. (2008, forthcoming) 'Social housing and spatial segregation', in S. Fitzpatrick and M. Stephens (eds) *The Social Housing Settlement after Hills*. London: Shelter
- Kintrea, K. and Suzuki, N. (2008, forthcoming) 'Too much cohesion? Young people's territoriality in Glasgow and Edinburgh', in J. Flint and D. Robinson (eds) *Community Cohesion in Crisis? New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Leap (2007) *Gangs Activity Spectrum*. London: Leap Confronting Conflict
- Ledwith, M. (2005) *Community Development: A Critical Approach*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Livingston, M., Bailey, N. and Kearns, A. (2008) *Place Attachment, Neighbourhood Instability and Social Mix*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing
- Low, S. and Altman, I. (1992) 'Place attachment: a conceptual inquiry', in I. Altman and S. Low (eds) *Place Attachment*. London: Plenum Press
- MacAskill, K. (2008) 'Tackling Scotland's gang culture', www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2008/02/14091920 (accessed 5 May 2008)
- MacDonald, R. and Marsh, J. (2005) *Disconnected Youth? Growing up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T. Webster, C. and Simpson, D. (2005) 'Growing up in poor neighbourhoods: the significance of class and place in the extended transitions of "socially excluded" adults', *Sociology*, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 873–91
- Marshall, M., Frazer, S., Smith, I., Fuller, C., Geddes, M., Ardron, R., Truin, P., Davidson, G. and Robinson, F. (2004) *Young People in NDC Areas: Findings from Six Case Studies*. Research Report 20, New Deal for Communities National Evaluation. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University

- Meen, G., Gibb, K., Goody, J., McGrath, T. and Mackinnon, J. (2005) *Economic Segregation in England: Causes, Consequences and Policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Mesch, G. and Manor, O. (1998) 'Social ties, environmental perception and local attachment', *Environment and Behaviour*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 504–19
- Mizen, P. (2003) 'The best days of your life? Youth, policy and Blair's New Labour', *Critical Social Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 453–76
- National Statistics (2008) www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/ (accessed 20 February 2008)
- Noble, M., Smith, G., Wright, G., Dibben, C., Lloyd, M., Ratcliffe, A., McLellan, D., Sigala, M. and Anttila, C. (2003) *Scottish Indices of Deprivation 2003*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Noble, M., Wright, G., Dibben, C., Smith, G., McLennan, D., Anttila, C., Barnes, H., Mokhtar, C., Noble, S., Avenell, D., Gardner, J., Covizzi, I. and Lloyd, M. (2004) *The English Indices of Deprivation (Revised)*. London: ODPM
- ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2004) *Briefing Note on Changes to PSA 1 and Floor Targets as a Result of the Spending Review 2004*. London: ODPM
- Pain, R. and Francis, R. (2004) 'Living with crime: spaces of risk for young homeless people', *Children's Geographies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 95–110
- Pitts, J. (2007) *Reluctant Gangsters: Youth Gangs in Waltham Forest*, www.walthamforest.gov.uk/reluctant-gangsters.pdf (accessed 25 February 2008)
- Povey, D., Coleman, K., Kaiza, P., Hoare, J. and Jansson, K. (2008) *Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2006/07*. London: Home Office, www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb0308.pdf
- Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion
- Respect Task Force (2006) *Respect Action Plan*. London: Home Office
- Robertson, D., Smyth, J. and McIntosh, I. (2008) *Neighbourhood Identity, People, Place and Time*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Robinson, C. (2000) 'Creating space, creating self: street frequenting youth in the city and suburbs', *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 429–43
- Robinson, D. and Reeve, K. (2006) *Neighbourhood Experiences of New Immigration*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Rogers, R. (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance: Final Report of the Urban Task Force Chaired by Lord Rogers of Riverside*. London: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
- Rogers, R. (2005) *Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance: An Independent Report by Members of the Urban Task Force Chaired by Lord Rogers of Riverside*. London: Urban Task Force
- Sack, R.D. (1986) *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Savage, M., Bagnall, G. and Longhurst, M. (2005) *Globalisation and Belonging*. London: Sage
- Scottish Development Centre for Mental Health, Scottish Council Foundation and OPM (2003) *Building Community Well-being: An Exploration of Themes and Issues*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive (2003) *Building Community Well Being: An Exploration of Themes and Issues*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive

