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Policing and the Youth Question: Civil Society and the State in the Urban Periphery in Ireland

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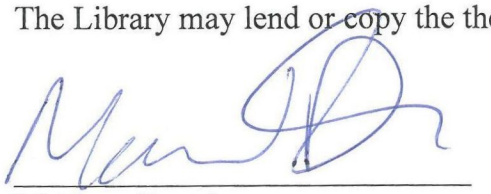
A dissertation submitted to the Department of Sociology, School of Social Science and Philosophy, University of Dublin, Trinity College, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of Doctor in Philosophy

March 2008

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other University and that it is entirely my own work.

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Matthew Bowden

10 March 2008

Summary

This thesis is an exploration of the relations between state and civil society actors involved in the local governance of youth crime and disorder in urban peripheral settings in Ireland. The dissertation aims to develop a distinct theoretical framework and methodology for the analysis of youth crime and disorder prevention. The theoretical schema has been developed by drawing from the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, from Critical and Realist Criminology, and the social theory of space within the urban sociological tradition. Youth crime and disorder prevention, it is argued, takes place in a politico-cultural field in which actors compete for social and cultural capital and for the right to legitimately define reality. The thesis argues for a relational approach to an understanding of state strategies in the governance of urban youth crime and disorder.

The dissertation explores whether the governance of youth crime and disorder reproduces existing power relations or whether they provide models for forms of discursive communication. To achieve this, the research examines the motivations of youth crime and disorder prevention promoters together with the form of curricular content, pedagogic relations and forms of network governance.

The research is comprised of theoretically linked case studies and utilises qualitative interviewing with key informants drawn from an archive of interviews conducted for a national scale evaluation. In addition, a contemporary ethnographic participant observation study in two urban peripheral settings was undertaken such that the research examines developments in this field over a fifteen year period.

The research reveals that the form of network governance in which actors have engaged is largely based upon the practice of reciprocation and gift giving in order to return the maximum symbolic capital to the police force. In this way the thesis argues, state and police actors together with selected civil society organisations have been involved in a form of governance entailing the mutual flow of cultural capital between them. Furthermore, the research reveals that models pursued in local settings vary according to spatial, historical and institutional factors and these determine the mode of governance that develops. However, the model that appears to have most potential for democratic communication with excluded youth has been marginalised on the basis that it returns least cultural capital to the police force and to the state.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor Professor Bob Holton who was a source of intellectual enrichment and encouragement. I also thank him for the support and care that he provided me over the last few years. Ms Hilary Tovey, gave advice in the early stages that helped the formulation of the theoretical framework and the focus of the research. I thank her sincerely for her input.

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I particularly acknowledge the friendship from Patsy Brady and from my friend and best critic John Bennett. My mother Maura Bowden has encouraged me all my life and I am deeply grateful to her. Finally, thanks to my partner Áine Clyne, whose boundless love and understanding kept me going through the various dark patches, and to my children Rosa and Mario who made it all worthwhile.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AP	Assistant Principal Officer in Irish Civil Service
ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Order
ASG	Assistant Secretary-General in Irish Civil Service
BRATT	Ballynew Requires a Future Today
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DED	District Electoral Division
DJELR	Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform
DYS	Diocesan Youth Service
FÁS	Foras Áiseanna Saothair, the Industrial Training and Employment Authority of Ireland
FSGYDP	Fairgreen South Garda Youth Diversion Project
GSP	Garda Special Project (later became Garda Youth Diversion Project)
GYDP	Garda Youth Diversion Project (previously known as Garda Special Projects)
IASD	Irish Association for the Study of Delinquency
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IDA	Industrial Development Authority
IGUCD	Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder
IMD	Informational Mode of Development
JLO	Juvenile Liaison Officer
LCH	Leevale-Campanile Hill
L-CHYP	Leevale-Campanile Hill Youth Project
LDTF	Local Drugs Task Force
LR	Left Realism
NC	North Clondalkin
NESC	National Economic and Social Council
NYC	New Youth Centre (at Fairgreen South)
NYWAC	National Youth Work Advisory Committee

ON	Observational Notes (Fieldnotes)
PA	Pedagogic Action
PAu	Pedagogic Authority
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PO	Principal Officer in Irish Civil Service
RAAMPS	Relationships, Acts, Activities, Meaning, Participation, Setting
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SYS	Secular Youth Service
TCA	Transaction Cost Analysis
TN	Theoretical Notes (Fieldnotes)
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
VEC	Vocational Education Committee
WT	West Tallaght

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Introduction

> *October 1990 in Vaulx-en-Velin, a drab and quiet working-class town of the periphery of Lyon, France: several hundred youths, many of them second-generation immigrants from the Maghrib, take to the streets to confront police after a neighborhood teenager dies in a motorcycle accident caused by a patrol car. For three days and nights, they clash with law enforcement officials and compagnies républicaines de sécurité (riot troops) hastily dispatched by the government, pelting police vans with rocks, ransacking shops, and setting two hundred cars on fire. When calm finally returns, tens of injured are counted, damage is estimated at some 120 million dollars, and the country is in a state of shock. The long-simmering rage of the banlieues - declining peripheral areas with high densities of degraded public housing - tops the political agenda and will dominate public debate for months on end (Wacquant, 1993b: 3).*

So began Loïc Wacquant at the beginning of a decade of articles and papers on the nature of urban marginality and urban disorder in both France and the United States (1993b; 1996; 1999; 2001). Wacquant has linked this moment to the emergence of a 'new poverty' that has accompanied the end of the mid-century consensus and the emergence of post-Fordism (Wacquant, 1996). The Vaulx-en-Velin story was not an isolated incident as Wacquant (1993b) linked this clearly with the extensive urban disorders in Los Angeles following the acquittal of police officers for the videotaped beating of Rodney King. In the previous decade, Margaret Thatcher was waging a war against the 'enemy within' including the striking coal miners; and, cities across the United Kingdom had also experienced outbreaks of urban disorder (Scraton 1987; Scarman 1982).

Riots erupted in Dublin but were relatively muted in comparison to the British, French and US cities. Despite economic contraction in the 1980s and early 1990s, riots were not a persistent phenomenon in Ireland. However they did occur.[1] This dissertation is not a study of the disorders themselves, but of the responses to them. Thus the study

[1] For instance, in Gallanstown area of Cherry Orchard in West Dublin an incident took place in October 1995 involving clashes between youth and the police including stoning and the use of petrol bombs. A small number of police officers were reported to have been so traumatized that they took early retirement (Saris and Bartley, 2002: 15). Two children were seriously injured by a petrol bomb incident and suffered severe burns (see Cleary 1996).

is designed to enhance understanding as to how the informal, outer boundary of the criminal justice apparatus operates in the context of relations between state, civil society, and urban youth in urban peripheral settings.

Insecurity and the Urban Periphery

Only a few months after the urban disorders at Lyon, the following series of events unfolded in a peripheral area of Dublin.[2]

26th of February 1991

Two senior civil servants, a Principal Officer (PO) and an Assistant Principal Officer (AP) from the Department of Justice went on a visit to the Neilstown area of Dublin.[3] It is situated in the northern half of the planned 'new town' of Clondalkin, approximately 12 kilometres west of Dublin city centre. On the 27th of February, the two civil servants each wrote reports and submitted them to the Assistant Secretary of the Department the second most senior ranking of officials in the Department. The officials reported that they had witnessed scenes of despair and hopelessness both amongst local people, and both state and professional service providers working there. The Assistant Secretary prepared a memorandum for the Secretary of the Department, the senior official who briefs the Minister. In his memo he described the contents of the report of the PO and the AP as 'disturbing'.

The officials had gone to the police station to meet the Gardai and they described the attitude of the officers as 'defeatist'.[4] The Inspector, the most senior officer in the local Garda station did not show up to meet them as arranged; he had availed of annual leave. The PO described the station sergeant who did meet with them as 'useless'. In his report to the Assistant Secretary, the PO wrote:

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[2] This account is based upon documentary data accessed by the researcher. Documents were given to the researcher by officials in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform as part of an evaluative study of the Garda Special Projects to be used for research and subsequently approved for use in scholarly research. These documents were given on the understanding that they would in any case have been available at the time under the Freedom of Information Act.

[3] A place also known by the administrative name of Ronanstown.

[4] *An Garda Síochána* is the sole police force in the Republic of Ireland. The name translates from Irish as 'the guards of the peace': 'an Garda' is singular when referring to an individual officer, and 'na Gardaí' plural.

> The most sinister aspect of our briefing from Gardai was their description of the activities of subversives in the area on which I briefed you orally on my return. Some action is called for on this head alone.[5]

Some discussion of this situation had taken place earlier between the officials and the Garda Commissioner and that they had in mind 'some immediate steps' they might take.[6] In his report the AP told of how the Garda station was dilapidated in its physical condition and that he had the impression that the police felt that the problems were 'beyond them'. Arising from this briefing with the Gardai, he noted:

> In policing terms crime statistics for the Ronanstown areas are largely irrelevant. The real problem there is the fear and intimidation which is generated by gangs of youths – a hard core of about 50 youths and another 250 or so who associate with them – who congregate after dark at street corners along Neilstown Road…..The youths have no respect for authority and are not subject to parental or social control. In the opinion of the Gardai, they must be tackled head-on if law and order is to be maintained in Ronanstown.[7]

The two officials had driven through the Ronanstown area, weaving through the various housing estates off the main spinal route, Neilstown Road. Arising from their observations they expressed caution:

> Overall, our impressions of Ronanstown left no doubt that youths there have nothing other than crime to occupy them and that there is likely to be a *major flashpoint* in the area unless action is taken [emphasis added].[8]

---

[5] Reports, by PO and AP, February 1991, Department of Justice document made available to the author.
[6] They are not spelled out in the report.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Tuesday November 19th 1991

A car being driven by some young people moved at speed down Neilstown Road. Two Gardai in a patrol car were in pursuit. It was early on a dull and cold Tuesday evening. The road was about a mile and a half long and it was straight, enabling the driver to gain speed. The car was eventually driven to a piece of open area. The drivers got out and were joined by another group of young people. The Gardai who were in pursuit moved in to make arrests but they were prevented from doing so by the size of the crowd and by stones thrown at their patrol vehicle. They contacted their base by radio for assistance. The car driven by the young people was set alight. A number of other cars were alight at this time or shortly afterward. Reinforcements arrived on the scene and were met with stones from the young people. The fire brigade were alerted and arrived on the scene to attend the burning cars. Six fire fighters received injuries from stone throwing as they attempted to deal with the fires at Neilstown Drive.[9] These events were carried as the main item of news the following morning on the radio and they made headlines in the various print media for a good part of the following days.

Monday 25th November 1991

The Assistant Secretary at the Department of Justice wrote a memo to the Secretary. He appended three separate reports on the riots from the Garda Superintendent of 'L' district and an article from the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper. The memo stated:

> Secretary,
> The Minister should see these very disturbing reports at the earliest opportunity. There are real grounds for concern that some of the appalling scenes of urban disorder witnessed recently in England – or something close to it – will be repeated in Ronanstown or one of its sister troubled areas (e.g. Killinarden in Tallaght, Moyross in Limerick).[10]

While detailing the riots, the reports provided detailed Garda intelligence in relation to the activities of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). The memo expressed concern that the PIRA were putting themselves forward as 'protectors of

[9] Sunday Tribune, 24th November 1991
[10] Assistant Secretary's Memo, 25 November 1991 made available to the author.

the community' and were involved in activities like writing off debts to money-lenders:

> The reality is that PIRA is very active in some of the more deprived urban areas, North and South in attracting support and admiration of children at a much younger age (achieved, in part, by direct contact with the children and also by means of 'assistance' rendered to their embattled parents).[11]

The Assistant Secretary advised the Secretary that the Minister should 'have an urgent meeting' with the Garda Commissioner and his colleagues about the situation 'and that they (and we) should be sent off to find some answers'.[12]

The Secretary read the memo and sent it to the Minister together with the reports and the newspaper article from the Sunday Tribune. He wrote a hand written note in the margin of the Assistant Secretary's memo of November 25th:

> Minister,
> These reports reveal a very serious situation in Ronanstown and are in effect a 'cry for help' from the Gardai there similar to one received and acted upon a few years ago from the Gardai in Tallaght. I think we should have the meeting suggested by [Assistant Secretary] as soon as possible [Secretary's Initials 25/11/91].[13]

Tuesday 26th November 1991

An urgent meeting with Garda management took place 24 hours after the Secretary advised the Minister. The minutes of the meeting stated that its purpose was to review 'urban policing problems'. The first item identified eight urban areas as 'black spots'. These were named as Killinarden (Tallaght), Ronanstown (Clondalkin), Cherry Orchard (Ballyfermot, Dublin), Darndale (Dublin), Southill (Limerick), Moyross (Limerick) and Northside areas of Cork City [Gurranabrauher, Churchfield,

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

Knocknaheeney]. Other areas were also identified as being 'quite bad and have surprisingly high crime rates': Athy, Tralee and Arklow.[14]

The meeting was presented with a table of figures which compared Garda strength (i.e. number of police officers assigned to each district or sub-district) with population size and the number of crimes reported / detected between Ronanstown and some rural towns. For instance, with a population of just over 6,000 the town of Ballinasloe in East Galway had 37 Gardai and a recorded crime / detected crime ratio of 221 / 110. With a population of 23,000 Ronanstown had only 41 Gardai and a recorded / detected crime ratio of 472 / 131.[15]

The meeting questioned what level of interest the Gardai had in policing these areas and questioned the quality of management therein. The written account of the meeting notes that the '(Super in Ronanstown / Ballyfermot [was] very near to retirement and it shows)' and that the Juvenile Liaison Officer (JLO) for Ronanstown was based in Ballyfermot.[16] While discussing the issue of police station maintenance and resource allocation it was noted that some observers felt that remote rural stations had received 'the lion's share of maintenance spending'.[17]

Again the issue of 'subversives' was raised; it was noted that there were reports from 'local teachers and social workers of substantial PIRA activity in these areas'. It was also noted that paramilitaries were 'moving in on Community Centres (alleged PIRA activist named), vigilante patrols – Ronanstown and Southill and clubs for boys: Cherry Orchard. What do the Guards propose to do about it'?[18] The meeting noted that while places in Custodial settings were limited (Hostels, Special Schools and 'Treatment') [they] 'take the thugs out of these areas'. The 'vigilante movement', it was noted, use the 'revolving door syndrome' as their 'strongest card'.[19]

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[14] Meeting with Garda Management Re. Urban Policing Problems, 26/11/91, Department of Justice. Document made available to the author.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

That evening of Tuesday 26th of November 1991, the Minister for Justice, Mr. Ray Burke T.D. met with the Garda Commissioner.

Wednesday, 27th of November 1991.
An adjournment debate on 'Violence and Vandalism in Dublin Suburbs' took place in Dail Eireann, the lower chamber of the Irish Parliament. It was addressed by the Minister for Justice, Mr. Ray Burke, T.D. The Minister told the House that he had taken a direct personal interest in the difficulties with juvenile vandalism in some Dublin suburbs and it was a direct result of his enquiries that he set up two projects in Ronanstown and Killinarden. The riots of 19th of November had prompted the Government, he suggested, to 'take special steps to improve the delivery of support and community services to these areas'. While noting that he had met the Commissioner the previous evening he said:

> I am satisfied that the Force at this time is very conscious of and committed to its responsibilities of preserving public order and the freedom of the public to go about their daily lives in peace and safety. The contribution made by Gardai at all levels towards the various community projects I mentioned earlier has been enormous. It's at times like this the public see how important the role of the Force is in our national life.[20]

He told the House that it was because the issues behind 'juvenile vandalism' were so complex that it is not within the capacity of any single minister of Government or any agency. For this reason, he went on, he was drawing together senior officials of the Departments of Environment, Education, Labour, Health, Social Welfare and Justice at Assistant Secretary level to submit proposals. He went on to say:

> There is no point in imagining – as some apparently do – that it's simply a matter of locking up a few ringleaders and temporarily slipping the problems under the carpet by means of this strategy.[21]

---

[20] Reply by the Minister for Justice, Mr. Ray Burke to the Adjournment Debate on Violence and Vandalism in Dublin Suburbs, 27th November 1991, *Dail Debates*, col.1358.
[21] Ibid.

From early 1991, officials in the Irish Government were aware that the Neilstown / Ronanstown area would be, in their own terms, a 'major flashpoint' of urban disorder. It is apparent from this chronological, documentary account, that the state was concerned at the absence of policing strength and the crisis of policing morale in the area. The concern by officials that the police should state how they were going to police 'these areas' could be taken to mean that there was a wider concern about new housing estates built on the periphery of towns and cities in the country as a whole. At this point then the state organised a response involving senior officials of Government Departments, agencies and the police force to which I will return in Chapter Five. For the moment, this activity gave rise to the mobilisation of upwards of 100 local youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives in urban areas by time of writing, operating under the aegis of the Garda Community Relations strategy. The conditions witnessed by the civil servants were perhaps an uncomfortable glimpse of a 'state of nature' in the Hobbesian sense. At any rate the sense of crisis in police morale and organisation, signaled a greater sense of insecurity.

These initial observations are not simply events in a narrative, but raise questions about the wider meaning and significance of the processes at work. The closer study of these processes and responses as presented in this dissertation, provides previously unresearched insights into the nature of the State and its relationship with civil society and more particularly, its attempts at youth governance by way of organisations in the youth sector.

A striking feature of the conditions at Ronanstown as retold through the communications between officials is the official *naming* of the processes involved by these actors. Such naming strategies took place against a backdrop of contestation, whereby the officials wished to manage the potential for alternative definitions of the situation. A central feature of the response was the innovations in governance developed through new programmes for integrating and disciplining working class and marginal youth under a policing strategy, which mobilized curriculum and pedagogy for this purpose. Accordingly, a theoretical framework and suitable concepts were required that could capture the power relations involved. This is developed in subsequent chapters.

Aims of the Study and Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation aims to make a contribution the sociological understanding of the Irish state and civil society in the arena of youth crime and disorder prevention, governance and policing. It is intended to contribute, more particularly to youth studies, urban sociology and the study of civil society in Ireland. Moreover, as one of the few research projects on the subject of Irish policing and the 'politics of community safety' (see Hughes, 2002), the project aims to enhance the developing discipline of criminology in Ireland. The theoretical framework draws much from both *critical* and *radical* criminology but as the framework has moved beyond the limitations of state theories deployed in these theses, the dissertation should be viewed as an extension of rather than a radical overhaul of both. In comparative international terms, the dissertation also contributes to an appreciation of the variations in small societies and supports the need to tailor theories of mass society accordingly particularly in relation to the nature of the state.

The research explores the relationships between civil society, the state and young people as actors located within the spatial context of the urban peripheral housing estates. It examines the nature of these relationships and the extent to which they have enabled reflexivity and discursive communication or whether they have reproduced relations of power and domination. The particular focus is upon the relationships between actors who engage in crime prevention partnerships in urban peripheral areas, established in direct response to urban disorder in the Ronanstown scenario outlined above.

To contextualise and position the dissertation further, *Chapter One* firstly places the research in the framework of 'advanced marginality' and the urban periphery as elucidated by Loïc Wacquant. The chapter then moves towards the development of a deeper Bourdieuian framework, drawing particularly upon his concepts of 'symbolic violence' and power, habitus and field. The aim of this is to establish the relevance of the concept of the 'relational field' as a preamble to a discussion of the state and governance (in Chapter Two) and to outline the relevance of his relational methodology considered in Chapter Four.

Chapter Two considers the contribution of critical and radical criminology and its contemporary relevance and applicability to the framing of Irish conditions. In addition, the chapter considers neo-Foucauldian revisions based upon the governmentality thesis especially in the light of the mobilisation of rationalities for the governance of the self, together with greater social surveillance. In addition, the chapter considers the implications of the literature on network governance and the 'network state' in order to develop a framework that links both social theory and theoretical criminology.

The youth crime and disorder prevention modalities with which the dissertation is concerned, were generated in a specific spatio-temporality and hence they are part of an *urban process* and a dimension of the broader *urban question*. Accordingly a theoretical framework is developed in *Chapter Three* through a discussion of the urban sociological literature.

Chapter Four develops the research issues arising from the various theoretical chapters in order to refine a research focus and a methodology. To aid the research, and to clarify the 'relational' nature of the field to be studied, a triangular model was used to map out the relations between three sets of actors (state, civil society organisations, youth). The chapter outlines epistemological considerations arising from Bourdieu's concept of field and those of the case study method associated with the analytic induction tradition in social research. The research had access to existing interview data from an evaluative study carried out in 1998-1999. These data were utilised to access the interpretations, meanings and understandings of state and civil society actors (state officials, police officers and youth sector personnel). In addition, these data gave access to meso-level actors in five local areas originally, from which three were selected for further analysis here. To access the nature of pedagogic communication and action in youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives, a participative observation study in two prevention projects took place in the period 2004-5. The chapter also identifies the challenges involved in utilising archived data together with the positioning of the researcher as an ongoing observer within the field.

To ground the socio-spatial thesis outlined in chapter three, a further consideration of the Irish urban peripheral setting is outlined in *Chapter Five*. This chapter also draws

further from documentary analysis in order to develop a deeper understanding of the socio-spatial and socio-historic context.

Chapter Six analyses interviews with macro level actors who were involved with or continued to be involved with the organisation of initiatives for offsetting urban youth disorder in the 1990-1999 period. The analysis sought to access actors' understandings of the historical situation together with their rationale for individual and collective action.

Chapter Seven is an analysis of interview data with local level actors operating at meso and micro levels within their organisations or institutions. The research sought to examine in closer detail the activities and acts carried out by local actors. In addition, the analysis sought to identify the nature of curriculum deployed and the form and content of both pedagogic relationships and pedagogic communication. Also, the analysis sought to identify the links between these meso-micro levels and the macro level actors' operating across a national scale. The data from three areas were analysed: Ballynew (Dublin), Emmetstown (provincial city) and Leevale-Campanile Hill (Dublin). Like Chapters Eight and Nine, this chapter reveals the variations in governance responses in different local contexts.

Chapter Eight is the first of two chapters utilising ethnographic participant observation fieldnotes at the micro level. The study examined the nature of interactions between intermediaries and young people and as such sought to get close to the grain of everyday practice in youth crime and disorder prevention programmes with young people in the urban peripheral setting. This chapter examines the relationships and interactions in Fairgreen which had a Garda Youth Diversion Project (GYDP) operated by the Diocesan Youth Service (DYS); as such it was a development out of the earliest attempts at the restoration of order in peripheral urban areas as outlined above. The analysis sought to identify the nature and breadth of the DYS's power, capacity and influence in the Fairgreen area together with its relationships with related organisations.

Chapter Nine explores the nature of interaction in Leevale-Campanile Hill, five years after the interviews (analysed in Chapter Six) were carried out. As in Chapter Eight,

the analysis seeks to identify lines of continuity and discontinuity with earlier developments together with an exploration of the nature of interactions between youth crime and disorder prevention workers and young people. The key issues in focus here reflect the contested nature of governance. The possibilities for discursive communication are considered against a backdrop of increasing panoptic governance in the form of the demand for *social* surveillance by youth workers, and *digital* surveillance in the form of CCTV.

Chapter Ten summarises and concludes the dissertation. It discusses the findings of the research within the sociology of contemporary Ireland and in relation to the emerging critical realist criminology (see Hughes, 2007). This final chapter argues that the condition of late modernity brings with it a complexity such that pre-modern practices and social relations outlive transformations between epochs. In this context the governance of urban youth through youth crime and disorder prevention relies upon the accrual of social capital to institutions through a process of gift relations that depend upon deferred reciprocation.

The Analysis of an Emergent Field

The research questions developed in this dissertation arise from an initial analysis of modes of governance and communication in responses to youth crime and disorder (Bowden and Higgins, 2000). The following chapters develop a theoretical framework drawing substantially from Bourdieu's (1984) concept of field. Developing a theoretical perspective to study these responses to urban youth disorder is made all the more challenging by the way in which they do not appear to be based upon any particular ideology. For instance, modes of zero tolerance policing have never taken hold in pure form in the Irish context; nor indeed have neo-liberal inspired modalities of governance based upon the 'criminologies of everyday life' (O'Donnell and O'Sullivan 2003; Garland, 2001). Kilcommins et al (2004) argued that the administrative sophistication was not in place to drive such orientations. Nonetheless, modes of youth governance in the form of youth crime and disorder prevention projects and programmes have emerged both at national and local levels in the last decade arising from the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder (Government of Ireland, 1993) (see Chapter Five for a more detailed

account). These are distinctly driven by a police and Department of Justice crime prevention and community safety agenda (Bowden and Higgins, 2000).

It has been suggested, that this initiative has augmented the emergence of youth services qua youth welfare and informal educational provision, towards youth governance and regulation (Bowden, 2006). While not supplanting youth welfare, governance based on youth crime and disorder prevention as a mode of governance is an emerging field of practice, one endorsed within social inclusion and labour market supply-side measures under two National Development Plans (Government of Ireland, 1999, 2007). Policy and administrative lags in relation to this initiative have recently been overcome in two ways: first by a set of operational guidelines (Centre for Social and Educational Research, 2003), reflecting some level of policy making; and, second by their inclusion within the recently established National Youth Justice Service, operating under the Office of the Minister for Children (See Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2005). Nevertheless, the Irish youth crime and disorder modalities in question have not followed either neo-conservative zero-tolerance nor neo-liberal approaches in any pure form.

It is towards the development of a theoretical framework that the following chapters turn.

Chapter One The Urban Periphery, Governance and the Field of Power

Introduction

Youth crime prevention has been identified as a key feature of the late-modern condition as it is associated with the new governance of risk (Hughes 1998). As such, it has become a focus of considerable academic, political and educational endeavour. Dominating the field is the 'risk factor paradigm' (Kirton, 2005) or 'riskfactorology' (France, 2005) which, it has been suggested, seeks to normalize and pathologize young people through 'technologies of government' associated with policy discourses aimed at 'youth at risk' (Wishart et al, 2006). The risk factor paradigm draws heavily from predictors of offending based as it is on the generation of correlates between variables. Prevention programmes then are evaluated using experimental methodologies (Farrington, 1996) and intervening to offset 'criminal careers' (Farrington, 1994). Related to this there has been the rise of individual risk reduction strategies, operating in a form of conforming social behaviourism, whereby youth are rewarded for good behaviours in behaviourist, stimulus-response modalities (see Hawkins and Weis, 1985). Thus young people, either as individuals or as risk cohorts can be profiled for targeted intervention, through the promotion of 'protective factors' (see for instance Loeber and Farrington, 2000). At a meso-level, crime prevention modalities have operated at community level as focused control and defence measures that seek to preserve order and protect the vulnerable; yet such measures have failed to grasp how 'community crime careers' are 'shaped by the wider urban market' (Hope, 1995: 21).

Late-modern crime control has also given rise to the emphasis on 'situational crime prevention' as an extension of rational choice theory and the focus on situational man as a calculator of risks and rewards. This model seeks to 'reduce opportunities for specific categories of crime by increasing the associated risks and difficulties and reducing the rewards' (Clarke, 1995: 91). Hence the proliferation of environmental crime prevention that seeks to systematically reinforce targets through in-built

security architecture and space management (see Crowe, 2000). Such a concern has also informed the shaping, design and management of public and private housing estates based upon the principle of 'defensible space' (Newman 1972; Poyner 1983). Such ideas generally give little attention to the question of urban disorder and assume that the technologies to be deployed have a universal focus on individualised, calculated transgression. This rules out urban disorder by definition as this might well be seen in a broader social and political dimension.

This chapter is the first of three that aim to develop a theoretical framework for analysing the emergence and maintenance of youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives in urban peripheral settings in Ireland. In this chapter, the concern is to locate the emergence of such modalities within a framework of cultural reproduction, drawn principally from Pierre Bourdieu. As a preamble to this discussion however, the initial emphasis is on shifting the focus of the analysis towards the conditions in the urban periphery that give rise to urban disorder in the late-modern city. Here the concern is to draw attention to the emergence of panoptic forms of governance. As a first step in finding this focus, the discussion first attends to the work of Loic Wacquant on urban marginality and urban disorder.

Loic Wacquant on the City, Urban Marginality and Disorder

The spatial concentration of poverty and alienation in urban areas has been connected with urban disorder by social scientists, official commissions and journalistic commentators (Feagin and Hahn 1973; Scarman 1982; Bedford 1982; Harris et al 1983; Campbell 1993). Outbreaks of disorder in peripheral or urban fringe public housing estates were not isolated as they were part of a general tendency across Europe, according to one comparative study:

> The sense of rejection and consequent withdrawal from social involvement created a deep apathy among many residents on the estates in the study. As apathy swamped marginal groups, their ability to conform or to co-operate disintegrated. In the young, the frustration that this generated eventually led to hostility, destruction and occasionally violence....The threat of social breakdown and loss of control was real (Power, 1997: 373).

This section outlines and discusses the contribution of Wacquant to the understanding of questions of urban order, class and social marginality. This provides an exposition of the theoretical, contextual and empirical questions to be addressed in the remainder of the dissertation. I return to some of these themes in later chapters and I deepen the analysis by adding the contributions of other writers such as Jessop (1994), Garland (1996, 2000, 2001) and Castells (1977, 1978, 1989, 2000, 2002). The point for now is to establish a key to the complexity of issues surrounding urban disorder.

A striking aspect of Wacquant's (1993b) accounts of urban disorder has been the parallels for other contexts. Indeed many eruptions begin from similar catalytic events: police pursuing young people followed by riots, followed by societal reactions. As such Wacquant places riots in the 'Black Belt' of the Chicago ghetto on a continuum with the 'Red Belt' in the French periphery. The French Red Belt is ethnically mixed with a white French majority, unlike the American Black belt which is homogeneously African American (Wacquant, 1993a: 370-374). Hence what distinguishes the immigrant populations of the French urban periphery from those of the Black Belt is the fact that former experience class oppression and are not a distinct ethnic underclass (1993a: 377-378).

This analysis by Wacquant has provided an alternative view to the previously ascendant tendency to use a pathological theory of class, prevalent in the US and the UK. This view suggests that the new urban poor were the cause of their own disorganisation, as exemplified in Murray (1984) who described the American underclass as the 'new rabble'. For Wacquant (1993b, 1996) by contrast, urban disorder resulted from two conditions: advanced marginality and structural violence. He argues, that urban disorder accompanies a process of social and economic decline together with 'deproletarianisation' and 'top-down structural violence'. Thus

> [A] close comparative analysis of their timing, makeup, and unfolding shows that, far from being irrational or atavistic expressions of incivility, recent public unrest by the urban poor of Europe and North America constitutes a (socio)logical response to the massive structural violence unleashed upon them by a set of mutually reinforcing economic and socio-political changes.

> These changes have resulted in a polarization of classes which, combined with racial and ethnic segregation, is producing a dualization of the metropolis that threatens not simply to marginalize the poor but to condemn them to outright social and economic redundancy (Wacquant,1993b: 6).

Wacquant goes on to suggest that social polarisation meant an increasing distance between the deproletarianised and the institutions of society that bred such urban disorder. This distance often was foisted upon the police: the symbol of the 'unresponsive' and 'repressive state'. First world societies now faced the challenge of finding 'mediating institutions' that would provide active participation in the public sphere in order to 'prevent further contraction and fragmentation of the sphere of citizenship' (Wacquant, 1993b: 13).

Structural violence, was all the more pressing an issue given the second condition pertaining to urban disorder – 'the rise of advanced marginality' (Wacquant, 1996). This he suggested had six distinctive properties as summarised in Figure 1.1 below. Advanced marginality accompanied class decomposition, and thus it placed stricture on the 'repertoire of shared representations and signs through which to conceive a collective destiny and to project possible alternative futures' together with the severing of links with the trade union movement (Wacquant, 1996: 128).

The focus of this dissertation on youth crime and disorder prevention modalities draws the analysis towards the set of repertoires and instruments deployed as regulators of the working class neighbourhood in the post-Fordist, informational city. It raises the question of the extent to which these modalities represent a 'social panopticon' (Wacquant, 2001) arising from the conversion and hybridisation of youth welfare into pedagogic policing. It also asks, following Wacquant (1996: 129), 'how do the state structures, policies, and ideologies impact on the social, spatial and symbolic transformations of which neighbourhoods of relegation are the result?' In addition, it poses questions as to forms of 'mediating institutions' in this domain and what forms of pedagogies are mobilised in light of changed conditions?

Figure 1.1: *Structural Violence and Advanced Marginality*

Structural Violence	• Mass unemployment and deproletarianisation (1980s and 1990s); • Relegation of working class to decaying neighbourhoods; • Stigmatisation (daily life and in public discourse).
Advanced Marginality	• Precarious post-Fordist labour; • Untouched by 'trickle down' economics; • Territorial fixation and isolated territories; • Weakening of territorially based communal bonds; • Undermining of informal economy as outlet; • Decomposition of collective consciousness and action repertoires together with a decline in links with trade union movement.

Sources: Wacquant 1993a; 1993b; 1996.

Returning to some of these themes in later work, Wacquant (2001) pointed out that the penal system was being used as a managerial device for the containing of social disorders on the bottom strata of society. In addition, the activation of policing functions of welfare institutions was bringing about a greater 'social panopticism'. This process, he suggested was the result of a tendency towards greater importation of neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies on penality into Europe. He suggested that these were partly incorporated (Wacquant, 2001: 407) as a new mode of governance of insecurity:

> This new 'government' of social insecurity – to use Michel Foucault's terminology – rests, on the one hand, on the disciplining of the deskilled and deregulated labour market and, on the other, on an intrusive and omnipresent penal apparatus. *The invisible hand of the market and the iron fist of the state combine* and complement each other to make the lower classes accept desocialised wage labour and the social instability it brings in its wake. After a long eclipse, the prison thus returns to the frontline of institutions entrusted with maintaining social order (Wacquant, 2001: 404).

While the prison system is not the focus of this research, the general point made by Wacquant here is that the justice system is faced with ruptures in the social order over

and above those directed towards the welfare state: justice actors become the mobilisers of state resources and responses, as in the case of Ronanstown depicted in the introductory section to the dissertation. Hence, it is the justice arm of government that steps in at the moment when the welfare machinery is no longer viewed as the favoured option available to deal with the social order. As such, the 'penalisation of poverty' (Wacquant, 2001) represents the turning point between the end of the welfare state and the emergence of the 'Schumpeterian workfare state' (Jessop, 1994). Similarly, John Lea (1997) suggested:

> Crime control thus becomes 'actuarial', concerned with risk assessment, incapacitation and the management of delinquency. This takes a juridical – as opposed to a welfare – form, as it did in the early nineteenth century. But the object is less that of preparing the new working class, through the experience of penal discipline, for the 'responsibility' required by labour for capital – factory discipline – and more that of introducing new flexibility, dismantling social rights and keeping the "underclass" under control. The relationship between the workfare state and actuarial criminal justice continues to be that of reciprocity; the criminal justice system picks up those who are unwilling to bend to the new flexibilities of the workfare state (Lea, 1997: 52).

Central to Wacquant's thesis is the idea that in restructuring the economy and society in the post-Fordist era, the social democratic state has incorporated elements of neo-liberal and neo-conservative discourses and has adopted devices and strategies for controlling problem populations. Wacquant thereby provides a conceptual key for unlocking a deeper analysis of relationships played out by the state, police and civil society actors in the Dublin periphery in the same time period. The seemingly intractable unemployment problem in the 1980s and 1990s and the living of unemployed existence in the urban periphery provided the social, cultural and economic conditions for the Ronanstown scenario, just as it did in Lyon and Bristol and more recently in the 'banlieu riots' of 2005. It is within Wacquant's lexicon that I will explore the range of issues to be addressed in this dissertation. Crucially also in this conceptual key, is the question of *space*. The scenarios are lived out within the urban periphery as a specific spatio-temporality. This represents a crystallisation of a particular historical moment as the orientations of state and market are reflected in the

design and location of such sites, a theme I explore in greater depth in Chapter Three and consider more closely in the Irish context in Chapter Five.

The State and Civil Society after Fordism

In order to govern insecurity, as Wacquant has suggested, a strategy to incorporate civil society in the rowing functions of the state is a dimension of the late-modern condition. In this context then there has been a shift from *government* of youth (in the form of youth education and welfare) to *governance* of youth (in the form of youth discipline and regulation). Hence the relationship between the state and civil society has some impact on the nature of both of these entities in the reconfiguring of government. An adaptation by the state to the crisis of Keynesianism had been to rescale and decentre itself from governing (See Jessop 1994; Rose and Miller 1992). This had resulted from the drive towards reducing the size of the state and increasing both privatisation and the inclusion of civil society in the provision of welfare (see Garland, 2001).

In this context, this dissertation considers the nature of this relationship vis-à-vis the governance of insecurity qua urban youth disorder. The question of governance is considered in more detail in the latter half of Chapter Two.

Citizenship and Mediating Institutions: Responsibilisation, Solidarisation, Persuasion and Coercion

The Wacquant literature raises the question of the role of the search for a new set of institutions that mediate the social polarisation emergent within late-modern society. However, the solidarising project of the post-war reconstruction of Europe, had been undermined by the neo-liberal politics of the 1980s and the hegemony of the market, especially in the UK. British Criminologist John Pitts (2003), pointed out that the advent of 'market society' has led to the triumph of managerialism over the social professions within the welfare state such that:

> By the early 1990s, the discourses of social need and social suffering had fallen silent. Needs assessments were ousted by risk assessments; interpersonal skills were pressed into the service of evidence gathering, the

> 'client' was re-designated an 'offender' while the magistracy, as representative of the 'community', now became the 'client' (Pitts, 2003: 130).

In this regard, youth crime and disorder prevention operates within this arena of contestation. Contestation also exists within the state itself. Thus the 'left hand of the state' was and remains in contention with its 'right hand': the latter representing 'the set of agents of the so-called spending ministries which are the trace, within the state, of the social struggles of the past' (Bourdieu, 1998: 2). Moreover, Bourdieu said that he thought

> …that the left hand of the state has the sense that the right hand no longer knows, or, worse, no longer really wants to know what the left hand does. In any case, it does not want to pay for it (Bourdieu, 1998: 2).

This late-modern tête-à-tête had been devoid of any sense of breakthrough or compromise as the right hand (not restricted to the political right) has appeared to deny any structural link between the problematics of contemporary youth, youth crime and social order. Pitts (2003) has argued that New Labour in Britain for instance, inherited and ran with the 'new managerialism' best expressed in their espousal of the achievement of the discourse of '*targets reached*' over that of '*needs met*'. In this context 'joined-up solutions' were proposed to achieve targets rather than as a response to 'joined-up problems' which would re-invent the social in relation to the youth question:

> A genuinely joined-up or holistic analysis of the disparate phenomena lumped under the heading 'youth crime'….will tend to focus upon the historical, political, social and economic circumstances which precipitate and sustain them. In doing so, it will inevitably problematise commonsense understandings of these phenomenon, recontextualise them, and so transform these 'private troubles' into 'public issues' (Pitts, 2003: 135).