- Scottish Executive (2006) *Sectarianism: Action Plan on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive (2007) *Moving Forward: A Strategy for Improving Young People's Chances through Youth Work*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive Effective Interventions Unit (2003) *Services for Young People with Problematic Drugs Misuse*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2003) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series: October 2003, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2004) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series: October 2004, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2005) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series: October 2005, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2006a) *SIMD 2006 General Report*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2006b) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series: October 2006, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive
- Scottish Executive National Statistics (2007) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series, October 2007, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/214670/0057270.pdf
- Scottish Government (2007) *Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Series: October 2007, Recorded Crimes and Offences Involving Firearms*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government National Statistics
- Scottish Government (2008a) *Purpose and Strategic Objectives*, www.scotland.gov.uk/About/purposestratobj (accessed 18 April 2008)
- Scottish Government (2008b) 'Tackling Scotland's gang culture', press release, www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2008/04/14095308 (accessed 26 August 2008)
- Scottish National Statistics (2008) www.sns.gov.uk/AnRep/AreaTree.asp (accessed 20 February 2008)
- Seaman, P., Turner, K., Hill, M., Stafford, A. and Walker, M. (2006) *Parenting and Children's Resilience in Disadvantaged Communities*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Sharp, C., Aldridge, J. and Medina, J. (2006) *Delinquent Youth Groups and Offending Behaviour: Findings from the 2004 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey*, www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/youth/youth72.htm (accessed 23 February 2008)
- Simpson, L. (2004) 'Statistics of racial segregation: measures, evidence and policy', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3, pp. 661–81
- Smith, D. (2005) 'Contemporary youth justice: continuities and contradictions', in M. Barry (ed.) *Youth Policy and Social Inclusion: Critical Debates with Young People*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Smith, D. and Bradshaw, P. (2005) *Gang Membership and Teenage Offending*. Edinburgh: Centre for Law and Society, University of Edinburgh
- Social Exclusion Unit (2005) *Transitions: Young Adults with Complex Needs*. London: ODPM
- Sullivan, M. (2005) 'Maybe we shouldn't study "Gangs": Does reification obscure youth violence?', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 170–90
- Suttles, G. (1972) *The Social Construction of Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Suzuki, N. (2007) 'Sport and neighbourhood regeneration: exploring the mechanisms of social inclusion through sport', PhD thesis, Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow
- Thomson, J. and Philo, C. (2005) 'Playful spaces? A social geography of children's play in Livingston, Scotland', *Children's Geographies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 111–30
- Tucker, F. and Matthews, H. (2001) "'They don't like girls hanging around there": conflicts over recreational space in rural Northamptonshire', *Area*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 161–8
- Turner, J. and Pilling, A. (1999) 'Integrating young people into integrated transport: a community-based approach to increase travel awareness', paper presented at PTRC Young People and Transport Conference, Manchester, 24 November
- Violence Reduction Unit (2006) *Reducing Violence: An Alliance for a Safer Future*. Glasgow: Violence Reduction Unit
- Wallace, D. and Coburn, A. (2002) "'Space – the final frontier": an exploration of territoriality and young people', *Scottish Youth Issues Journal*, Vol. 5, pp. 73–92
- Watt, P. and Stenson, K. (1998) 'The street: it's a bit dodgy around there: safety, danger, ethnicity and young people's use of public space', in T. Skelton and G. Valentine (eds) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. London: Routledge
- Watts, B. (2008) *What are Today's Social Evils? The Results of a Web Consultation*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Williamson, H. (1999) 'Self, space and place: youth identities and citizenship', *British Journal of the Sociology of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 501–14
- Williamson, H. (2005) 'Young people and social inclusion – an overview of policy', in M. Barry (ed.) *Youth Policy and Social Inclusion: Critical Debates with Young People*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Worpole, K. and Knox, K. (2007) *The Social Value of Public Spaces*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Young, T., FitzGerald, M., Hallsworth, S. and Joseph, I. (2007) *Groups, Gangs and Weapons*. London: Youth Justice Board

Appendix

Profile of selected projects and cities

Introduction

This appendix presents selected demographic, socio-economic and crime data for the cities in which these projects are based. This data reflects the incidence and distribution of deprivation in the different cities and provides key measures of violent crime. Cross-city comparisons are made at the end of the appendix, highlighting the varied urban contexts in which this research has been carried out.