The task of creating an active social citizenship is complicated by the existence of ideologies that believe that the state solely exists to protect the person and property of individuals. A solidarising project is confounded by victimisation:

> At present we have noted, there is a profound imbalance between the risks encountered by children and young people, particularly if they are working-class Black and Asian, and the crime control and community safety programmes which target these risks (Pitts, 2003: 152).

In the context of this research, the discussion here focuses upon the nature of mediating institutions and their mobilisation of the 'left hand'. What for instance, are the implications of youth workers taking to the task of crime prevention? Does this then recast the nature of both the state and of citizenship into the 'social panoptic' or the disciplinary state? What are the possibilities for social solidarity, for agency and for communication? Indeed if there is a struggle between the left and right hands of the state, what are the struggles, conflicts and contestations around this? Such contestation, for Bourdieuian scholars, is encapsulated in Bourdieu's concept of *field* (see Swartz, 1997 for instance). Thus in order to develop both a theoretical framework and methodology suited to the task of specifying the nature of state-civil society-youth relations, a conceptual heuristic is required that encapsulates the nature of power between these actors while at the same time grasping the complexities of structure and agency. It is to this task that the discussion now turns.

Drawing from Bourdieu: Habitus, Capital, Symbolic Violence and Power

This introductory discussion of Bourdieu's sociology outlines some key concepts that are necessary in order to access his concept of *field*. Here 'the concepts of habitus, [field and] capital are... internally linked to one another as each achieves its full analytical potency only in tandem with the others' (Wacquant, 1998: 223). In this regard, the research is focused upon youth crime and disorder prevention modalities in urban peripheral locations, and it is posited, that the means of comprehending the relationships between state and civil society in this domain, is central to a fuller understanding of the nature of governance, and the nature of the Irish state itself.

I Habitus

The first key concept in Bourdieu's sociology is that of *habitus*. Bourdieu's sociology is one that separates itself in many respects from Marxism and from phenomenology while retaining critical elements of both. His 'social praxeology' results in the bonding of a structuralist and constructivist approach, bringing together both objective constraint and lived experience. In this sense, Bourdieu takes Durkheim as a point of departure in that he insisted that there was a correspondence between social and mental structures. However, much of what Durkheim and later Mauss suggested in this regard for traditional societies, was also observable in contemporary society, Bourdieu had insisted. Thus they had lacked a mechanism capable of determining and delineating the process of social classification (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 13).

In this regard, Bourdieu suggested that *habitus* was produced by the material conditions that characterise a class. The habitus is a system of durable and transposable dispositions that last beyond the period in which it is inculcated. These dispositions are foundational in language and thought so as that they operate within the subject as 'structured structures' such that they structure practices without recourse to the following of rules. Such rules have been already laid down in socialisation through the family and the educational institutions as the conductors of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977: 72).

Thus Bourdieu rejected a mechanistic or 'rational choice' definition of interactions and exchange in the material sense and suggested that a series of moves between two actors in the act of a challenge or gift making derives from objectively organised strategies, but not part of a strategic intent (Bourdieu, 1977: 73). Bourdieu was critical of social psychology, interactionism and ethnomethodology for seeking to explain action through experimental or observed interactions in a given situation, holding constant as it were, the structure in which the interaction has taken place. He arrived at this point because he sought to connect habitus – dispositions governing action and agency – with structures in which the material conditions necessary for habitus were placed. He argued that it is because practices of members of a group or

class are 'endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects whether individual or collective' (Bourdieu, 1977: 81). In this context, habitus is the explanatory concept he used to explain why classes exist in social, cultural and physical space and why they reproduce themselves within that same context.

For Bourdieu, habitus originated from 'unconscious internalization' of the range of objective chances common to a particular class – e.g. internalisation and resignation of the working class to the limited opportunities to their educational success. Hence habitus 'shows how structural disadvantages can be internalized into relatively durable dispositions that can be transmitted intergenerationally through socialization and produce forms of self-defeating behaviour' (Swartz, 1997: 104). Habitus, it has been argued, transforms 'necessity into virtue' and leads subjects to an immediate submission to order in the way that it 'legitimates economic and social inequality by providing a practical and taken-for-granted acceptance of the fundamental conditions of existence' (Swartz, 1997: 105). Hence habitus is a form of practical adjustment by the way in which it directs aspirations and expectations along the lines of probability for success and failure as shared by members of the same class:

> As an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions, and no others (Bourdieu, 1977a: 95).

Habitus is a 'second order' of objective structures that enables a continuity between the analysis of such structures and the individual dispositions of actors. Thus Bourdieu's breaking of the antimony between objective and subjective leads to a 'dialectic of social and mental structures' resulting in a struggle for the power to classify (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 13). Habitus is the imposition of form – it is a site in which inculcation takes place and in this regard represents the basis of power, domination and governance. It is a way in which members of a dominated class have their social location and their 'station' both conveyed and maintained. Hence, forms

of schooling and informal curricula such as youth work, and indeed, youth crime prevention, involves a process of inculcation that generates habitus.

II Symbolic Violence, Capital and Power

Social location conveyed through the habitus leads then to the second of Bourdieu's key ideas. This centres on the related concepts of *symbolic violence* and *symbolic power*; for the struggle for classification is for the power to dominate through symbolic systems. For Swartz (1997) this 'political economy of symbolic power' is both a revision of and a way that Bourdieu distanced himself from the Althusserian Marxist tradition. This Bourdieu achieved through three theoretical lines of argument.

The first of these arguments involves the assertion of the centrality of both economic and symbolic forms of *interest*: agents strive for both economic power (based on mean-ends rationality) and for symbolic power (based upon producing a particular consequence) (Swartz, 1997: 66-71). The second argument, which distances him from sturcturalist Marxism, is through his thesis of power in the form of *cultural capital*. Both groups and individual actors draw from a pool of symbolic, social and cultural resources to gain or maintain positions in the social order. As such capital becomes the resource that is contested and struggled for, and in modernity this takes the form of capital to be gained either from educational credentials and social capital derived from membership of networks (Swartz, 1997: 74). While agreeing with Marx that capital constitutes 'accumulated labour', Bourdieu developed a theory of domination rather than a theory of economic exploitation. Moreover, Bourdieu's concept of capital moved him beyond Marx for he had identified a broader range or a plurality of *capitals,* deriving from a spectrum of *labours*. In this sense, he contended that cultural capital is one of the main forms of capital accumulated and laboured for. Cultural capital is *embodied*, for it starts in childhood and is driven by *pedagogical action* from the time given by parents or professions to expose the subject to a range of cultural distinctions; and, cultural capital is institutionalised through credentialism in education systems (Swartz, 1997: 75). In addition to cultural capital, in Bourdieu's framework capital takes on three other forms:

(a) Economic capital as in material wealth;
(b) Social captial as the mobilisation of actors through connections in networks and membership of groups; and,
(c) Symbolic capital that derives from all other forms of capital where such capital is perceived as legitimate (Peillon, 1998: 216).

The third argument in Bourdieus's revision of structuralist Marxism involves the concept of *symbolic violence*. Bourdieu introduced this in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977), drawn from his anthropological work in Kabyle in Algeria during the 1960s, and most especially in his observations of exchanges of credit, gifts and arrangements for domestic labour from which he sought to develop a more general theory of domination. He points out that to appropriate the labour of another, a master first has to tie-in or create a bond with the labourer and has to 'win' them personally. This master-slave relationship in a pre-capitalist order, 'cannot in fact be kept up without the direct application of material or symbolic violence to the person who is to be tied' (Bourdieu, 1977: 190). These relations of domination must be disguised or misrecognised for coercive power could beget violent riposte from the dominated. Hence in pre-capitalist society, legitimacy was to be gained and maintained through a code of honour:

> Symbolic violence, the gentle, invisible form of violence, which is never recognised as such, and is not much undergone as chosen, the violence of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, gratitude, piety – in short, all the virtues honoured by the code of honour – cannot fail to be seen as the most economical mode of domination, i.e. the mode which best corresponds to the economy of the system (Bourdieu, 1977: 192).

In pre-capitalist societies, thus, symbolic violence is a euphemisation of objective relations of exchange. The misrecognition based on the 'ethic of honour' is, as Bourdieu suggests, a 'collective denial of the economic reality of exchange' (Bourdieu, 1977: 196). Bourdieu introduced this concept to the condition of modernity in the application of his 'foundation of a theory of symbolic violence' to the field of the French educational system. The first proposition, which is the key

point of his argument, proffers the theory that powerful groups that can impose meaning add the weight of their own force to the message communicated:

> Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own symbolic force to those power relations (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 4).

This idea was underpinned by his borrowing from French structualist linguistics whereby language itself is seen has having a logic that classifies in the form of binaries and hence provides an ordered set of dichotomies such as good/ bad, inside/outside. This binary logic of classification underlies human mental activities (Swartz, 1997: 84). This bipolarity is internalised into the conceptual system of the agent such that 'the cognitive structures which social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the social world are internalized "embodied" social structures' (Bourdieu, in Swartz 1997: 85). These binaries are essentially arbitrary: the 'cultural arbitrary' or standards are not naturally occurring but are humanly constructed (Swartz, 1997: 86).

Hence in relation to schooling, and by extension to all institutionalised cultural practices, Bourdieu argued that pedagogic action (PA) is symbolic violence: first, because it is the 'imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 5). In so far as PA is symbolic violence, it can only be effected when bound within a system of 'pedagogic communication' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 7), i.e. that it needs the institutionalised conditions to be given effect. Second, PA is symbolic violence because of the 'objective delimitation' or the selection of certain meanings worthy of being reproduced by PA. Hence, for Bourdieu:

> In any given social formation the cultural arbitrary which the power relations between the groups or classes making up that social formation put into the dominant position within the system of cultural arbitraries is the one which most fully, though always indirectly, expresses the objective interests (material and symbolic) of the dominant group or classes (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 9).

For Bourdieu, this means that transmitters of PA constantly need to have their validity and legitimacy recognised and in turn this conditions the reception of information and its transmission into mental formation (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 19). PA implies *pedagogic authority* (PAu) because transmitters have to be designated as fit; their position endows them with the entitlement to impose conditions of reception and to test its inculcation; they are thus also given a position within pedagogic communication (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 21). Bourdieu suggested that the careful selection of transmitters is a way of viewing the social relations involved as not mere administrative or technical tasks, but as structured and formalised modes of interaction between the dominant and dominated.

Pedagogic action is conflated with PAu because of the 'recognition of the legitimacy of the agency of imposition, it tends to produce recognition of the cultural arbitrary it inculcates as legitimate culture' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 22). Moreover, a key to understanding symbolic violence is that it represents a 'misrecognition' – it is not recognised as violence. This has a lot to do with the way it is communicated – it is delegated to agencies to impose it by the dominant group or class. Furthermore, Bourdieu evokes the analogy of the market where the economic and social value of products of different pedagogic actions (PAs) is determined. This is where those who have undergone a dominating PA have 'the valuelessness of their cultural attainment brought home to them by the anonymous sanctions of the cultural market and by the symbolic sanctions of the cultural market' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 28). This he suggested, was a form of ordering or 'calls to order':

> These calls to order tend to produce in them, if not explicit recognition of the dominant culture as the legitimate culture, then at least an insidious awareness of the cultural unworthiness of their own acquirements. Thus by unifying the market on which the value of the products of the different PAs is determined, bourgeois society (as compared, for example, with feudal society) has multiplied the opportunities for subjecting the products of the dominant PAs to the evaluative criteria of the legitimate culture, thereby affirming and confirming its dominance in the symbolic order (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 28).

Finally symbolic violence requires a mode of inculcation through pedagogic work or 'symbolic labours' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 31), which produce symbolic power as it transforms 'relations of interest into disinterested meanings and by legitimating arbitrary relations of power as the natural order of things' (Swartz, 1997: 93). Such a process is necessary to produce a 'durable' and 'transposable' habitus and in this way, it is more permanent as a form of power because of its legitimate power relative to modes of coercive power (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 33). Crucial here is the idea of legitimate power, for it is through symbolic violence that the dominant class imposes its arbitrary, but legitimate, worldview. Hence 'the whole of Bourdieus's work may be interpreted as a materialist anthropology of the specific contribution that various forms of symbolic violence make to the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 14-15).

III Governance as a Relational Field[22]

The third major feature of Bourdieu's sociology is the concept of *field* which, forms part of Bourdieu's 'methodological relationism'. It constitutes a 'patterned system of objective forces (much in a manner of a magnetic field), a relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity which it imposes on all the objects and agents which enter in it' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 17). The field is the site within which the struggle for classification takes place: the power struggle over the defining of reality where actors compete for the power of 'legitimate naming'. In the *field of politics,* struggle is for a monopoly over symbolic violence (Peillon, 1998: 217); the political capital that accrues from this is then converted into symbolic capital and thus legitimate capital. In this sense, governance on a variety of scales, forms part of the political and administrative fields, as outlined in Chapter Two.

This is the case as fields exist for the struggle over the distribution of various forms of capital. Thus it follows that they are stratified relative to that distribution and are

[22] One way of describing my research is as an exploration of the motivations of the actors, their relations of exchange and how modes of gifting and reciprocal relations are mobilised at micro, meso and macro levels.

structured around dominant and subordinate positions. To enter the field, actors need to accept (tacitly) the rules of the game: their investment in it reflects their *belief in the worth of struggle* within the field or what Bourdieu calls an *illusio* (Swartz, 1997: 125). Methodologically, fields direct the researcher to the basis of contestation and the struggle for power, or as Swartz puts it:

> Field analysis, therefore, directs the researcher's attention to a level of analysis capable of revealing the integrating logic of competition between opposing viewpoints. It encourages the researcher to seek out sources of conflict in a given domain, relate that conflict to the broader areas of class and power, and identify underlying shared assumptions by opposing parties (Swartz, 1997: 126).

In Bourdieu's theory, fields are 'homologous' and 'structural functional'. Bourdieu's (1984) example of this in the field of cultural production serves as a vivid example of field homologies in practice; in this way the acquisition of goods for their distinction value (converted into cultural capital) has the same effect in both the dominant and subordinate classes. The goods of each class represent to that class who they are as subjects and their social position thus reflected. But these class distinctions are relationally in equilibrium because in order for some goods to be the delineating element of one class, the corresponding goods of another class are *functional* to the creating and sustaining of that separation. Within the dominant class itself, the volume of cultural capital acquired from these goods distinguishes the veterans from newcomers, 'rear-guard' and 'avant-garde' and so on.[23] Thus the 'correspondence which is thereby objectively established between the classes of products and the classes of consumers is realized in acts of consumption only through the mediation of that sense of the homology between goods and groups which defines tastes' (Bourdieu, 1984: 232). For Bourdieu, a structural homology existed between the French *grandes écoles* and the ruling class: securing access to leadership for the children of this class reproduces the class but it also reproduces the structure itself as

[23] Within the dominant class there is a struggle for power between the newcomers and the established. The latter (the example given is of couturiers), strategise by clinging to the allies in the bourgeoisie; and, the newcomers, the young couturiers seeking to have their subversive ideas accepted form allies with younger and new fractions of the bourgeoisie 'for whom the symbolic revolutions of which vestimentary and cosmetic outrages are the paradigm, are the perfect vehicle for expressing the ambiguity of their situation as the "poor relations" of the temporal powers' (Bourdieu, 1984: 233).

a 'field of power' (Wacquant, 1993c: 19). Thus fields are homologous in that the apparent action in one field (education in the *grande école* system) results in the structuring of the field of power in which the connection between the two is misrecognised. The ruling class is reproduced along with the structure of reproduction.

Swartz (1997: 137) has criticised Bourdieu, for while there is space for political alliances across fields amongst the dominated, there is a multiplicity of 'homologous field positions' where alliances could form; thus he accuses Bourdieu of generating a 'structural mystification'.

> As structural location may indeed help explain the reciprocal relationship between groups, a fuller understanding of such connections must be sought in factors such as status group co-membership, network ties, and common world views (Swartz, 1997: 137).

The *field of power* is an overarching or 'meta-field' of struggle between those dominant in their own respective fields; and it is the social space in which the elite struggle for power to dominate; and, to deal with the internal divisions between them based upon their ownership of relevant capitals. Hence, it is not so much that there is a unified and hegemonic ruling class, but a space of contestation in which dominant members of respective fields compete with each other for legitimacy in the field of power. In this way the mode and means of wielding power is fought out and distributed:

> The field of power is a *field of forces* defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously a *field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power*. It is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field] confront one another in strategies aimed at

> preserving or transforming this balance of forces. This struggle for the imposition of the dominant principle of domination leads, at every moment, to a balance in the sharing of power, that is, to what I call a *division of the work of domination* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 76). [emphasis in original]

So the field of power ranks all other fields relative to it and fields are ranked in relation to each other in a 'chiasmatic structure'[points of overlap and fusion] whereby economic capital occupies the position as the 'dominant principle of hierarchy' and cultural capital the 'second principle of hierarchy' (Swartz, 1997: 137-138).

In summary, Bourdieu's intention was to develop a science of practices. Practices emerge where habitus (dispositions) meet with the competitive arena (field): this encapsulates the relational dimension of Bourdieu's sociology. In this context then, Swartz (1997: 141) observed, that Bourdieuian sociology endeavours to construct 'both the structure of the relevant field and the class habitus of agents involved'. Habitus, capital and field are distinct components of practices where *practice* is not equal to either of the other elements individually, as reflected in Swartz's equation:

> [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice

Hence the task in this dissertation is to identify the players in the field of governance that operates within a wider field of power. Bourdieu's concept of field stems from the political nature of his work (Swartz, 2003) and is applicable in the domain of governance. The relevant field is inter-institutional and cross-sectoral in its scope. The field concept enables the development of and understanding of the state and civil society as actors in governance across functional domains (see also Chapter Two).

With reference to the welfare field, Peillon (1998) identified a number of key elements for a sociology of the field. The first is the need to place institutional practices in a wider social context. To begin an analysis of a field it is critical to understand the location it has in the social formation as a whole. Fields are determined by the level of the autonomy they achieve from the social field in general. Fields are autonomous when they have a specific history; have a particular make up of

agencies within it; and, induces a particular habitus that maintains a distinct set of beliefs (Peillon, 1998: 215). The welfare field, in Peillon's case, is comprised of civil society actors as well as the state bureaucracy and thus 'constitutes a differentiated domain of activity' and which is 'manifested by the configuration of agents which operate within it, the resources which are mobilised and by the stakes around which struggles develop' (1998: 225). The second element is the identification of the main players and their strategies. In this case the 'players' 'include macro-agents which clash over the constitution of the field, and those agents of micro-power and counter-powers which manifest themselves at the local level, in the context of the organisation and delivery [of social benefits]' (1998: 226).[24] Thus this research project seeks out to outline and present a parallel of this very dynamic in a relational field in which social order is constructed and maintained. Moreover, the research seeks to outline the struggles and parameters of such a field.

Conclusion

While youth crime prevention has come to be dominated by concerns over indicators of risk and resilience, together with modes and methodologies for intervention, urban crime and disorder occurs in a deeply layered context as argued by Loic Wacquant. The search for an intervention technology ignores the cultural, economic and political context that gives rise to disorder; indeed, what is rolled out by way of intervention (crime prevention) is often misnamed as such, as the underlying concern relates to disorderly behaviours in response to disorderly conditions.

This dissertation is crucially concerned with the actions of actors in a setting which is itself layered with both internal and external social forces, that comprises both opportunities and restraints. The urban periphery has a historicity and a socio-spatiality that either enables or delimits the range of action, and shapes the nature of relationships established and endured. Hence a driving purpose for the research is to

[24] Peillon also identifies a third element with four sub-elements. Hence the third element of a sociological framework is about handling major questions relevant for sociology including: identifying players and agents favouring or hindering the development of the field; the way in which the mix of actors combine to organise output; how this in turn stratifies or structures the society (e.g. how middle classes benefit more in net welfare terms from welfare regimes as they do from educational systems); and, the nature of the mirco level relations between agencies (social policy) and their clients. It is not possible to operationalise all of these elements within this research but developments of the framework might be adapted and applied to a future research project in the judicial and / or policing fields.

understand both the relationships and the layers of these social relations in the urban space.

Bourdieu's concept of field then has theoretical merit, for it points towards the shaping of the field itself whereby a configuration of actors who compete for governing power and symbolic capital takes place. This brings the analysis towards the need to focus on the formation of the field, its origins and its context. The contestation over meaning and the naming of reality is critical here. A question that needs some consideration is whether, through symbolic violence, the physical space is permeated with the symbols of domination (state) and symbols and forms of integration (market). It follows that failures in such mechanisms might imply the formation of networks as a new mode of governance which trades in goodwill resources in order to build or reconstruct the stock of symbolic capital. This issue will be considered in later chapters.

The following chapter develops some of these issues in greater depth providing a further refinement of the theoretical framework of the disseration and a clarification of the focus for empirical research. It commences with an overview of criminological theories that have utilised theories of the state.

Chapter Two Youth Disorder, the State and Governance: Towards a Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter deepens a theoretical framework for the analysis of youth disorder and policing in urban peripheries in Ireland. It starts with critical and radical criminology and the identification of strengths and shortcomings of such approaches. The foremost weakness of these approaches flows from their utilisation of rigidly structural conceptions of the state. Concepts such as the 'authoritarian state' and 'authoritarian populism' are seen here as insufficient for analytical purposes as they rule out the possibility for nuance, internal division and struggle within the state apparatus. This chapter reconsiders the utilisation of such theories in the context of the restructuring of capitalism and the disaggregation of the state as encapsulated in the idea of the shift from *government* to *governance*. In this context it is argued that a fresh approach is required to understand the state in general, and the Irish state in particular. This is all the more pertinent given the rather contradictory approaches evident in theories of the state.

While some emphasise the disciplinary turn in crime control and the 'end of the welfare state' (Garland, 2001; Rose, 1999), others looking at Ireland more generally, emphasise the 'flexible developmental' nature of the state (O'Riain, 2000). Similarly, public policy discourse in Ireland, primarily in the form of National Economic and Social Council reports, has endorsed its own sociological characterisation under the banner of the 'developmental welfare state' (NESC, 2005).

The fresh approach required must grapple in particular with complex processes of governance, and examine the way in which both state and non-state actors are engaged in the process of governance at a number of levels. This chapter considers various approaches to governance together with a specific examination of the logic of network governance. Underlying this is the need for a critical criminology that

addresses the specific nature of the state form in its various manifestations across space and time.

The review of critical or radical criminology offered in Chapter Two, is the precise starting point for the theoretical framework outlined here. This is because, the 'new criminology', and the variants that it later spawned, have contributed greatly to the critical sociological and criminological analysis of urban youth crime and disorder, as depicted in the scenarios outlined in the preceding chapter. Attention then turns in Chapter Three to urban theory following Castells (1977, 1978, 1989, 2000) and Brenner et al (2003), to provide a framework for the urban character of youth disorder and state strategies.

Disorder and the State: On Critical Criminology and the Authoritarian State

While the historical materialism of critical criminology has been said to be out-moded (van Swaaningen, 1999), others have suggested that it has been recently imbued with elements of post-modernist deconstruction, feminism and left realism (Russell, 2002). That said, the central focus of critical criminologists has been the activity of the state as an agent in crime control and more widely as an active dimension in the maintenance of social order. Thus an understanding of urban youth disorder is the very stock-in-trade of critical criminology, given its concern to connect matters of social conflict with both the nature of both social and political power.

The roots of critical criminology lie in the critique of the tenets of both positivism and symbolic interactionism first introduced in the publication of *The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance* (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973) Taylor et al were critical of positivism for being unable to comprehend the individual as a social actor; and, interactionism for its inability to connect the self-other duality with the structures of power and domination in industrial society. The 'new criminology' thus imbued interactionist theory with Marxism and was intended to be a political project: its core aim was 'to assert the possibility – not only of a fully social theory of deviance – but also of a society in which men are able to assert themselves in a fully social fashion' (Taylor et al, 1973: 270).

The 'new' critical criminology emphasised the 'wider origins' of the deviant act. A theory must consider, they argued, the structural aspects of the action and thus place acts 'against the overall social context of inequalities of power, wealth and authority'…(Taylor et al, 1973: 270). Hence a political economy of crime was required to enable an understanding of acts against structural constraints and interconnected relations of the individual to the social. There was a need not only for a 'social psychology of the immediate act' of deviance, but 'a political economy of social reaction' (Taylor et al, 1973: 271-274).

The new criminology was proffered not just as social theory but as a normative theory leading to political praxis. It encouraged a form of social constructionism whereby crime was recast as the product of the actions of the social audience. Hence as the deviant was recast as a proto revolutionary with a pre-class consciousness, a romantic narrative of social radicalism was hard to avoid (see Muncie, 1999: 127-128).

Discipline, Ideology and Hegemony: Capitalist Order and Policing as Political Control

The radical direction of the New Criminology intersected with a critique of prevailing notions of social order emerging in the late 1970s. Stuart Hall et al (1978) in their work on the crisis of traditionalist consensus, provided an influential critique of the development of the authoritarian state in the face of a crisis of hegemony detected in the 1960s and 1970s. Hall and his colleagues introduced both a historical and structural view that went beyond transactional forms of interactionism. They located crime within questions of order, implicating the state as a primary force in this context. Crime and disorder were also to be understood within a set of repertoires of protest and struggle as well as the transgression of boundaries between legality and illegality (Hall et al, 1978: 184-193).

It is their utilisation of Gramsci to the study of order and social control that is most relevant here. The state was viewed in Gramscian terms as a cultural apparatus, more especially as the organiser of consent. It ruled through a 'normality' of consent and coercion. The latter enabled the legitimisation of state violence, leaving the state free

to act in an educative, ethical or cultural capacity (Hall, et al 1978: 202). The state thereby provided the framework for the winning of consent and it was only in this context that it could 'exalt both obligation and obedience' within a 'theatre of hegemony' (Hall et al, 1978: 206).

An ideological state apparatus was constructed out of the reciprocity between the 'control culture' (law and order plus traditionalist consensus) and the 'signification culture' (media). This served to reinforce the traditionalist consensus, which in the Gramscian sense, provided the 'cement' through which society and the social order were bound. In the case of the working class, the 'trinity' of values of respectability, work and discipline provided such *cement*: in elaborating youth rebellion they coined what has been referred to widely as the 'youth question':

> Hence in traditional usage, 'youth' may be condemned as much for its lack of respect as for its technical delinquency; for whereas the latter is an infringement of the rules, the former unpicks the cement provided by authority and deference which binds rebellious youth to the social order (Hall et al, 1978: 143-144).

Hall and his associates suggested that a ruling class forms alliances in order to win consent. In order to achieve this it has to protect capital, provide civil and ideological leadership and authoritatively command the 'coercive apparatuses' of the state. Through this a ruling class achieves hegemony in that it begins to 'naturalise' itself 'so that every thing appears "naturally" to favour its continuing domination' (Hall et al, 1978: 216). Disorder ruptures this level of consensus and therefore the hegemony of the ruling class through both state and civil society; in ideological terms, they constitute 'moments when the whole basis of political leadership and cultural authority becomes exposed and contested' (Hall et al, 1978: 217). These moments, constitute not a revolution or a 'collapse of the state' but the advent of a period for the state to utilise its coercive arm in order to re-secure authority after the 'crisis of hegemony'. It is in these critical moments that the basis of order (liberal consent and popular consensus) slips to reveal the coercive nature of the state. This unmasking then draws the state in the direction of struggle 'and exhibits more plainly than it does

in its routine manifestations what it is and what it must do to provide the "cement" which holds a ruptured social formation together' (Hall, et al, 1978: 217).

The key point is that the state works to build consent, and struggles for it within civil society with the armoury of coercion as a backup to this normative role. Thus the emergence of an 'authoritarian populism', had for Hall, pushed the state 'towards the coercive, disciplinary pole of state power and the expense of the consensual, hegemonic pole' (Jessop et al, 1984: 34). Adding to the debate on the Thatcher era, Hall (1979a [2006: 113]) suggested that there was a greater slide into 'a more disciplinary, authoritarian kind of society'. Popular demands for a strong disciplinary state were generated through the formation of an 'authoritarian populism'. This was fomented by a media that sold to the powerless a sense that tougher law and order measures were the only option for the restoration of social order. He suggested that the 'strong state' / 'free economy' binary, meant more popular discipline (Hall, 1979a: 115).

In this context, police forces became spokespersons for a new 'law and order bloc' (Hall, 1979a: 126). For Hall, crime was not necessarily the only operative criteria for the deployment of policing but it was utilised for the wider contemporary social crisis underway, involving industrial conflict and racially divided cities. Such conflicts as the police-public conflict at Toxteth in October 1985 for instance, were seen as evidence of this law and order bloc: the police's freedom from political control and accountability, and the operation of 'differential policing' sealed the authoritarian slide (Scraton, 1987: 182).

The cornerstone upon which critical criminology developed was the place accorded to the thesis of authoritarian statism. For Scraton (1985) and other critical criminologists, the authoritarian state and its role in disciplining the British working class was reflected in specific historical moments. The first of these moments came during 1980s in the riots with black youth on the streets at Toxteth and the policing of the Miner's Strike. The second, was the reported deceit of police officers following the Hillsborough football stadium disaster (Scraton 2000; 2005); and, the third was the renewal of authoritarianism in youth justice following the Bulger case (see Goldson 1997; 2000).

In later work, Scraton (2004: 130-131) appears to have remained attached to this in his analysis of authoritarianism in its Third Way mode. According to this view, the slide into authoritarianism in the UK continued after the Bulger case once Blair had promised to be tough on crime and its causes. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Scraton (2004: 146) reports, was widely perceived as an act that was concerned primarily with providing a 'regulatory-disciplinary approach to crime prevention' that was the culmination of New Labour rhetoric that constituted 'an amalgam of "get tough" authoritarian measures with elements of paternalism, pragmatism, communitarianism, responsibilisation and remoralisation' (Muncie 1999 in Scraton, 2004: 147). The mode that this was to take was an alliance in the form of a 'partnership' between the state, families and a multiplicity of agencies, with the emphasis on behavioural regulation and discipline, and the use of civil law Anti-social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs). Hence for Scraton, (2004: 151), 'the reality of 21st century Britain is one in which authoritarian ideology has been mobilised locally and nationally to criminalise through the back door of civil injunctions'.

At a theoretical level, the radical tradition in critical criminology drew its conceptualisation of the state based upon a reading of Poulantzas (1978). Authoritarian statism resulted, he suggested, from the crisis of capitalist development in the 1970s and the concomitant spatial and temporal reorganisation of relations of production. This precipitated a sharpening of fascist elements within the state (as opposed to a rise of a fascist state per se); it resulted from the need to bring about an institutional structure that sought to 'prevent a rise of popular struggles and the dangers which that holds for class hegemony' (Poulantzas, 1978: 210). According to Scraton (2002), Poulantzas accepted Weber's basic premise that the state under capitalism held the monopoly on legitimate violence: this was to be found throughout society in a multiplicity of forms including prisons, factories as physical coercion was codified in discipline as well as codified in laws and regulations. Hence legitimate violence was the 'determining element of power, even when such violence is not exercised in a direct or open manner' (Poulantzas, 1978 in Scraton, 2002: 22).

Critical criminology was, from the outset, based upon a radical 'interventionism', a political commitment to the powerless and to oust the pre-eminence of both structural

functionalism in social sciences and positivism in criminology in particular (Sim, et al, 1987: 9-10). Critical analysis in criminology sought to provide 'an understanding of the processes of criminalization through which consensus is forced rather than forged' (Sim et al, 1987: 63).

Initially Hall and his colleagues were challenged from within the left particularly for their reading of Poulantzas (Jessop et al, 1984). Jessop saw Thatcherism as a multiple mobilisation that had never achieved hegemony. Thus 'authoritarian populism' was never complete. Thatcher had appealed to a wide variety of class fractions including elements within the working class; and, Hall had overestimated the extent to which conservative governments had undermined services, as necessary to preserve popular appeal. In short, for Jessop and colleagues, Thatcherism was both a pragmatic and strategic state form that was never fully committed to neo-liberal ideology. However, Hall (1985) in his incisive retort at Jessop's 'point-scoring', suggested inter alia, that while Poulantzas's concept of authoritarian statism had been useful, it misread state strategy as the abandonment of corporatism and the adoption of 'anti-statism'. This led to a contradictory strategy of 'simultaneously, dismantling the welfare state, [and hence] "anti-statist" in its ideological self-representation [yet] highly state-centrist and dirigiste in many of its strategic operations' (Hall, 1985: 117).

Critical criminology under the Birmingham School had been moulded in a particular context: the 'great moving right show' (Hall 1979b) that characterised the Thatcher years. This raises questions about its applicability in both temporal and socio-spatial terms. To be sure, its theoretical bases in both Gramsci and Poulantzas were not country specific and theorised the capitalist state as a generic category. Yet there is a danger that this kind of theorising underestimates the effect of local context, tradition and the relative size and scope of the society in question.

Enter Left Realism

Radical criminology during the 1980s, split in a number of directions. The 'new criminology' of the 1970s, especially at the behest of one of its main protagonists, Jock Young, morphed into the theory of 'left realism' during the 1980s and 1990s.

Crime was reframed as a problem experienced disproportionately by the working class (Jones et al, 1986) in contrast with the social constructionist view that crime was 'a reflection of media-orchestrated moral panics or political diversion' (Lea, 1992: 69).

In their *What is to be Done About Law and Order*, Lea and Young (1984) argued that the key to understanding and acting upon the 'crisis' of order in British cities in the 1980s, was that of *relative deprivation*. Rising expectations, both in economic and social equality terms, increased the feelings of injustice amongst black youth in particular. The economic marginalisation of a generation of youth (including those of ethnic minority groups) involved denial of opportunity and lack of achievement. This had produced a youth subculture that adapted to such conditions individualistically and somewhat selfishly:

> Such a subculture is contradictory: it combines the attempt to sustain dignity and solidarity with a highly individualistic predatory streak. It faces both ways, in the direction of a petty criminality that wears down the community, and in the direction of a unity and solidarity in the face of adversity (Lea and Young, 1984: 226).

Rioting and urban disorder was never going to produce social transformation as the riots were only ever a reaction to the conditions in which this subculture found themselves. The task, for Lea and Young (1984), was less a matter of how the riots should have been interpreted or defined, but a matter of how those compelled to riot could be 're-included in the organs of political discourse' (Lea and Young, 1984: 232).

The Left Realists argued that critical and radical criminologies should 'take crime seriously', for crime, they suggested, was contrary to class consciousness and built upon a selfish response to harsher social and economic conditions. Hence crime control was a 'material necessity' for the working class and a central part of a democratic socialist reform programme. Moreover, they argued that 'the absence of an alternative politics for marginalized youth that could give their lives meaning and potential contributes substantially to the creation of crime and disorganisation' (Lea

and Young,1984: 271). The Left Realist manifesto sought to generate a politics that would at the material level create a 'humane and efficacious crime control' whilst at the ideological level, they were committed to combating the

> tendency of a divided and disillusioned public to move to the right, to construct a quasi-community out of shabby nationalism and racism, and replace the 'war against crime' notion of conventional politics with the notion that the fight against crime is one that combats the material deprivation of capitalism and the rank individualism of its values (Lea and Young, 1984: 272).

Accountable policing structures were viewed as the only way in which the working class community and the police could develop 'mutual respect and trust', in such a way that some form of intercommunicative and inclusive programmes would engage and incorporate those politically and economically marginalised (Lea and Young,1984: 237).

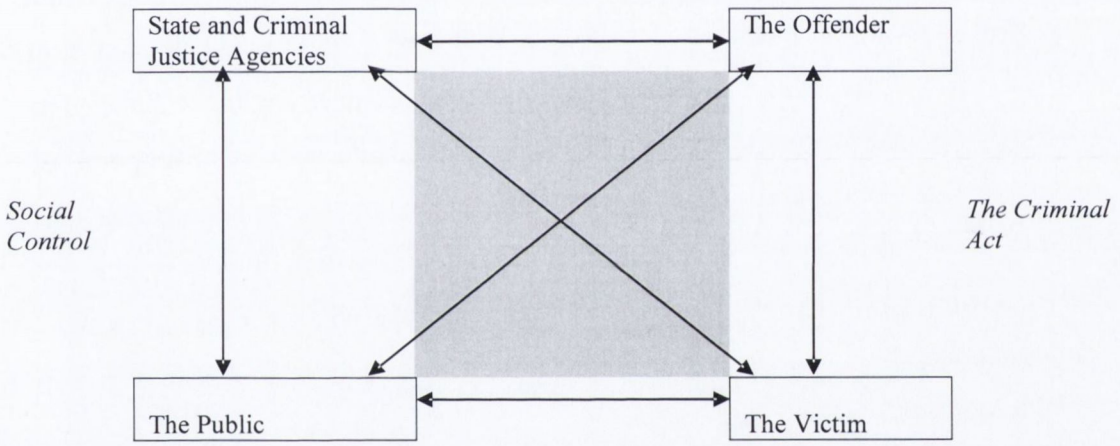
Following Habermasian theory, left realists were committed to both rationality and objectivism. While suggesting that the modernist project of establishing truth, justice and aesthetics was incomplete they rejected post-modern theory as offering only a 'dark side' or an inversion of modernism as 'postmodernists use the same tools of reason, logic and language, as those used by the modernists whom they criticize' (Young and Matthews, 1992: 14). Realists then offered an 'open system' to explain the 'multiple aetiology' of crime and encapsulated in the 'square of crime' (Young, 1992; 1994).

Following Bhaskar (1980), Young suggested that scientific laws were based upon closed systems (in vitro) but in the external world any number of extraneous factors could effect how the scientific law operated in practice. So at the meta-theoretical level, the *square of crime* reflected such an open system by the way in which it pushed leftist criminology beyond a crude Marxism and toward a focus upon the social dynamics created between actors at the meso level (see figure 2.1 below). Structural factors remained as part of the aetiological dynamic of crime and disorder, but only in so far as they generated the context and field for action. As such, actor

focused systems offered the possibility for criminologists to re-engage with aetiological issues in an open system.

Thus the 'square of crime' encapsulates the idea that the criminal act and social control were linked through a series of interactions between actors. This also represented a call for a social scientific approach leading to a left realist policy programme for dealing with crime and disorder in contemporary society.

Figure 2.1: *Social Relations of Crime and the Left Realist Square of Crime*



Source: Adapted from Young (1994: 103) and from Lea (2002: 17). The square represents relationships along two dyads - (i) the criminal act and (ii) social control [formal (top) and informal (bottom)]. Crime rates, are generated by the social relationships between the various points. Here two representations of this model have been fused to give greater clarity. Lea's (2002: 17) encapsulates this best as a system of connections between points, which develops the square of crime concept.