Glasgow

Demography

The City of Glasgow is located in the central belt of Scotland and has a population of 577,869, with 12.7 per cent of the population aged between 10 and 19 years (Census, 2001). The vast majority of people living in Glasgow are white (94.5 per cent of the total population). The largest minority ethnic group is Asian or Asian British, accounting for 3.8 per cent of the population. This pattern is intensified in the part of the city served by the project, with an even larger majority of white people resident (99.1 per cent).

Deprivation

Glasgow exhibits a relatively poor performance across a range of deprivation measures. Almost half (48 per cent) of the data zones in Glasgow fall within the 15 per cent most deprived zones in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006 – the highest local share of any Scottish local authority. This is reflected in large concentrations of deprivation throughout the city. Furthermore, Glasgow has the highest national share (34 per cent) of the most deprived 15 per cent data zones in Scotland (Scottish Executive National Statistics, 2006a, pp. 5–6).

Crime

Glasgow has far higher reported crime rates than Scotland as a whole. Of particular interest for this study is the level of violent crime. During 2006–07 there were 34 serious assaults per 10,000 people in Glasgow compared with 13 across Scotland. Reporting of crimes of non-sexual violence was also much greater, with a rate of 70 per 10,000 in Glasgow, more than double the Scottish rate of 28. Glasgow had 52 recorded incidents involving offensive weapons per 10,000 people, again more than double the Scottish rate of 20. Around half of the firearm offences in Scotland are committed in the Strathclyde police area, in which Glasgow is located. There were 397 recorded crimes in Scotland in 2006–07 in which a firearm (excluding air weapons) was alleged to have been used,¹ compared with 196 in Strathclyde alone (Scottish Government, 2007, p. 18).

Bradford

Demography

Bradford is located in West Yorkshire and has a population of 467,665. Those aged between 10 and 19 make up 14.5 per cent of the population. Around three-quarters of the city's population (78.3 per cent) is white. The Asian or Asian British population in Bradford is the largest minority ethnic group. This population has risen to 18.9 per cent from 16 per cent as reported by the 1991 Census.

Deprivation

Bradford is ranked 32 out of 354 local authority districts on the overall Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2007, with income domain and employment domain ranks of 4 and 6 respectively (DCLG, 2008). Thus, there are areas of severe deprivation and these tend to be clustered in central parts of the city.

Crime

Bradford had 206 reported cases of violence against the person per 10,000 people in 2006–07. This included five acts of serious wounding or other acts endangering lives and 106 other wounding offences per 10,000 people. Bradford is located within the West Yorkshire police area where there were 319 firearm offences (excluding

air weapons) in 2006–07 – 15 reported incidents per 100,000 population (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

Bristol

Demography

Bristol is situated in the South West of England and has a population of 380,615, with 12.7 per cent aged between 10 and 19 (Census, 2001). The white population accounts for 91.8 per cent of residents. The next largest group is Asian or Asian British (2.9 per cent), followed by black or black British (2.3 per cent), mixed ethnicity (2.1 per cent) and Chinese or other ethnic groups (0.9 per cent) (Census, 2001).

Deprivation

Bristol has some of the most severely deprived areas in South West England and is ranked 64 out of 354 on the overall IMD 2007, and 15 and 10 in the income and employment domains respectively. The areas of severe deprivation are scattered across the city and often lie adjacent to some of the least deprived areas in the country (DCLG, 2008).