One of the founding principles of left realism was that of naturalism – a recognition of the nature of crime in terms of the social context and its form in temporal and spatial terms. Rates of crime, it was contended were the product of the sum of the actions of actors and the reactions of reactors, as represented on the square of crime (Young, 1992: 26-7). The 'multiple aetiology' of crime required some modelling of the intersecting factors including the cause of offending; the vulnerability of victims; thresholds of public tolerance; and, the political and social forces propelling the police (Young, 1992: 30). This dynamic relational nexus must be understood then alongside *relative deprivation* rather than the notion that *absolute poverty* was a cause of crime.

The tenets of left realism also include a focus on lived realities and 'subcultural adaptations' made within 'material circumstances [that] block cultural aspirations and where non-criminal alternatives are absent or less attractive' (Young, 1992: 38). At the level of practice it follows from an acceptance of 'multiple aetiology' that a socialist-realist crime control policy must go beyond liberal jurisprudence and toward the mobilisation of multiple agencies in the state and non-state institutions (Young, 1992: 46-7). To 'take crime seriously', policy must contain rational inputs in victim surveys that 'make reasonable the supposedly irrational' fears of victims and of the public (Young, 1992: 50). A rational output from policy would entail, taking account that crime was a 'universal problem', an overall reduction in crime and the focus of measures and resources to those suffering its effects most (Young, 1992: 53). Crime rates were generated as a result of the interplay between structural and situated actors and as a result of the mobilisation of a multiplicity of agencies and institutions. The social scientist, the criminologist in particular, represented a notional 'fifth point' of the square as a vantage point from which to observe and model the actions and reactions of actors (Young, 1992: 60). The idea of vantage point(s) is of critical importance here as it reflects the position of the researcher vis-à-vis the actors in a relational context. A similar view is adopted in the approach to the research methodology outlined in Chapter Four.

Criticisms of Left Realism

The first criticisms to be levelled at Left Realism (LR) came from critical criminologists. Sim et al (1987) criticised the left realist argument that crime divided the working class community. This proposition still tended to homogenise the working class as 'united by its fear of crime' even though it had been 'historically and contemporaneously' divided anyway (Sim et al, 1987: 45). Left realism was a political project which Sim and colleagues also criticised for restricting the field of political action to within the British Labour Party. Carlen (2002: 246) suggested that they 'fell into the trap of politicism'. Because they assumed the political project was the best way to impact on criminal justice policy, this created 'the perspective's lack of coherence and inability to produce any new critical knowledge at all'.

In addition, Sim et al (1987), challenged the idea that those involved in the 1980s riots in Britain were a subculture involving black youth of West Indian origin who had experienced a disjuncture between acceptance of the institutionalised *goals* of achievement and rewards, and the lack of available means to achieve them. Realists, so the criticism went, ignored the extent of institutionalised racism. Sim and his colleagues went so far as to accuse LR of feeding into racism itself in this regard. This was rejected by Hughes (1991) who implied that this was a narrow interpretation of Lea and Young (1984). They had not ignored the role of the police in the amplification of black deviance which fed into a decline in community-police relations (Hughes, 1991: 20). While agreeing that the notion of a black youth subculture experiencing social closure was merely asserted and not definitively grounded, Hughes agreed with the left realists on the meaning of the riots as a form of political retort to the injustice experienced arising from relative deprivation.

However, the principal flaw in LR interpretations was the running together of crime as a selfish act, with the mass collective rioting that took place. For Hughes,

> It remains unclear whether this (collective) protest represents a different adaptation to relative deprivation from that of incidents of (individualistic) street crime. For [left realists], it is sufficient to note that the acquisitive and protesting adaptations are both products of desperate times and places. Clearly the modern theorist will have to confront this complex relationship between criminality ('illegal self-interest') and protest ('illegal expressive resistance') (Hughes, 1991: 22).

Hughes's criticism of LR's failure to distinguish these two responses has merit. Nonethless left realism may be credited with shifting critical discourses towards an appreciation of the aetiology of crime and disorder as embedded in social context. Most importantly, it has provided the basis for an appreciation of the role of actors, both those within the structures of the state and its agencies, civil society and actors in the life-world. This underlines the need to understand both crime and disorder as resulting from an exchange between actors with varying levels of power and endowed with varying degrees of agency.

This argument, on the importance of researching exchange and conflict between actors, has influenced this dissertation, which advances an actor-centred interpretation of urban crime and police-youth relations in the Irish context. This does not imply the wholesale abandonment of structural analyses of economy and polity. Rather it implies that a theoretical and empirical vantage point must be achieved that can accommodate both the objective structuring dynamics of late modernity, and the varying degrees of power and agency endowed in actors in civil society, the state and the life-world.

Disorganised Capitalism and the Strategic, Goal Directed State

Much of what has been proffered in the name of a critical criminology had been premised on the notion of a crisis-ridden, authoritarian state shifting towards its coercive pole. However, in the 1980s, the nature and character of the 'crisis years' had not been fully grasped, either theoretically or politically (Hobsbawm, 1994: 408). By the end of the decade Lash and Urry (1989) argued that capitalist production and the society based upon its rationality was thrown into a period of 'disorganisation' involving a 'systematic process of dissaggregation and restructuration' (Lash and Urry, 1989: 8). This sent working class collective capacity for the mobilisation of political and social power into a period of disorganisation.

The 'disorganised capitalism' framework, presents an alternative view of the state to that of the critical criminologists. This framework had to do with the means through which labour markets were restructured. Coercion and control could indeed be exercised through the market every bit as much as it could through the police or criminal justice system. In this sense institutional structures have had to be more flexible and the process of governing has had to adapt to changing economic circumstances, not least being the onset of globalisation. Hence social science has had to review the way in which the nation-state is conceptualised (see Holton, 1998). To begin this discussion the idea of the strategic, goal oriented state is considered.

The emergence of the post-industrial or 'disorganised' mode of capitalist development as elucidated by Offe (1985) saw greater control over those with little labour market currency; labour and capital operated *closure strategies* as labour markets segmented.

Those 'problem groups' with least currency, were those least likely to moblise political resistance. Those marginal to markets remained at the edge in

> ....the institutions located on the outer limits of the labour market in which we regularly find special relations of force and control which deprive people of the resources for collective action and thus prevent them from realising their economic or other interests: family systems, schools, prisons, social security programmes, armies, hospitals and so on (Offe, 1985: 37).

Offe presented the notion of the strategising state that was managing 'functional disturbances' in the labour markets, not least those disturbances linked with the political shift from Keynesianism. Amongst the range of labour protection strategies that could be pursued (including gatekeeping the labour market in relation to particular groups or pursuing rights agendas), states could equally adopt a policy mix of reducing labour costs, stimulating investments and limiting the regulating power of trade unions. Offe suggested that this could lead to a totalisation of the labour market and to extreme forms of state violence as in Pinochet's Chile during the 1970s (Offe, 1985: 67-72).

Offe also explored the growth and significance of employment in services which operated on different criteria to manufacturing. Services produced use values and not profit per se; they involved 'improved communicative capacities'; and significantly, it was the role of services to produce order and normality which was crucial to his conclusion that a 'unifying rationality governing the work sphere' existed (Offe, 1985: 138). Services came about because of the 'complexity costs' of moblising wage labour in the disorganisation of the work-centred society. Consequently, Offe presented a paradox that may still have contemporary significance. This 'new class' of services was necessary to structure and order labour, while at the same time the growth of this class served as a point of disorganisation for the work society. This ambiguity served then to generate a need to reconceptualise both work and order (Offe, 1985: 140).

Offe argued for a shift in the focus of the sociology of work away from modes of production to 'modes of life': in the decentring of the work society, labour no longer

structured lives. Drawing from Habermas's *theory of communicative action,* Offe suggested that sociology should not restrict itself to the sphere of work but to the 'subsystems of purposive rational action'. He argued that it should

> seek to explain why the sphere of work and production, in consequence of the 'implosion' of its power to determine social life, forfeits its structuring and organising capacity, thereby releasing new fields of action marked by new actors and a new form of rationality (Offe, 1985: 150).

Such new forms of rationality involve ways in which the state articulates with modes of life, through the filters of civil society and through the market. Offe argued for a shift from a Weberian conception of the state as bound by the rationality of *rules* to a new rationality based upon *goals*. The assumption that there was a finite sequence where inputs were converted into outputs by a bureaucratic state, came into question. Thus the idea that *inputs* (legal rules and norms) led to *outputs* (procedures and organisational programmes) was reversed as state action had since come to be premised upon producing concrete results. Hence, there was a shift from the following of rules to the 'causing of effects'. (1985: 305-308). This could be achieved in two ways:

> [Either] There must be recourse to the supra-legal level of concrete evaluative notions which are designed to stabilise social order (as, for instance, in the use of 'free and democratic order' as the ultimate source of legitimacy for virtually all kinds of administrative action), or recourse must be had to the sub-legal level of *ad hoc* consensus formation among the strategically relevant segments of social actors (Offe, 1985: 310).

Offe's image here is of the state's engagement in sub-legal 'co-production' with strategically chosen elements in civil society in order to complete state functions. Indeed, state policy becomes, in this context, oriented to the 'mobilisation of the base' and the willingness of elements of the base to co-operate. For Offe, this assumes that citizens are involved in the practice of 'purposive-rational and calculative strategies'. This implies that such actors be incentivised in some way but if groups of actors have false notions about their best interest, or put another way, that they do not engage in

the 'cognitive framework of constantly calculated costs', then the state needs to intervene with a 'quasi-educational' effort on behalf of the administration in order to create some sort of civic awareness (Offe, 1985: 312). This would appear to suggest that the state must engage with external organisations in civil society in order to provide a re-organisation of the mechanisms of socialisation in order that the capitalist economic order might be restructured.

The goal-directed state therefore enlists social forces into its allegiance. The research question remains however as to which forces are included or excluded, and what mechanisms are at work?

Within this theoretical context, this dissertation explores the mobilisation of civil society in order maintenance tasks, using a research design that focuses on micro-level strategies including curriculum and pedagogy. A research methodology to capture the content and form of these mobilisations will be outlined in Chapter Four below. For now however, we note another fundamental theoretical transition here for the state, which shifts from being the sole player in *governing* and towards *governance* as a process involving a multiplicity of strategically chosen actors. This approach may be further elaborated theoretically through consideration of networks and governance.

Order and the Late Modern State: Government, Governance and Networks

If states are no longer bound within rules *in toto*, there is less bureaucractic rationality and more flexible governing. Rather than hierarchical rigidity and a strict 'orientation to the files', there is a reconfiguration of government towards both bilateralism and multilateralism in achieving *results*. This has implications for specifying the state form and for the concept of authoritarian statism. Does this mean for instance that there is a decentralisation of state power? Does it imply that the authoritarian and disciplinary *modi operandi* of the state become dispersed into the 'capillaries' of the social body? Does it offer new options to influence rationality and create both reflexive governance and institutional transformation? Does it merely reconfigure state power by divesting state functions to civil society and private institutions, while leaving the political and 'steering' functions within a smaller state? There is a

multiplicity of questions and thus possible explanations for what has come to be termed as *the shift from government to governance*.

Conceptualising Governance

If the modern state could be described as a hierarchical apparatus and characterised by central planning, top down decision making, a mix of coercion (iron fist) and persuasion (velvet glove), then its late-modern form might be characterised as a dispersed and disaggregated one, consisting of networks. Jessop (2003) adopts a *narrow view of governance* as the 'reflexive self-organisation of independent actors'. These actors are engaged in relations of 'reciprocal interdependence' that includes dialogue and 'resource-sharing', in a process that involves joint projects with mutual benefits to the constituent organisations. Governance then is distinct from top-down state planning and the market. It is hailed, as the way of resolving the complexities thrown up by both market and state (Jessop, 2003: 142).

The 'revitalisation' of theories of governance comes about for three reasons. The first is as a way of mending the 'crisis in social sciences; by enabling a bridging between disciplines: as such complexity can be accommodated by interdisciplinary collaboration. Second 'the expansion of governance practices into so many spheres represents a secular response to a dramatic intensification of societal complexity' (Jessop, 2003: 144-145). Hence governance presents itself as a mode of governing diversity and heterogeneity: the modality of 'partnership' as a governing practice thus emerges in this context. Complexity is mirrored by the state's concern about governability in the light of both globalisation and conflicting identities. This cannot be co-ordinated by state planning or markets alone and hence it 'shifts the institutional centre of gravity' (Jessop, 2003: 145).

Thirdly, it has been adopted because it appears to resolve co-ordination problems. Thus it is dressed up in positive connotations such as 'mid-way', as providing 'reflexivity' and 'negotiation' in contrast with the notion of the 'iron fist'. Hence governance appears to work through dialogue; has a network form; involves 're-scaling' and 'path shaping' as opposed to working within strict national territories. The criterion for its success goes beyond resource allocation of market and goal

attainment of the state systems and towards 'negotiated consent' (Jessop, 2003: 146). However, Jessop argues that governance is quintessentially a 'failing' enterprise, his reasons for which are outlined later.

An alternative conception of governance might be to view it as a reconfiguration or a retooling of the disciplinary or regulating apparatus, such that the state divests itself of direct concern for securing social order. In this conception, then the state relies upon civil society to assist it to maintain order together with the redefining of citizenship and the relationship between the agent and the social. Such a 'wider' view of governance has been developed by Rose (1999). Governance reflects the instrumental place of 'strategy, tactic, process, procedure or programme for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organization or locality' (Rose, 1999: 15). It can be *normative* or *descriptive*. At the normative level, is the notion of 'good' and 'bad' governance; in this sense less government and state and more use of steering rather than rowing functions. At the descriptive level, Rose suggests that this is the basis of a 'new sociology of governance' that characterises the actions of a continuum of political actors of which the state is one. Hence, 'governance refers to the outcome of all these interactions and interdependencies' in the form of 'self organising networks' (Rose, 1999: 17).

Governance takes place without 'clear sovereign authority'. Rose (1999: 18) suggests, following Foucault (1977), that the 'governmentalization of the state', in which powers gradually became concentrated in the state during the 19th and 20th centuries, allowed the state to 'survive within contemporary power relations' and to delineate what aspects of governing were to be within its competence. Governance is achieved not through top-down control of citizens, but through a web of dispersed devices, as if to connect with existing local or micro level power centres. Thus, following Foucault's (1977: 29) idea that social control had been splintered into an 'archipelago' rather than a formed physical mass, the state had become one player in a wider social process of regulating and governing, harnessing existing micro fields of power (Rose, 1999: 18).

If the state is only one element in governing, what then is the basis of state power and what is its role in governing? For Rose and Miller (1992), government is a

'historically constituted matrix' in which wishes and strategies of authorities seek to shape the beliefs and conduct of actors. Moreover,

> ...government is intrinsically linked to the activities of expertise, whose role is not one of waving an all-pervasive web of 'social control', but of enacting assorted attempts at the calculated administration of diverse aspects of conduct through countless, often competing, local tactics of education, persuasion, inducement, management, incitement, motivation and encouragement (Rose and Miller, 1992: 175).

The authors argue for a shift from viewing the state uniformly as an authoritative power wielding monolith. Hence 'the question is no longer one of accounting for the "power of the State", but of ascertaining how, and to what extent, the state is articulated into the activity of government'. Government, they suggest, is a 'discursively codified field' comprised of a performative language or a political discourse; and, amassed knowledge in the form of theories and techniques and methods as a form of 'power-knowledge' (Rose and Miller, 1992: 177). The discursively codified field is thus connected through networks sharing a common language and logic to describe their situation. Such assemblages then enable a process of rule or 'government at a distance' (Rose and Miller, 1992: 184).

For Rose (1999) the emergence of the 'third space' between state and the economy reflects a new moral field. Whereas *community* had formed around class-spatial resistances to bureaucratic rule during the 1960s and 1970s, it had by the 1980s and 1990s become *a new moral space* in which individuals formed attachment to society (Rose, 1999: 172). In this sense, it became a new site for a *civic republican left* to find an antidote to both bureaucratic rule and free market individualism. Its practice centred around the reinvigoration of the 'Aristotelean virtues' (Rose, 1999: 168). The social state has been displaced by the rediscovery of *community* such that its replacement, the 'facilitative state' emerges in order to return politics to society itself

though individual morality, organizational responsibility and ethical community (Rose, 1999: 175).[25]

The effect of this mode of governance through community is to reconfigure political subjectivity by recasting the individual as an automatized actor bound by local ties to family and a moral community. For Rose,

> The subject is addressed as a moral individual with bonds of obligation and responsibilities for conduct that are assembled in a new way – the individual in his or her community is both self-responsible and subject to certain emotional bonds of affinity to a circumscribed 'network' of other individuals... (Rose, 1999: 176-177).

This 'ethico-politics' results from the institutionalisation of communitarianism associated with Etzioni and the 'politics of virtue'. Hence, the new ethical field constitutes a *new panopticon* or a form of disciplinary power called the 'community-civility game' that involves

> new conceptions of those who are to be governed, and of the proper relations between the governors and the governed. It puts new questions into play about the kinds of people we are, the kinds of problems we face, the kinds of relations of truth and power through which we are governed and through which we should govern ourselves. [Thus] ethico-politics reworks the government of souls in the context of the increasing role that culture and consumption mechanisms play in the regulation of forms of life and identity and self techniques (Rose, 1999: 188).

This then involves the inclusion of domains under the umbrella of community including community policing which Rose suggests involves creating a grid over territories with 'circuits of communication'. So the 'community-civility game' has become the effective means of forging what Rose (2001) more recently has fused into the term 'Ethopolitics': a means of inscribing 'the norms of self-control more deeply

[25] The example given by Rose for this is Megan's Law, whereby state authorities in the United States are obliged to inform communities of the existence of sex offender; as such they bypass bureaucratic law enforcement.

into the soul of each citizen than is thought possible through either disciplinary technologies such as mass schooling or through social technologies such as those of welfare states' (Rose, 2001: 15).

From Governmentality to the Responsibilisation Thesis

The governmentality thesis has considerable merit in the sense that it draws us towards a conceptualisation but one that requires the filling of theoretical and empirical gaps, particularly at the meso-micro levels. It has been criticised also for a tendency towards 'impossiblism' by removing agency from social actors (see Crawford, 1997: 74). Foucauldian inspired approaches to governance, particularly that drawn from Garland (1996, 2001) have some merit, and this section considers their application both to this dissertation and to the Irish context.

Governmentality, for Garland (1997) is overly focused upon knowledge-based rationality and ignores the expressive emotional or moral currents in penal policy in particular. This is because Foucault did not focus on symbols and value systems or Weber's idea of 'value-rational frameworks of action'. Garland suggests that this is a failing of Foucauldian approaches because penal policy is partly shaped by such value-rational forces whose 'heavily symbolic discourse is grounded in values rather than knowledge, and its dynamic force is collective emotion rather than instrumental calculation' (Garland, 1997: 203). Furthermore, Garland (1997) argued that while the governmentality thesis is concerned with the way in which authorities develop an understanding of their relationship to a problematic to be faced, the governmentality literature tends to view these through the lens of the programmes and rationalities that are generated rather than a calculation of the authorities' own analysis of its options, against alternatives. Garland (2001: 108-110) suggested that such policy predicaments were reached by Western governments in the 1970s arose from the normality of excessively high crime rates and the recognistion of the limitations of the criminal justice state to reduce them.