Crime

In 2006–07, there were 335 reported crimes of violence against the person per 10,000 populations in Bristol, the highest among the English locations discussed in this report. This included six serious wounding offences and 139 other wounding offences per 10,000 people. There were also 138 firearm offences (excluding air weapons) in the Avon and Somerset police area in 2006–07 – that is, nine reported incidents per 100,000 population (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

Peterborough

Demography

Peterborough is approximately 85 miles from London. The population is 156,061, with 13.4 per cent aged between 10 and 19 (Census, 2001). The white population accounts for 89.7 per cent of residents. Asian or Asian British people account for the largest minority ethnic group in the area, making up 7 per cent of the total population (Census, 2001).

Deprivation

Peterborough is ranked 90 out of 354 English local authority districts on the IMD 2007, with income domain and employment domain ranks of 76 and 91 respectively. Deprivation is concentrated in specific wards central to the city, contrasting with relative affluence moving out onto the edges of the city (DCLG, 2008).

Crime

Peterborough has a higher level of violent assaults per 10,000 people than the recorded rate for England as a whole. In 2005–06, the city saw 266 reported cases of violence against the person, compared with 202 per 10,000 for England. Compared with the police areas for other cities described here, Cambridgeshire has a relatively low number of reported firearm offences. In 2006–07, there were 24 reported firearm offences (excluding air weapons) – only three offences per 100,000 population (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

Tower Hamlets

Demography

Tower Hamlets is located in North East London, with a population of 196,106. Around a fifth of the population (21 per cent) are less than 15 years old (Census, 2001.). The borough has a diverse ethnic make-up, with white people accounting for just 51 per cent of the population. Over a third of people living in the borough are Asian or Asian British (36.6 per cent), with 6.5 per cent of the population being black or black British. Around 3 per cent are from Chinese and other ethnic groups, and people from mixed ethnic backgrounds account for 2.5 per cent of the population (Census, 2001).

Deprivation

Tower Hamlets has very high levels of deprivation, ranked 3 out of 354 English local authority districts on the IMD 2007, with the income domain and employment domains ranked 8 and 36 respectively (DCLG, 2008). Tower Hamlets, along with Newham and Hackney, contains the majority of London's share of the 10 per cent most deprived standard output areas (SOAs) (Noble *et al.*, 2004).

Crime

There were 394 reported crimes of violence against the person per 10,000 population in 2006–07. Included within this figure were seven serious wounding offences and 147 other wounding offences per 10,000. These are all higher than the reported crime rates for London. There were 3,331 reported firearm offences (excluding air weapons) in the London region 2006–07 – 44 offences per 100,000 population (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57). This represents the highest rate of firearm offences in England, Scotland and Wales (Scottish Government, 2007; Povey *et al.*, 2008). Nationally, only Greater Manchester and the West Midlands have comparable levels of gun crime, with 39 and 38 recorded incidents per 100,000 population in 2006–07 (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

Sunderland

Demography

Sunderland, located on the north east English coast, has a population of 280,807, of which 13.7 per cent are aged between 10 and 19. The city's population is declining overall, with numbers of older people increasing as a proportion of the total population. Sunderland has the least diverse population of the cities – 98.14 per cent are white, 1 per cent are Asian or Asian British and less than 1 per cent are from other ethnic groups (Census, 2001).

Deprivation

Sunderland suffers significant deprivation, with a rank of 35 on the IMD 2007. The city has respective ranks of 24 and 7 within the income and employment domains. Areas suffering most severe deprivation tend to be clustered to the north east and south of the city, with a cluster also present in the west of the city.

Crime

Sunderland has the lowest number of violent crimes against the person among the English cities considered here, with 196 reported incidents per 10,000 in 2006–07. However, this is roughly equivalent to the overall rate for England of 199. This includes two serious wounding offences and 112 other wounding offences per 10,000 people.

The police force area of Northumbria, where Sunderland is located, had 111 reported firearm offences (excluding air weapons) in 2006–07, with eight offences per 10,000 population (Povey *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

City-level comparison

This research has explored the issue of territoriality for young people in varied urban contexts. Having presented a brief summary of relevant demographic and socio-economic measures for each city, the following offers a graphic comparison of the six cities.

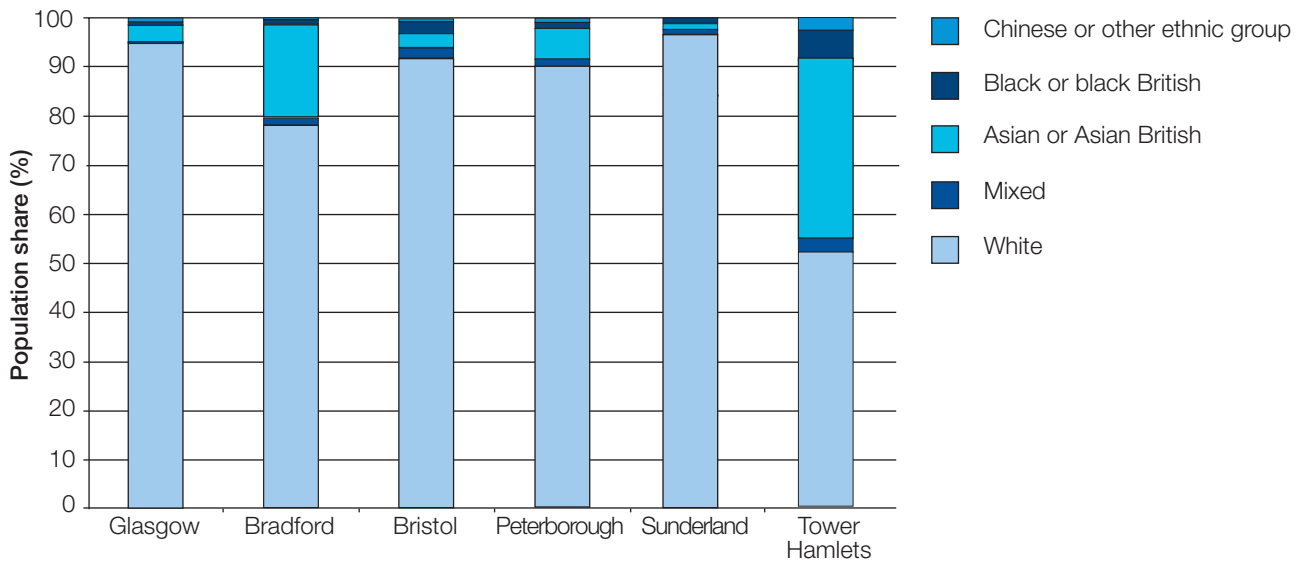
The cities have varying degrees of diversity. As Figure A1 illustrates, around a quarter of the populations in London and Bradford are made up from minority ethnic groups. Peterborough and Bristol are less diverse, yet both still have a relatively large presence of minority ethnic groups, accounting for around a tenth of the cities' populations.

Glasgow has notably less diversity among its population, with around 5 per cent coming from minority ethnic groups. Sunderland is comparatively homogeneous, with over 98 per cent of the population identifying themselves as white. It should be noted that these figures are based on the 2001 Census and consequently may not accurately reflect current patterns of diversity within the case study cities. There is slight variation in terms of the proportions of young people in each city, as shown in Figure A2 (Census, 2001).

All of the case study areas have significant concentrations of deprivation, particularly Glasgow and London. Glasgow has the highest local and national shares of the most deprived 15 per cent data zones in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2006, while the London location is within the ten most deprived local authorities in the IMD 2004. Sunderland and Bradford are also in the most deprived decile for local authorities in the IMD 2004, while Bristol is ranked 67 and Peterborough 100. With the exception of Bristol, all of the English case study cities have unemployment rates higher than the national figure.