Contemporary society, he suggested in this later work (Garland, 2001), is characterised by a 'dialectic' of freedom on the one hand and the need for order on the other (Garland, 2001: 195). Garland pointed to the rise of a new disciplining of the

marginal, the working class and weaker sections of society who once benefited from the social solidarity of the welfare state. The break-up of the welfare state and the shift to an economistic rationality gives rise to prudentialism in everyday life and discourse. Hence, the mobilisation of the state, police forces and the third sector towards a disciplining of sub-populations characterised by their relative risk to the social order of late modernity. In this context, working class youth, drug users, prostitutes and street beggars become singled out not only for actual harm they may inflict on others but on their potential to inflict that harm. This mobilisation is a form of 'government at a distance' in which new technologies and networks of state and non-state actors cohere in the *responsibilisation strategy*. This reflected for Garland the emergence of a 'criminology of everyday life' where crime had came to be viewed as a routine risk to be calculated by private actors.

Despite the attractions of Garland's argument, it does not fit neatly with Irish conditions. While Garland had focused upon the UK and the US it has been argued that that we need to 'beware of generalising from experiences that may be atypical' (Kilcommins et al, 2004: 37). This point had also been signalled earlier by O'Donnell and O'Sullivan (2003) who suggested that the pattern of crime control in Ireland was ridden with inconsistencies and did not resemble that of Britain. Dealing with the specifics of Garland's argument in more detail, Kilcommins et al (2004) pointed out that the idea of rehabilitation, for instance, was never embedded in Ireland and 'seldom operated at more than a rhetorical level' (Kilcommins et al, 2004: 288). Indeed, penal policy was never politicised in Ireland as in the UK and US, except for in electoral slogans. There had been a slow recognition of the position of the victims and so policy did not entirely shift in this direction. In addition, there is little evidence of a shift to the primacy of prison or custody as a form of sanction; and, whilst various institutions in the justice system have adopted a managerial discourse, it has not transferred into practice and so inefficiencies remain (Kilcommins et al, 2004: 288-291). Hence, the type of transformations identified by Garland, have only appeared in a 'dilute and distinctive hybrid form' (Kilcommins et al 2004: 292).

This also appears to challenge theories of governance built upon the governmentality thesis for this assumes a prior level of rationality of regulating technologies that may not be present. Concluding on the coherence of governing rationalities in the Irish

penal system for instance, Kilcommins et al observed that the bureaucratic experience and organisational sophistication for a punitive turn on the scale suggested by Garland, was not in place in Ireland (Kilcommins et al, 2004: 291). On this basis it appears that both the governmentality based approach and Garland's history of the present, have a reduced level of applicability in the Irish context.

While the conclusion of Kilcommins et al (2004) has considerable merit, this was reached through a symmetrical history of the present; the historic and contemporary detail that qualifies or refutes aspects of Garland's thesis. In order to expand upon the observations of Kilcommins et al, a more focused actor-based study such as the present study, has the potential to throw some additional light on this area and produce a robust and empirically grounded understanding. Such an analysis might begin with the ways in which criminal justice policy makers engage with the social through the informal rationality of networks rather than through the rule bound, legally defined justice system. Moreover, the focus of criminal justice actors on the governance of locales, as in the case of Ronanstown introduced in Chapter One, is an exact case in point. The question must be asked: is it more likely to be the case that their concern was and remains with matters of spatial governance and territorial integration, rather than with crime rates, prison populations or the technicalities of the administration of justice? Hence the issue is less whether there is a culture of control implicit in the various discourses about crime, policing and justice; and more a question of whether there is a political field of governance that manifests itself in practices and forms of interpersonal communication? This might not be discernable in official policy, legislation or even in journalistic accounts and other documentation. Indeed, actors' accounts of their operations and practices in relation to particular initiatives taken by them in the arena of youth disorder prevention and community policing, might shed some light the matrix of governance and the form and content of their networking. This is an empirical question to be considered in the empirical chapters that follow. It derives from Garland's (1997) observation that the authorities accounts for their policy choices against alternatives are central to an understanding of governance.

The governmentality thesis presupposes that governmental technologies are in place: these would have to have some consistency for them to add up to a 'rationality'. This

rules out the question of doubt or uncertainty, where states do not have clear answers or where they muddle through issues based upon an 'administrative commonsense', such as the Irish state was said to have done on the question of policy in relation to drug misuse (Butler, 1991). Hence, it may not possess the intellectual capital or capacity to govern through either knowledge or technologies. It may not have the capacity to calculate or form 'networks' based upon alliances of rationality but may instead have to rely upon the formation of alliances based on values. Moreover, Rose's (2001) concept of ethopolitics brings any analysis back to an impossibilism: it implies that of a form of dispersed authoritarianism exists, which not only appears to have become a powerful discourse, but also a totalising and impenetrable ideology attached to both structures of power and to dispersed modes of governance. It tells us much about the macro level and takes the micro and meso levels as given without considering modes of resistance and forms of reflexive co-ordination and governance.

In this way, the governmentality approach to governance also draws us away from an actor focus and towards discourses, moving from relationships between actors in various 'assemblages' and towards govern-mental discourses implied in programmes. However, it does draw us, paradoxically, towards a micro-level analysis. The thesis has merit in revealing the power relations implied, but has less merit for explaining the strength and the role that *relationships* play in the process of governance. For this, an understanding of networks and the 'relational' field that constitutes governance might be required. Indeed, the assumptions made by Rose in particular are that there is no resistance or modes of working *ironically* within governmental systems in order to mobilise alternative discourses, or alternative voices. Nevertheless, the governmentality approach to governance alerts us to the need for an understanding of discourses and systems of meaning as power-knowledge together with the regulatory power over the subject. In relation to youth crime and disorder prevention modalities, it further alerts us to the 'dispersal of discipline' (Cohen, 1985) through the governance of the subject under the widespread and fragmentary nature of panoptic based programmes of surveillance and control.

Towards a Network Approach to Governance

The governmentality approach is inadequate as a theoretical grounding for micro-level actor centred study of youth crime and disorder processes and micro-macro connections with the state. Two alternative theoretical resources are now proposed instead. The first draws upon Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence, capital and field. This is to ensure that there is some actor-centred analysis, for this gives due weight to the relations of power that bind actors, and identifies sources of capital involved in exchange. The second uses Bessant's (2002) call for a critical criminology based upon an understanding of the *competing voices* in the struggle for meaning and interpretation in policy networks. Following these two theoretical considerations, the chapter moves to consider the 'conduct' of networks to further underline the centrality of modes of exchange between actors. This is required because even if a *competing voices* perspective could be understood as operating through networks, this might only offer an appreciation of the contestation between discourses. Such a perspective might be said to underestimate the binding power of relations between actors and moreover, the forms of social and political capital that might be traded or exchanged in the process, together with the means through which such capital is accrued.

A Bourdieuian Approach to Governance

While not a governance theorist per se, a number of key aspects of Bourdieu's sociology and methodology have been identified as being consistent with current thinking on governance. This stems primarily from the political nature of Bourdieu's sociology and the position of power at the core of much of his work. While Bourdieu has focused upon cultural forms of power and not on decision making and the rationality of political systems, Swartz (2003) insists that there are considerable overlaps.

The first overlap relates to Bourdieu's related concepts of *symbolic power* and *symbolic violence*. Here power is central to social life and not independent of or

detachable from culture, economics or political systems: within each there is a contest for the 'conquest' of political power. Bourdieu (1984) had pointed out that 'classification' or the power to impose legitimate meaning represented a form of class struggle. Hence the task of sociology is to reveal the character of the underlying struggles for meaning. Political power, in this regard, is grasped by actors who win over the power to create 'doxic' or commonsense understandings (Swartz, 2003: 142). The second overlap with Bourdieu's sociology and the question of governance, is the concept of *field*. As already indicated in Chapter One, field relates to arenas in which there is a struggle over economic and cultural capital. For Swartz, as politics is dispersed into a wide variety of 'arenas of political conflict and policy formation', Bourdieu comes close to the meso-level analysis of policy networks. Such an approach 'links micro expressions of particular interests with macro power concerns'; and, 'brings into play a broader range of power centres contributing to political life than do approaches focused on the central organism of government' (Swartz, 2003: 151).

Thus, Bourdieu operates in a discourse of struggle and contestation underlining the conflict perspective to which his work belongs. Hence, an understanding of competing voices in governance arrangements, could be gleaned using a Bourdieuian conception. At the same time, Bourdieuian and Foucauldian concepts are not at variance and have been deployed as theoretical frameworks in empirical investigation in the field of governance. In their empirical analysis of the governance of housing consumption for example, Flint and Rowlands (2003) have outlined two key points of theoretical congruence. First both share a focus upon logics underpinning institutional practice in the way in which institutions classify and sort those subjects, behaviours and populations that need intervention from those capable of self-regulating:

> The logic of housing governance and how problems are identified and acted upon is determined by the habitus of policy makers and practitioners, which will be shaped by the acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital, including through formal schooling and professional training. This habitus may be conceived as a lens through which housing policy is viewed and constructed, involving the problematisation of certain behaviours, the classification of

> subjects and the implementation of various technologies aimed at normalising and disciplining conduct. Bourdieu and Foucault share an understanding that entities are shaped in part by government itself (Flint and Rowlands, 2003: 218).

Second, as habitus involves establishing values for the defining of acceptable and correct behaviour, it dovetails with Foucault's concern for a sociology of the 'conduct of conduct'. Hence a 'normalizing gaze of governance' (in Foucauldian terms), that classifies subjects and regulates everyday conduct through the filter of 'legitimised behaviour' constitutes, in Bourdieuian terms, a 'manifestation of how symbolic capital acts to define and reproduce the dominance of elite groups through a discourse of prescribed aesthetic and moral conduct' (Flint and Rowlands, 2003: 218).

In this context, governance is both a struggle for morality through its concern for the regulation of conduct, and a symbolic struggle for the position to name and define reality. The organisational matrix of governance then takes place not through the monolithic, authoritarian state, but is dispersed into networks. Hence, governance simultaneously sets up and disperses governing into capillaries and it also opens up an arena of contestation and conflict. This then involves 'legitimate naming', whereby in the field of policing, the struggle for classification is dominated often by charismatic senior police officers (see Loader and Mulcahy, 2001a; 2001b; 2003). At the same time, the field of governance presents the opportunity for learning and for expanding the action repertoires of both states and civil society. This takes place against an ever-changing macro context that presents challenges for governance. Indeed, governance might take the form of closures that are temporary and not fixed as new configurations of networks are required to respond to this changing macro context. As complexities shift, old configurations fail.

In this vein, Jessop (2003) points out that governance has in-built sources of *failure* and not fixed: goals shift as new complexities emerge to be dealt with by institutions and civil society. Amongst the failures that he identifies is that the problem at hand can be 'ungovernable', but crucially, 'interorganisational negotiation' depends to a large degree upon both communicative skills and interpersonal capacities (Jessop, 2003: 150). While Jessop's view of governance is pessimistic, he tempers this by

recognising that governance offers opportunities for reflexivity and learning at *a variety of levels*. Governments are tasked with the role of 'meta-governance' by 'organising the conditions for self-organisation' such that networking and governance occurs in the 'shadow of hierarchy'. Crucially, the state becomes a mediator and organiser as well as engaging in persuasion.

> The exchange of information and moral suasion become key sources of legitimation and the state's influence depends as much on its role as a prime source and mediator of collective intelligence as on its command over economic resources or legitimate coercion (Jessop, 2003: 156).

The failures of both governance and meta-governance requires what Jessop calls a 'satisficing' approach, combining the 'law of requisite variety' with a law of 'requisite irony'. The former, drawn from cybernetics, relates to need to ensure that a system has a constant value so that a controller can counteract for each turbulent event in the surrounding environment. Thus actors engaged in governance must exercise a degree of flexibility (Jessop, 2003: 158). Hence, the 'law of requisite irony' requires a recognition of the incompleteness and inevitable failure of governance: the point is that actors must choose between failing options. Once this is recognised, Jessop implies that only then is it possible to optimise the opportunities for reflexivity and learning.

Meso Level Theorising, Policy Communities and Policy Networks

It has been argued that Foucauldian conceptions of governance lend themselves to an understanding of competing truth claims. In her search for a renewal of critical criminology, Bessant (2002) placed Foucauldian and post-structuralism under the umbrella concept of 'post-foundationalism'. This is a catch-all term rather than a distinct school of thought in itself, that is conjoined by its scepticism about knowledge claims that mirror the operationalisation of social power. Thus post-foundationalists have misgivings about the claims of meta-narratives of class and gender structures, and about the notion that there is a 'single flow or quantity of power'. Rather, power is omnipresent and is manifested in micro-situations (Bessant, 2002: 228).

For Bessant, a 'progressive' political project is still possible following post-foundationalist thought for she suggests, following Foucault (1984) that 'discourse is not that which translates struggles…but is the thing for which there is a struggle, discourse is the power which is seized' (Foucault, in Bessant, 2002: 231). Thus the 'site of struggle' focuses around the wresting of meaning and interpretation through contestation over knowledge claims. This leads then to a bio-politics which is characterised by an interest in questions of governance. Within states, she suggests there are a multiplicity of 'voices' seeking access to the policy process, and one way in which a post-foundationalist left critical criminology should move is towards understanding these competing voices. Bessant points then to literature on policy communities and policy networks as the site where such a struggle takes place. As Bessant, has argued, a critical criminology needs to focus upon the competing voices in the process of governance. In this regard, policy communities have been suggested as a source for such a theoretical and empirical exercise. This literature, it is argued, 'theorises the role of the intellectually and professionally trained in constructing the problem' (Bessant, 2003: 233).

In his edited review of the policy communities literature, Brooks (1994) pointed out that this constitutes an 'open minded' approach that avoids 'grand generalisations' and takes an agnostic view on the role of the state as the primary influence on policy. As an open actor system, it constitutes the way in which intellectuals exercise influence over the shaping of policy 'as experts and activists attempting to influence elite or public opinion, as critics or defenders of particular interests, and as key architects of the policy discourse that structures communication within a policy community' (Brooks, 1994: 3).

In Brooks's conception of policy communities, intellectuals are involved in articulating and therefore selecting issues. They conceptualise and act as gatekeepers as well as generating contestation and struggle over social phenomena. Public intellectuals are involved in aiding civil society organisations to establish their social legitimacy. Brooks also argues that policy communities should be conceived of as having a core and an edge, for it is at the edge that public intellectuals operate 'where the popular legitimacy of policies and their intellectual and moral premises are established or contested' (Brooks, 1994: 7).

Policy communities are a distinct form of policy network in that they are characterised by a high level of social closure and thus have stable memberships. According to Rhodes and Marsh (1992), policy networks are multifarious and represent points on a continuum ranging from these tightly organised 'communities' to more loosely based 'issue networks' as summarised in Figure 2.2 below. Policy communities operate with select memberships of civil and market actors whereas issue networks have lower entry thresholds.

Issue networks are only ever involved in policy consultation but never in policy making. Tight knit policy communities are on the other hand 'tightly integrated because of continuity and consensus or because there is a powerful dominant interest' (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 250). The typologies, they argue are not mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. Policy communities / networks can have a core and periphery given resources and therefore power differentials among members (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 255). Moreover, policy networks define themselves against the issue network which the network members view as an 'outsider'. The issue network includes those actors excluded from the policy network who maintain an interest in the issue but have restricted access (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 256)

Figure 2.2: *The Rhodes Continuum of Policy Networks*

Type of Network	Characteristics of Network
Policy community / territorial community	Stability, highly restricted membership, vertical interdependence, limited horizontal articulation
Professional network	Stability, highly restricted membership, vertical interdependence, limited horizontal articulation, services interest of profession
Intergovernmental network	Limited membership, limited vertical interdependence, extensive horizontal articulation
Producer network	Fluctuating membership, limited vertical interdependence, serves interest of producer
Issue Network	Unstable, large number of members, limited vertical interdependence

Source: Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 14.

Rhodes and Marsh point out that that policy networks constitute 'privileged oligarchies' in that access has been historically determined by both economic power and the possession of knowledge. In this sense, a limited number of groups will have access to political power and to the policy making process (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 263).

Policy networks constitute an organisational form that enables the implementation of state action through selected actors. In this way they represent the matrix of governance in which the state engages in power exchanges with competing interests. As such, the power to articulate and name becomes the means through which governmentalities are produced and circulated. Accordingly, policy networks are the meeting point of powerful interests whose output determines the basis upon which those to be governed are governed.

In this vein, Smith (1994) draws upon Mann's (1984) distinction between *despotic power* (without routine consultation with civil society) and *infrastructural power* where the state penetrates civil society as a means through which political decisions can be implemented. In this sense the 'process of exchange and the building of capabilities depends on the existence of policy networks. Policy networks are relationships that allow groups and state actors to exchange resources in order to increase state capacity in policy intervention' (Smith, 1994: 37). Hence, working through policy networks, enables state actors to exercise infrastructural power. Moreover, as policy communities are closed and produce higher levels of state autonomy they return greater infrastructural power. Issue networks are fractured and dispersed and in this sense they produce lower levels of infrastructural power (Smith, 1994: 40).[26]

[26] The example of the latter offered by Smith, is health policy in the US. Doctors, through the American Medical Association have historically blocked the nationalisation of health as it would restrict their autonomy despite various attempts by presidential administrations to introduce public health insurance (Smith, 1994: 41-43). Hence there was no policy community and the various splintered interests could serve to block the introduction and implementation of state policy. State actors' autonomy was undermined hence. The opposite was the case in relation to trade policy where a tight policy community existed (1994: 46).

The policy making process is but one of the domains in which network forms of organisation operate. Indeed, the policy network framework might be restrictive given that the presupposition that *policy making* is indeed the purpose for which actors network. For a network to be in the business of policy making, it might be safe to assume that the outcome of their networking is tangible public *policy*. If not, then it might be argued that they exist to govern through the exercising of social power, regardless of output. In later chapters, I discuss this idea in relation to youth crime and disorder prevention and consider whether the purpose of such networking constitutes dispersed *policy* making or behaviour *regulation*. So far this exploration of the concept of governance has brought the discussion to *policy networks*. A closer view of the network form or at least an unpacking of it is fitting at this point in order to examine further how networks are integrated with governance. This requires some consideration of the specific logic of networks as distinct from other modes of co-ordination and regulation.

Thompson's (2003) concern is primarily with the 'conduct of networks' in the neo-Foucauldian sense. Networks are at one level both a concept and tool of analysis, as well as a mode of governance and co-ordination. They might be seen as forms of regulation, as a way of dealing with the social order. However, Thompson argues that that networks are *relational* in that what happens outside of *networks* is central to understanding the idea that they operate within the 'shadow of *hierarchy*', and / or in the shadow of the *market*. These three organisational modes operate upon separate logics: *markets* on the basis of price and competition; *hierarchies* on the basis of command, rules and authority; and, *networks* on the basis of trust and co-operation (Thompson, 2003: 14). In this sense networks must be understood against other existing modes of organisation, not as an entirely separate and isolated form (Thompson, 2003: 17).

Actors sustain networks on the basis of 'flow forces': these forces include solidarity, altruism / selflessness, loyalty, reciprocity and trust. Thompson derives this from the deployment of a Transaction Cost Analysis (TCA) where the higher level of trust, the lower the transaction cost for actors. This relationship is then supported by the level of density of the networks by the intensity of relationships therein (Thompson, 2003: 33). Hence networks operate upon the basis of generating co-operative behaviour

between its members that bonds them and seals them from top-down dogma that threatens the network as an 'ethical framework' (Thompson, 2003: 47). It is this search for the ethics of networks, based as they are on solidaristic rather than either command or competitive norms, that drives Thompson's analysis towards an understanding of the core *logics of networks*.

To define the distinct logic of networks, Thompson turns to an analysis of *gift-giving*. In this connection, he questions whether the gift should be considered as a process of *exchange* or one of *non-exchange*. Gifting, he argues, takes place within an 'economy of excess' or in 'non-productive expenditures'. This contrasts with the 'restricted economy'(of goods and services markets) which operates in the economy of *utility*. The economy of excess is concerned with gifting as 'symbolic transactions': these cannot be grasped within the economy of rational calculation (Thompson, 2003: 91). Thus networks are distinct from markets as networks do not involve an exchange based upon utility.

To expand upon this distinct logic of network action as based upon gifting, Thompson draws from a number of theoretical sources. First, from Mauss (1990), who argues that the gift is a form of 'debt and repayment' and based also upon a form of 'radical expulsion'. It simultaneously is destructive and symbolic by the way in which a party might deprive him / herself of the utility of an object in return for a reciprocated symbolic destruction of an object of equal value.

Secondly he draws from Derrida to illustrate that giving is an 'impossible act' if there is an emphasised sense of obligation. In this sense, it is not a true gift if direct reciprocation is required. Thus, the obligation must be blurred and as such while the act of giving is inclusive, it is in the same breath disguised. This specifically relates to the idea of 'giving a life' so as that others may live; the idea of service in the form of sacrifice in war or in medical experiments. Hence if

> this death is in the place of others, this implicitly establishes a social bond, even though it is a disguised or counterfeit one. Thus, what a network might itself be conceived to provide (give) is a radically new sense of knowledge and

> duty about behaviour and organization understood in this fashion (Thompson, 2003: 96).

A key element in network forms of organisation then is trust. This delineates the pure network form, from both hierarchy and market. Trust is neither a residuum or a form of rational calculation but should be reconsidered in relation to this 'impossible' or 'possible gift'. Moreover,

> Trust is precisely a quality that serves to articulate that non-exchange based economic mechanism associated with coordination through networks, one driven by considerations of cooperation and loyalty on the part of economic agents – that is, as if by genuine gifts (Thompson, 2003: 97).

This he suggests operates by enabling actors to engage in the 'studied monitoring' of their relations based upon trust. As gift giving can be based upon a disguised exchange and upon objects with no exchange value, Thompson sounds a caution: gifting also however introduces an 'inter-temporal dimension' by the way in which a gift might enable reciprocation in the future. Here, he draws from Bourdieu to suggest that a relational space is opened up that enables the idea of *strategy* to emerge. This links the present to the future and also enables the 'fake' nature of the events or the subterfuge, to take shape. Thus a network operates on the basis of an anticipation that offers might be made in subsequent rounds of engagements and interactions which incentivises parties to return to the interaction. In this way they 'provide a space for genuinely strategic thinking and negotiations, something closed off by the market and hierarchy as modes of governance and coordination' (Thompson, 2003, 101-102).

Networks operate on the logic of non-reciprocated gifts because of its orientation to blurred sense of future reciprocation. Thus Thompson sums up his argument by suggesting that

> we might say a network logic operates on the edge of the reciprocated gift and the non-reciprocated gift. Any deferred return embodied in the gift of an economy of utilities obligates one individual to another and therefore creates a

> social debt between them, while a non-reciprocated gift of the economy of excess secures its social bond in an unrecognized and unrealized form by the slight of hand of the counterfeit and disguised engagement with the place of the 'beyond' (Thompson, 2003: 107).

While governance networks might operate in the 'shadow of hierarchy', this surely does not rule out the idea of networking deployed strategically for the purpose of regulation. In this sense, networks would have to be conceived of as operating in the service of hierarchy, as the instrumental device for the strategic achievement of results through non-rational-legal means. In this sense, they deploy repertoires of persuasion rather than coercion. If networks are based upon a hidden obligation, the actions of networking agents then becomes a form of codification whereby the subject is bound in a form of moral community that may be codified in some modalities of governance. In this sense, one might ask if the operation of network governance involves trickery and subterfuge on the part of state and civil society actors?

The empirical chapters of this dissertation will explore network governance in the Irish urban peripheral context with particular emphasis on crime and disorder prevention modalities. Within this approach, it is the exchange (or disguised exchange) between actors that is key rather than the dominant power of a discourse. Discourses matter but only it seems, following Thompson (2003), if understood against the binding power of gifting. As networks operate on the basis of gift they are neither founded upon coercion or upon rational legal rules. Hence, networks operate on the basis of 'tradable goodwill'. In this sense, all levels of incorporation become levels of *persuasion* and degrees of conversation (Thompson, 2003: 184).

However, policy networks are caught in a 'pincer movement' between hierarchy and market as much more policy making is being re-incorporated back into hierarchy (Thompson, 2003: 187). Networks are criticised in one sense, for the forms of elite closure that they appear to promote. In addition, they pitch 'procedural rationality' against an 'informal rationality' and discretion. Where these two latter attributes can be criticised is for the potential for corruption where networks exchange money. However, in the ordinary course of events, what networks exchange is both information and 'influence resources' or contracts to use these for another party

(Thompson, 2003: 176). Much of this is having an influence on governments who are interested in promoting trust building from above through the promotion of social capital from below. He appears to agree with Rose when he points out that the promotion of social capital and the intellectual source of this sensibility, leads to a form of regulated freedom (Thompson, 2003: 174). Indeed, they even promote new forms of information exchange to the point that they become a form of *panoptic governance*: this is explored further in empirical chapters below.

While the governmentality thesis stresses the power of discourses and their regulative capacity, other neo-Foucauldian theorists such as Garland (1997) stress the power of values and symbols. These transmit meaning and are a crucial part of the creation and sustaining of social power. However, actors relate to each other through modes of exchange that involves the transfer of symbolic capital that bind them to a particular social order. The concept of the power of the gift as the binding force of network modes of governance opens a conceptual window onto a relational field that might be explored empirically at macro, meso and micro levels.

Conclusion

For the new criminology, a transactional thesis such as that proposed by Becker (1973) was insufficient as the sociology of deviance required a political economy in order to develop a radical practice. However, its very proponents had by the mid 1980s led the retreat toward an actor focused approach in order that crime and disorder could be understood as being the result of the interactions between institutions, the public, the victim and the perpetrators. Other strands of critical criminology, especially that which had developed from the CCCS at the University of Birmingham, placed an emphasis on the authoritarian nature of the state and its coercive tendencies in the arena of hegemony. Such structurally determinist conceptions as authoritarian statism are too rigid to account for atypical systems and nuanced scenarios thrown up by late modernity. Similarly, discourse based theories of governance while enabling an understanding of power-knowledge, overly assume the coherence of govern-mental rationalities and underestimate the strength of relationships between actors. Open actor systems might account for the dynamics that produce crime rates as Left Realists have argued.

It has been argued here, drawing from Offe (1985), that conceptions of the state have had to accommodate the shift from rule bounded legalism towards a goal directed, results oriented form. New forms of 'purposive-rational' strategies of action were called for during capitalist restructuring because the state needed to engage civil society in an educative and pedagogic role in order to resocialise the life-world so that economic restructuring itself would be possible. Hence the state could be viewed as not concerned purely with being an instrument of class rule but with reaching an accommodation through consensus with social forces so that the conditions for governability could be established.

That is not to argue however that the state has not been instrumentalist and has not engaged in forms of subterfuge. Indeed, Rose may be correct that the state has acted to mobilise a whole range of forces in order to remoralise the political subject through ethopolitics. In order to refrain from viewing this as an impossibilism, Bourdieuian conceptualisations help us to analyse both structures and agents within a contestable space in which acts of struggle and resistance are carried on over the politics of classification and forms of legitimate naming. Such is the task of public intellectuals involved in the process of governance, often acting as policy experts engaged with state actors in the policy making arena. Such an endeavour might well be a 'failing enterprise', but in order for actors and researchers to remain reflexive, they might have to adopt a 'satisficing approach' in order that critical perspectives can be accommodated, as Jessop (2003) argues.

Policy networks might constitute the matrix of social power in the late modern state but as has been argued, this assumes that the output of such forms of exchange is indeed policy making. Policy networks appear also to be a means through which the state can penetrate civil society in order to achieve infrastructural power. This might take the form, as Thompson (2003) has argued, of a process of non-exchange gift relationships, as a disguised means of binding actors to the social order. Bourdieu (1977) pointed out that such gifting, through a misrecognition by the actors in the exchange, masks the symbolic violence contained in the social relations of the exchange whereby the power of the dominant class is transmitted in the act of giving itself. This is because of the obligations it places on receivers to reciprocate, if not

immediately, then at some future time. Obligation ties actors to the order of network governance in temporal terms on the basis of deferred reciprocation. However, governance here means more than policy formulation, and is thus a broader focus than policy networks per se.

Ireland, may have been spared the extremities of a late modern 'culture of control', yet it has, for almost a decade accompanying its economic transformation, giving rise to a 'politics of intolerance' (O'Donnell and O'Sullivan, 2001). This as Garland (2001) has suggested, is part of the cultural turn to late modernity whereby people wish to enjoy the freedoms that such a social order offers, but in order to do so they must both protect themselves by gating themselves in and be satisfied that the poor are controlled and disciplined. The state then has to deny sovereignty in order to uphold freedom, and reassert it selectively.

This theoretical discussion is an entree to the complexities thrown up by the Ronanstown scenario as introduced in the Introduction to the dissertation. The purpose of this discussion has been to explore the various theoretical strands that shed light on these complexities and that provide a framework against which youth crime and disorder in the periphery can be understood. An actor focussed framework, it has been argued, offers the possibility for a theory building approach to the issue of youth crime and disorder itself and to the modalities mobilised in order that actual and would-be transgressors can be governed.

The following chapter builds upon this theoretical discussion, by conceptualising the urban periphery in socio-spatial terms. In this way a more complex model of the modalities of governance, in the guise of youth crime and disorder prevention might be understood as an urban process.

Chapter Three The Urban Periphery: Spatial Logics and Urban Disorder

Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to provide a spatial dimension to the analysis of the policing, civilising and disciplining of working class young people living in public housing estates on the periphery of towns and cities. Spatial issues were introduced at the outset in relation to the work of Wacquant and urban marginality. The chapter argues for a socio-spatial theory which deepens critical thought beyond a one-dimensional focus on the 'authoritarian' state form. The aim is to deepen the exploration of critical, realist, neo-Foucauldian criminological theory of the previous chapter, moving towards a deeper understanding of youth crime and disorder prevention programmes as a mode of *urban governance*. The chapter draws in particular from relevant work in urban sociology notably Castells's (2000) social theory of space linked with the *informational mode of development* (Castells, 1989).

The study of urban society is concerned with examining both the city as an expression of physical space and the social relations of urban life. As David Harvey (1997) pointed out, the urban should be conceptualised as the production of both space and 'spatio-temporality', as a dialectical relationship between *form* (the physicality of the city) and *process* (urban relationships). Crime and disorder prevention programmes, as one such mobilisation in urban society, constitute sets of relations between actors within specific urban locales and as such are part of the political landscape associated with urban disorder. The purpose of this exercise is to locate the emergence of youth crime and disorder prevention modalities as part of an 'urban process'.

In addition, this chapter draws its theoretical and conceptual cue from the concept of 'state-space' (Brenner et al, 2003). In introducing this concept, Brenner et al (2003: 6) provided a three-fold model of state-space in order to move beyond the idea of the state as a 'pre-given, static container in which social relations happen to occur'. Thus state-space can be considered in *narrow*, *integral* and *representational* terms. In the

narrow sense, state-space refers to the organisation of state territoriality and the evolving role of boundaries and borders within which an array of juridical and political institutions are involved in territorialising political power.

Beyond this, Brenner and his associates point out that state-space in the *integral* sense involves the way in which state institutions are deployed and mobilised strategically to the task of regulating and reorganising socio-economic relations. Hence, state spatial strategies should be viewed as 'historically specific practices through which state institutions attempt to adjust to the constantly changing geoeconomic and geopolitical conditions in which they operate' (Brenner et al, 2003: 10).

Finally, state-space in the *representational* sense refers to the way in which the spatial practices of states shape the 'subjectivities and horizons in everyday life' and the way in which both scale-specific and space-specific strategies underpin particular interests with established and new state-spaces (Brenner, 2003: 10). Such representations might involve symbolic struggle, as implied in the Bourdieuian sense in this dissertation so far. Similarly, for Brenner et al (2003: 11) the state's ability to mask the effects of its own 'shaping' through spatial strategies is essential for the way in which it maintains regulation, control and domination.

More generally, this dissertation is a state-space analysis by the way in which it runs together spatio-temporality together with modes of discipline and regulation of youth in urban peripheral settings. Modes of urban governance follow re-conceptualisations of the city: ecological theories for instance, have been influential in shaping urban labour supply side strategies and urban restructuring. It is with the emergence of ecological theories that this chapter commences.

The Urban As Ecology: Population Segregation, Moral Regions and the Functional Inequality of Power Relations

Urban sociology has been heavily influenced and to a considerable degree shaped by the early work of the Chicago School. The prevailing social Darwinism of the period defined this tradition, especially as it appropriated the principles of the natural sciences for the analysis of the urban. According to this view, the city expressed and

reflected human nature, and was therefore, the basis of social and economic organisation of the division of labour. Moreover, a type of *moral order* or a specific urban culture developed where cities existed. This explanation emerged as a way of understanding social and racial segregation in cities in the industrial era. Early Chicago sociologists drew from Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' concept to understand this segregation as part of the process of specialisation. The German adage *'stadt luft macht frei'* [27]was the enduring epitome of this view according to Park (1925: 12) as long as 'the individual man finds in the chances, the diversity of interests and tasks, and in the vast unconscious co-operation of city life the opportunity to choose his vocation and develop his peculiar individual talents'.

Furthermore, the city was perceived to be a complex 'clearing house'; in which those with these particular 'talents' or specialisations found a market place where they could be exchanged. For Park (1925), this was a form of corporate action, a way in which humans communicated in a similar way to that of the ant kingdom engaged in a form of 'automatic communication' (e.g. by leaving traces of sugar on their paths so as others could follow). Human nature, of which the city reflected the apotheosis of the development of the species, followed a similar form of automatic communication which, it was argued, formed the basis of social organisation and social control (Park, 1925: 30-31).

The city as an 'organism', emitted a form of 'tropism' or acted as a type of hypnotic stimulus which attracted people to find a place in the social order or the 'moral climate in which his peculiar nature obtains the stimulus that bring his *intimate dispositions* to full and free expression' (Park, 1925: 41).[28] Segregation was thus based upon 'moral regions' of the city: association between those of similar disposition or temperament resulted from common attraction that ended in the moral isolation of 'the poor, the vicious, the criminal and exceptional persons generally' (Park, 1925: 45). Flanagan (1993) linked this sifting of subsets of the species into particular habitats to the prevailing social Darwinism of the time.

[27] German expression translated as 'city air liberates'.
[28] Emphasis in original.

This cell-like character of the city was divisible into zones. Burgess (1925) identified five such zones in which the economic and cultural centre dominated other zones. This cell-like behaviour produced and reproduced the order of the modern city through a series of organising and re-organising adaptations.

The urban ecology of the Chicago school set out an equilibrium model of social change and social order: that the spatial relations between human beings were accommodative but that given certain interruptions of the social order, the equilibrium could be disturbed. Thus a human community could only tolerate an influx that the economic base could support, and there existed, a functional logic to levels of migration and mobility (McKenzie, 1925: 68). In this regard 'the invisible hand' of the market acted to regulate the thresholds of toleration vis-à-vis migration and economic production. The internal social organisation of the community was thus determined by invasions to the economic base. Population sifting resulted from a process of invasions and accommodations as areas of the city became marked out and defined as districts with their own cultural characteristics, a process mediated by the invisible hand of the market based on land values.

Developing this thesis, (Wirth 1938) conceptualised the city as a physical structure made up of a population base, technology and an ecological order; it was socially organised in its patterns of institutions, social structure and relationships; and, 'as a set of attitudes and ideas, and a constellation of personalities engaging in typical forms of collective behaviour and subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control' (Wirth, 1938: 19).

In summary, the Chicago School's ecological thesis conceptualised the city as a naturally segregated adaptation based upon cultural and moral cleavages that sifted the population into discrete ethnic and class groupings each with their own part in the division of labour of the city; each attracted to habitats to reside with those of social and cultural likeness. This ecological thesis was influential in shaping structural functionalist thinking in urban sociology.

In this vein, the human ecology thesis, as elucidated by Hawley ([1950] 1986), viewed the urban as a *dominated functional order*. Hawley paralleled human

community with that of the animal kingdom where a dominant species controlled the light, water and soil conditions: subdominants firstly adapted to their given conditions; and secondly, assisted in the maintenance of soil and water resources in this context. Hawley suggested that the *environment* was an independent variable and the human *population* develops adaptive modes of organisation. The *ecosystem* constituted, he argued, a range of mutual dependencies in the population by which the whole acts as a unit. In this context, the social system was based on three elements: *units, relations* and *functions* (Hawley, 1985: 2). All units in the system had functions but it was the presence of a *key function* – that function that is directly engaged with the environment – that regulated and determined the conditions under which contingent functions were performed. All other units were subordinate to the units interfacing with the key function and as such this formed the basis of a system of functional inequality. It followed therefore that there was an inequality of *sustenance claims* as those closest to the key function were higher in the system of rewards by virtue of their system status as performers of tasks at the apex of a hierarchy of functions (Hawley, 1985: 36-7). Dominance was the natural outcome of any model of the system where some social elements were viewed as being more central to the functioning of society than others.

Such equilibrium models of the city have been criticised for being blind on questions of class conflict, ethnic and racial conflicts and have a tendency toward 'biological reductionism' (Flanagan, 1993: 58). The system of rewards was based on what had been presumed to be a just distribution as this rested upon the level of access one has to the steering functions in society. Disorder in this context was deviant in that it was contrary to the functioning and reproduction of society as a whole. Critics of functionalist and ecological thought, such as Kasarda and Freidrichs (1986) argued that such thinking locked out potentially productive minorities by neo-conservative policies:

> The outcome is that increasing numbers of potentially productive minorities find themselves socially, economically and spatially isolated in segregated areas of social decline where they subsist in the absence of job opportunities, on a combination of welfare programmes and their own informal economies (Kasarda and Freidrichs, 1986 in Flanagan, 1993: 65).

Moreover, the costs associated with the marginalisation of such groups were not on the agenda in the neo-conservative policy orientation that functionalism and ecological theories led to. The plight of such groups as the working class and those most vulnerable within it to labour market shocks were viewed as a form of collateral damage (Flanagan, 1993: 68).

The Urban as Political Economy: The Structural Marxism of Manuel Castells

In essence, Castells's (1977) historical materialist revision inverted the thinking of the Chicago School. While praising their commitment to the ethnographic method, he was critical of Chicago sociology and its orientation towards social Darwinism and suggested that urban culture was neither a concept nor a theory. As such, he pointed out, a sociology based on this provided 'a lexicon' for an 'ideology of modernity, assimilated in an ethnocentric way, to the social forms of liberal capitalism' (Castells, 1977: 83). Urbanism and its ecological basis had the result, for Castells, of presuming society was united and devoid of conflict, and moreover, 'this ideology derived from the fact that it describes the every day problems experienced by people while offering an interpretation of these in terms of natural evolution, from which the division into antagonistic classes is absent' (Castells, 1977: 84-85).