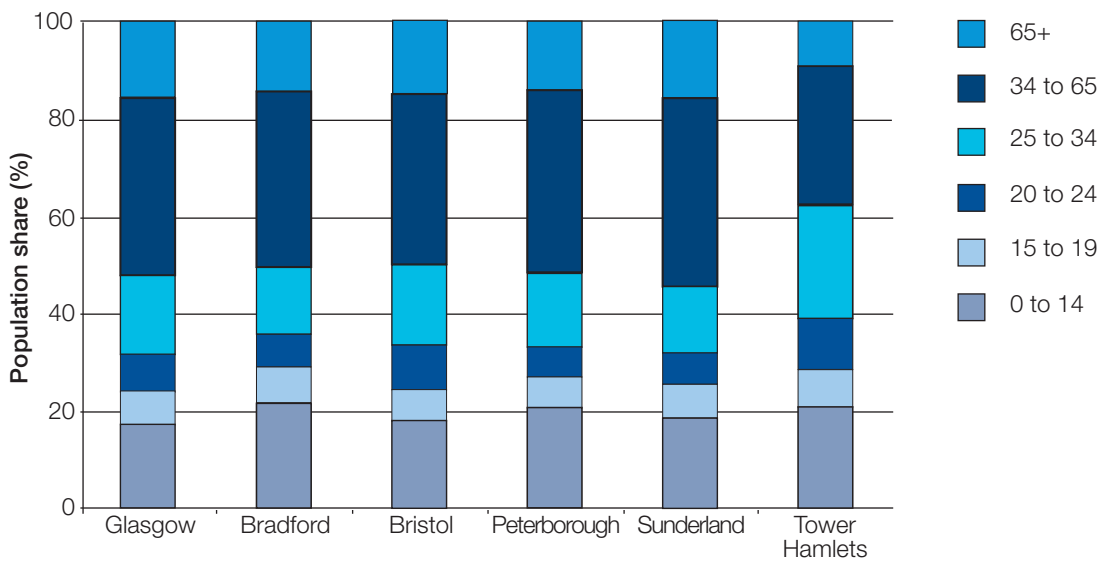
The collection of crime data in Scotland and England differs and so it is difficult to make a direct comparison between Glasgow and the other

Figure A1: Ethnicity



Source: Census (2001).

Figure A2: Age



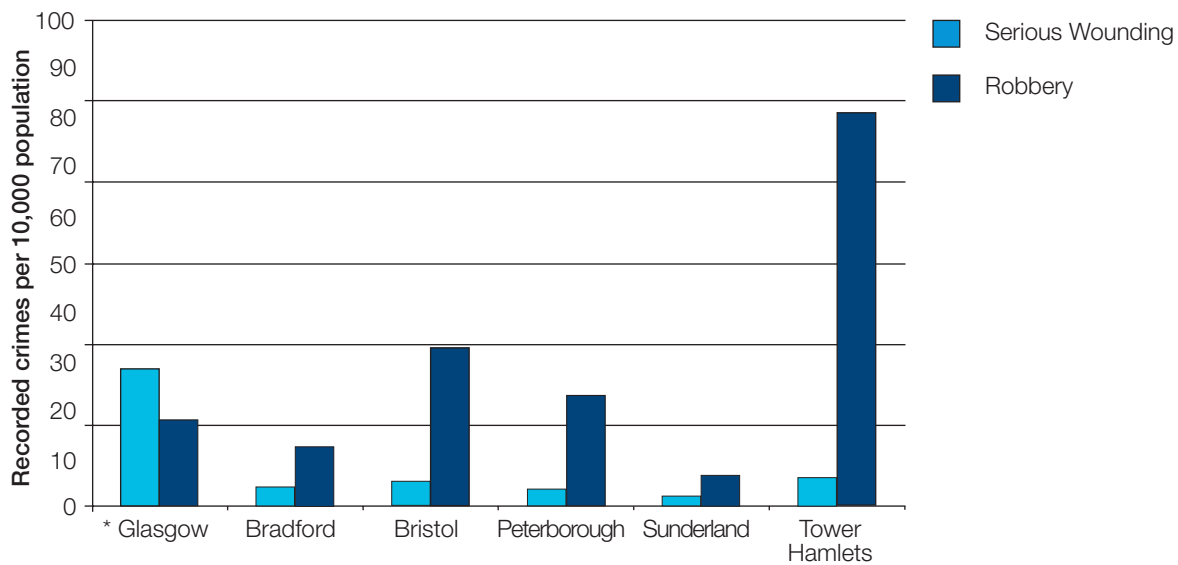
Source: Census (2001).

cities. For example, Figure A3 illustrates crime rates per 10,000 population across the cities for serious wounding and robbery. ‘Serious wounding’ captures data recorded in England under the heading ‘More serious wounding or other act endangering life’, which measures vicious intent to cause grievous bodily harm to another person. The Glasgow figure is drawn from the ‘Serious assault’ indicator, which also includes murder and culpable homicide. Thus, the Glasgow figure in Figure A3 might be inflated to some extent. That

said, the figures would seem to tentatively suggest that Glasgow experiences higher rates of serious violence than the other case study areas.

Sunderland generally has the lowest crime rates among the case study areas, with the exception of firearms, which are recorded by police area. As Figure A3 and Table A1 show, Tower Hamlets has by far the highest level of robberies and the region of London has the highest level of firearm offences (excluding air weapons).

Figure A3: Selected crime rates across case study cities, 2006–07



* Glasgow figure for serious wounding may be inflated because of different recording procedures.
Source: Scottish Executive National Statistics (2007); Scottish National Statistics (2008).

However, the longitudinal data shown in Table A1 shows that, while recorded firearm offences are relatively stable across Northumbria, West Yorkshire and Avon and Somerset from 2002–03 to 2006–07, London has seen a decrease of nearly a thousand recorded incidences within the five-year period, while the Cambridgeshire offences have more than halved, albeit with very small actual numbers. However, the firearm offences for Strathclyde have nearly doubled since 2002. London has by far the highest firearm offences per 100,000 people, while Cambridgeshire has the lowest.

With the exception of Sunderland, all of the case study areas experience a higher volume of crime than the relevant national rates in England and Wales and Scotland.

Note

1. This figure captures intent to endanger life, commit crime and cause fear of violence, but does not include miscellaneous offences such as possession and distribution of firearms.

Table A1: Firearm offences (excluding air weapons) by police force area: 2002–03 to 2006–07

	Total number of offences					Offences per 100,000 population 2006–07
	2002–03	2003–04	2004–05	2005–06	2006–07	
Strathclyde (Glasgow)	107	77	88	139	196	9
Northumbria (Sunderland)	103	169	182	137	111	8
West Yorkshire (Bradford)	333	269	318	355	319	15
Cambridgeshire (Peterborough)	57	34	50	34	24	3
London region	4,202	3,891	3,697	3,884	3,331	44
Avon and Somerset (Bristol)	119	123	196	167	138	9

Source: Scottish Executive National Statistics (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006b); Scottish Government (2007); Home Office (2008c).

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has supported this project as part of its programme of research and innovative development projects, which it hopes will be of value to policy makers, practitioners and service users. The facts presented and views expressed in this report are, however, those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Foundation.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation
The Homestead
40 Water End
York YO30 6WP
www.jrf.org.uk

Further copies of this report, or any other JRF publication, can be obtained from the JRF website (www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/).

A CIP catalogue record for this report is available from the British Library.

© University of Glasgow 2008.

First published 2008 by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

All rights reserved. Reproduction of this report by photocopying or electronic means for non-commercial purposes is permitted. Otherwise, no part of this report may be reproduced, adapted, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise without the prior written permission of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

ISBN: 978-185935-676-0 (pdf)

Designed by Draught Associates
Typeset by
York Publishing Services Ltd



**Available in
other formats**

Working Towards



Investors in Diversity

www.iiduk.com



**University
of Glasgow**

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Katharine Knox, our research manager at the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, for her support and guidance throughout the study.

The Project Advisory Group members were Barry Anderson, John Carnochan, Jessie Feinstein, Alan France, Anne Green and Viv McKee. We are grateful for their keen interest in the study, their invaluable guidance on our research approach and their insightful comments on earlier drafts.

We would not have been able to conduct the study at all without the assistance of the six case study projects and their managers, and to them we offer many thanks.

We also acknowledge the useful inputs of a wide range of individuals who spent time with us and helped us make the connections between our study and current public policy concerns about young people and disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

About the authors

Keith Kintrea and Jon Bannister are Senior Lecturers, Jon Pickering is a Lecturer and Maggie Reid is a Research Fellow at the Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow.

Naofumi Suzuki is an Assistant Professor at the University of Tokyo.