In considering urban subcultures and examining the question as to whether there was a particular urban / suburban behaviour pattern, Castells pointed out that while a context might accentuate certain behavioural characteristics, there was no systematic link between urban context and ways of life:

> Specific urban mileaux must, therefore, be understood as social products, and the space/society link must be established as a problematic, as an object of research rather than as an interpretative axis of the diversity of social life, contrary to an ancient tradition in urban sociology (Castells, 1977: 108).

Whilst a residential space in an urban or suburban context might well be homogeneous in terms of class, there remains always a diversity of values and as such one could not assume that a uniform urban culture existed. Thus, for Castells, studies

of urban society must link the neighbourhood or community to society. As such Castells pointed out that residential space articulated with the social structure and could not be viewed as a blank on which one could observe specific social values. Thus social relations were not given in the characteristics of the group but these spaces represented *a process*. In other words, 'ways of life' were to be discoverable through an analysis of urban structure (Castells, 1977: 111).

On the *theory of space* Castells pointed out that there was a need to move beyond the ideological to examine class relations in action and the antagonisms that were manifested in space:

> …it is a question of going beyond the description of mechanisms of interaction between locations and activities, in order to discover the structural laws of the production and functioning of the spatial forms studied; the opposition of natural and cultural determinations of space must be superseded through an analysis of social structure considered as a dialectical process of relations between two types of elements by means of social practices determined by their historical characteristics; the differentiation of a space, the distinction between factors and processes relating to the various units, do not have signification if they are not related to the theoretically significant elements that situate the content of space in the social structure as a whole (Castells, 1977: 124).

Castells argued for a specificity of forms of social space on the basis of its articulation with structure as historical materialism. This had to do with the interfacing of a space with the mode(s) of production. This interface then was examinable and with a matrix that mapped the instance of social structure or a 'system of practices' at the economic, political-institutional and ideological level (Castells, 1977: 125). Practices at the economic level revolved around relations to the labour market, the means of production, property and technology. The political-institutional organised space around two relations: (i) domination-regulation and (ii) integration-repression; in this regard, the institutional system segregated and officialised space. The ideological level of practices organised space by denoting it with a system of signs (Castells, 1977: 126). Thus

> An exposition of spatial structure would require, therefore, a previous disorganisation of the different levels indicated (observations, concrete relations) and their modes of articulation. Then, concrete analysis might be presented, realising in a specific way the structural laws explored and thus demonstrating those laws (Castells, 1977: 127.)

While acknowledging a diversity of urban life and a cultural heterogeneity of the working class, his suggestion was that we should interpret the social as a reflex of structure. Analysis of the social could discover the structural laws in which *the social* is embedded. Castells offered a way of moving beyond the Chicago school whose analyses were devoid of political and economic analysis. Examples included his analysis of studies of social conflict and the 'urban crisis' in American cities in the 1960s and 1970s (Feagin and Hahn 1973; Lipsky 1970; Fainstein and Fainstein 1974; Gartner and Reissman 1974; Jacobs 1965; Harvey 1975).

The Urban Process and Urban Politics

Urban disorder grates against the very basis for the integration and reproduction of the urban system itself. It creates social and political anxiety but it is the potential that it has to spurn a crisis of the urban basis of the mode of production that appears to be at issue. Castells's account here, insofar as it is helpful to the analysis put forward in this dissertation, provides an alternative account of urban political disorder, theoretically articulated within his own contribution to the theory of space. For the US urban 'crisis' Castells suggested, was a crisis of a particular form of urban structure in the post World War II period arising from the articulation of (i) metropolitanisation, (ii)suburbanisation and (iii) social and political fragmentation (Castells, 1977: 382-3).

Suburbanisation began in the post-depression period where the state played a key role in the socialisation of costs of social investment; it underwrote the credit mortgage system and developed the automobile infrastructure. Hence, for Castells, it individualised consumption. This process accelerates and was complicated by 'white

flight' in the 1960s where it was assumed that other racial groups would benefit from the trickle down logic of the housing market – but this never occurred (Castells, 1977: 389). White flight eventually undermined the tax base, particularly in New York for instance, where it consequently undermined services which created difficulties for those who could not utilise the market for private consumption of services. In this way suburbanisation led to inner city decay as investment in the suburbs was met with disinvestment in the inner areas, both, Castells points out, were 'produced by the domination of the capitalist interests which affected differentially the various segments of the social classes' (Castells, 1977: 391).

Social and political fragmentation arose from differential patterns of access to and consumption of services, as suburbanisation led to a dual structure of suburb and inner city, together with a stratification of suburbs. There was, as Castells pointed out, a 'patchwork quilt of residential areas which crystallise(d) each social position into a spatial configuration with differential access to services, different organisational networks and local institutions'. This in turn led to competition for scarce resources. Planning and zoning reinforced this segregation (Castells, 1977: 391).

The growth in poverty in the inner-cities in America, Castells pointed out, led to a lack of possibilities for collective responses and as such there was a rise in street crime and neighbourhood gangs. These posed a serious threat to social order and arose from increasing urban decay and unemployment. At this time, he pointed out, the state had to find a means of engaging in some form of interventionist strategy, to maintain trust of the population of inner-cities and to do so without engaging in actual institutional or economic reform or upsetting the interests of the existing power elites (Castells, 1977: 397).

In addition, the urban crisis in the United States in the 1970s was characterised by rioting in neighbourhoods: he suggested that these were responses outside a collective movement. First, these disorders could not be explained away ecologically but had to be seen as responses to the social structure of exploitation and ideological experiences of oppression (as documented by Feagin and Hahn, 1973) (1977: 403-406). Second, there was a crisis in the system of collective consumption, and thirdly a crisis of local governments resulting from the fiscal crisis of inner-city government. These three

culminated in the crisis of the model of urban development in the US during the 1970s.

What Castells offered here was a link between (a) the breakdown of the social order, manifested in neighbourhood riots or increases in youth disorder and street crime, and (b) the crisis of the state *and* urban development. Fundamentally this precipitated a crisis in the politico-institutional system. This is where a spatial theory augments critical criminological and realist accounts of disorder at the abstract level, for it is not just the authoritarian state that becomes rattled by urban disorder. It is the ordering of the urban system itself, as it articulates with the mode of production and the state institutions driving it. However this structural line of thinking in its pure form, discounts the possibility for agency on the part of the institutional actors, whom it is assumed, are the mere lever pullers in the state apparatus.

'The urban' referred to the social organisation of the process of reproduction in advanced capitalism since concentration of the means of production implied a paralleling of the means of consumption (Castells, 1977: 431). Moreover, the process of state intervention was contained in urban planning and corresponding to this relative to class struggle Castells focused on the idea and transformative potential of *urban social movements*. These urban movements were concerned with transforming the urban system and the modification of power relations in the class struggle in state power. In parallel with his *City, Class and Power*, Castells pointed out in the *Urban Question* that urban contradictions were 'pluri-class' and did not correspond to two antagonistic relations as in classical Marxist theory for they constituted 'secondary contradictions' in that they were not rooted in the fundamental laws of the mode of production (Castells, 1977: 422-433). For Castells, it followed that the defining of an urban problem makes the question of its articulation with the structural contradictions and the articulation of practices in class struggle, both necessary and essential.

The Means of Collective Consumption

The Paris 1968 riots and subsequent workers revolt and the crisis of the American cities in the 1960s, together formed the contextual backdrop to Castells's work on the

urban question (Susser, 2002; Flanagan, 1993). Furthermore, while there was considerable academic interest in revolt and protest in the 1970s, there was a resurgence of the intellectual and the political left around the state's inability to resolve questions in relation to the 'urban crisis'. In his *City Class and Power*. Castells (1978) set out the urban question as the organisation of the *means of collective consumption* of all social groups, including the consumption of services like housing, education, health, culture and transport.

Thus the urban crisis was linked to a wider crisis based on a contradiction between productive forces and relations of production which he argued form the basis of an *ecological question*. Space and the way in which social relations were shaped and organised within it, he linked to class:

> Overcrowding, the lack of open spaces and the creation of artificial technical environments are not the inevitable results of technological progress but the expression of a certain relation to the social spatial organisation of activities. This relation is governed by the maximisation of capital accumulation whether this accumulation be private or public. Now this primacy of accumulation over social relations itself is a social relation, a class relation crystallised in a cultural model (Castells, 1978: 5).

While Castells was dealing here with more specific collective consumption markets such as housing and transport, this analysis was potentially applicable to other areas of state intervention. If we accept his line of argument here, policing and public safety, either actual or felt, is also necessary for the production of habitat that is conducive for the reproduction of labour and hence beneficial for the accumulation of capital.

The metropolitan region in advanced capitalism reflected for Castells, an *ensemble of productive forces* – the concentration of workforces close to production units and the integration of the working class into the dominant ideology: workers cohered with the segregation of work, residence and leisure; and, the act of this segregation was at the root of metropolitan planning and zoning. For Castells, the separation of the family from the means of production, the growth of nuclear families led to an atomisation of

social interests based on individualism while a growing technocracy took control of the management of the 'functioning ensemble' of productive forces:

> The metropolitan region as a central form of organisation of the space of advanced capitalism diminishes the importance of physical environment in the determination of the system of functional and social relationships, annuls the distinction between 'rural' and 'urban', and places in the forefront the 'dynamic society', the historic meeting place of social relations which forms it (Castells, 1978: 27).

The city was thus conceived as a concentration of means of production together with labour pools as part of the productive ensemble. The regionalisation of the city had less to do with morality or market position and more to do with questions of functional integration of labour with production. Land at the edges of the untamed countryside was brought under the disciplining and ordering logic of capitalism. While society underwent such a transition between modes of production (such as the transition from feudalism to capitalism), space undergoes a transition from the feral to the tamed as part of this transition and in various developmental modes afterwards. It follows that *people* who come to occupy transformed space as *labour* become those who are to be ordered under the spatial logic of capitalism in various stages. Thus the transition from inner-city to suburb entails shifting and accommodating new patterns of life.

This transition has disorganized kin networks and forms of solidarity tied to the old working class neighbourhood; it separated and atomised life by virtue of how it separated mothers from daughters and men from economic survival strategies of the informal economy and isolated families as consumption units remote from previous leisure and social outlets, as Young and Willmott (1957) have recorded in their classic study of the transition from Bethnal Green to Greenleigh. While such migration offered new possibilities for agency, it scattered social relations over a wider scale and fossilised social control mechanisms in the process. The urban question becomes relevant then as a means of comprehending the integration of space within the institutional aegis of the mode of development whatever form this should take.

This approach can also be applied in Ireland. During the late twentieth century Irish 'new towns', the peripheral housing estates and those tacked on to the fringe of the city were part of an interventionist project to grow a productive ensemble. The growth of an urban periphery leads to patterns of life including wider patterns of mobility and consumption. However, in the case of Dublin, the economic restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s meant that housing constructed from the mid-1970s were rendered isolated, invisible and disconnected (see Bartley, 1998). Indeed, urban disorder occurred in a socio-spatial context and modes of governance designed to deal with it were, in effect, the response to the disorderly conditions brought about by urban restructuring. This specific socio-temporal context, focusing on the case of Dublin is explored further in Chapter Five.

Information Technology and the Spatial Segregation of Cities: New Paradigm and New State Form?

The Informational Mode of Development

Urban restructuring simultaneously 'de-structures' the industrial order previously in situ and re-spatialises the productive ensemble. Thus urban restructuring has and remains a constant dynamic, driven over the past 15 years by the emergence of the informational economy. Indeed, Castells (1989) suggested that as a result of the development of micro-computer technology we have since the mid 1980s entered a *new technological paradigm*. This he identified as the 'informational mode of development'(IMD), which he characterized as having two key fundamental features:

> (i) The core of the new technologies have become centered on information processing – in that its raw material is information and in this regard the new paradigm 'exists and articulates a convergent set of scientific discoveries by focusing on information processing and by using the newly found informational capacity to enable articulation and communication throughout the whole spectrum of technological innovations' (Castells, 1989: 12). In this

regard, the IMD enables both new forms of output and transforms economic, social and spatial processes

(ii) In common with other new technologies, the IMD is a *process* rather than a product. Technologies transform the way in which production is organised and hence work, management, consumption and living. A fundamental effect has been to introduce flexibility into the organisation of production and management; and, 'by increasing the flexibility of all processes, new information technologies contribute to minimizing the distance between economy and society' (Castells, 1989: 17). As such there has been a transition set in train; from *industrialism* to *informationalism*.

For Castells, the coincidence of the IMD and capitalist restructuring introduces organisational characteristics that effect the restructuring process. First, knowledge becomes centralised in high-level organisations; second there is a shift towards organisational and numerical flexibility; third, there is a shift from centralised production in large corporations to decentralised *networks* of organisations.

Networks, on the basis of new information technologies, provide the organizational basis for the transformation of socially and spatially based relationships of production into flows of information and power that articulate the new flexible system of production and management. The restructuring of capitalism has used the adaptive potential of organisational networking to find breathing room for its "creative-destructive" energy, hitherto constrained by the social and political bonds inflicted upon it by a society reluctant to be but a commodity. The libertarian spirit of capitalism finally found itself at home at the last frontier where organisational networks and information flows dissolve locales and supersede societies. Informationalism and capitalism have historically merged in the process of techno-economic restructuring whose social consequences will last far beyond the social events and political circumstances that triggered the decisions leading to its development in the 1980s (Castells, 1989: 31-32).

Spatial Polarisation and the 'Dual City'

In terms of the city, the restructuring process has led to forms of spatial polarisation reflecting restructured and destructured labour forces. Thus the 'dual city' is a product of the simultaneous process of capitalist destructuring and restructuring. But there is a mismatch between the characteristics of labour in the destructuring industries and that demanded by the restructuring industry and its requirements for 'new labour' (Castells, 1989: 224), as suggested already in the case of the urban periphery above.

Moreover, residential areas of cities become 'exclusionary devices' whereby the market imposes a form of social homogeneity in class and ethnic terms. The stratification of the city intensifies along the lines of the new IMD. Thus a spatial pattern of poverty and opulence emerges based upon a market rationality – *choice* for those with capital, *strife* and greater emiseration for those without. For Castells, such a *structural dualism* leads to two processes: spatial *segregation* and spatial *segmentation* – and to occasional opposition between components of the restructured and destructured labour forces. These social universes have different connections with global communication flows and networks. This series of processes converges for Castells toward the outcome of the *dual city* which has a fundamental role in the restructuring and destructuring social class formation. Thus production organisation and the spatial dimension to class relations has come to form and shape the geography of the city in the Information Age. The essence of the Dual city is:

> an urban form that articulate[s] the rise of the new socially dominant category in the informational mode of development, while disarticulating and opposing the fragments of destructured labour as well as the components of the new labour incorporated into the emerging economic structure. The fundamental contemporary meaning of the dual city refers to the process of spatial restructuring through which distinct segments of labour are included in and excluded from the making of new history (Castells, 1989: 228).

This urban process develops a precise geography based upon a new division of labour between city spaces. In Castells's terms, and also in those of Wacquant (see Chapter One) the peripheral housing area (the *grand ensembles* or the *banlieu*) becomes entangled with the history of destructuring and restructuring. Moreover, this represents a clear theoretical alternative to the cultural explanation models of the new right (Murray, 1984) who have denied the historical and spatial dimensions to the formation of the 'underclass' For Castells it is the structuring dynamic that leads to re-proletarianisation and de-protletarianisation.

In relation to the occupational structure, such a process has been identified in the Irish context. According to Breathnach (2002) despite the conceptual idiosyncrasies of the concept of polarisation, there has been a 'more definite tendency towards occupational, earnings and household income polarisation in the 1990s' (Breathnach, 2002: 3). Indeed an updated analysis by Breathnach (2004) suggests that polarisation has been occurring in the occupational structure given the rise in professional jobs, the reduction in intermediate and skilled jobs and the rise of unskilled and undeclared occupations.

The Global City and the Space of Flows (Castells's later works)

The informational mode of development has since 1989 radicalised and intensified: in spatial terms this has led to a utilisation of space for flows of information. The city, and its space has become integrated into a hierarchy of cities linked together as either nodes or hubs (Sassen, 1991). Even if they owe little to the space they occupy, informational firms remain tied to locales as private companies have had to maintain their fixed assets. Hence, as Castells points out:

> The global city is not a place, but a process. A process by which centres of production and consumption of advanced services, and their ancillary local societies, are connected in a global network, while simultaneously downplaying the linkages with their hinterlands, on the basis of information flows (Castells, 2000: 417).

The Information Age is based upon new systems or 'milieu of innovation which Castells understands as relationships of production and management that are oriented toward new knowledge, products and processes. As such they locate close to sources of this knowledge and skill principally in advanced technology centres of universities and utilising high skilled labour (Castells, 2000: 421).

> The new industrial space is organised around flows of information that bring together and separate at the same time – depending upon the cycles of firms – their territorial components. And as the logic of information technology manufacturing trickles down from the producers of information technology devices to the users of such devices in the whole realm of manufacturing, so the new spatial logic expands, creating a multiplicity of global industrial networks whose intersections and exclusions transform the very notion of industrial location from factory sites to manufacturing flows (Castells, 2000:424).

New flexibilities are created by flows: in everyday life it enables home-working and a range of working options for those working in the *flows industries*. Castells argued that the Informational City is not a form but a process characterised by the 'structural domination of the space of flows' (Castells, 2000: 429). The city, in particular that in Europe, enters the informational age based on the articulation between the new industrial space and the socially diversified suburban space. This diversified pattern depends on a number of social and historical factors. Crucially however, the urban geography of the informational mode of development emerges as an exclusive and spatially segregated society:

> The suburban world of European cities is a socially diversified space; that is, segmented in different peripheries around the central city. There are the traditional working-class suburbs, often organized around large, public housing estate, lately in home ownership. There are the new towns…..inhabited by a younger population of the middle classes, whose age made it difficult for them to penetrate the housing market of the central city. And there are also the peripheral ghettos of older public housing estates, exemplified by Paris's La Courneuve, where new immigrant populations and

> poor working families experience exclusion from their "right to the city" (Castells, 2000: 432).

Flows, Sovereignty and Space

The city in the Information Age is made up of flows and places and the relations between the two. The 'space of flows' links separate physical locations while the 'space of place' is the organisation of activity in locality. This dynamic divides cities into zones connected with flows and those that reproduce place. Conceptually at least, spaces of place produce labour for flows in that they reproduce labour power for the various strata in the flows industries. The space of flows is a protected space.

Cities are structured and destructured simultaneously by the competing logics of the space of flows and the space of places. Cities do not disappear in the virtual networks. But they are transformed by the interface between electronic communication and physical interaction, by the combination of networks and places (Castells, 2002: 397).

In theoretical terms, this has created a tension – flows and places co-exist but the cultural context of space is being displaced and is, according to Luke (1995), premised on privileged access to flows through networks of informational circulation.

> Therefore from these building contradictions within a dialectic of organizational centralization and informational decentralization 'between spaces and flows', one might uncover in the workings of global change 'the gradual transformation of the flows of power into the power of flows' (cf. Castells, 1989). Indeed, the flows are perhaps the basis of defining new types of core, semi-peripheral, peripheral and external areas as they restructure the market niches of cities, regions and countries as 'wild' or 'tame' zones. Most importantly, informationalization entails entirely new sociospatial and sociochronic codes that simultaneously generate the (s)pace of contemporary power, ideology and exchange dynamics (Luke, 1995: 100-101).

For Luke, flows reconfigure geographies enriching some and disenfranchising others. The absence of sovereignty over flows is coupled with a reinvigorated sovereignty over places and in particular on *wild* spaces not *tamed* to order of the space of flows. In this sense there is a new policing of the social at a time when the state is uncertain or its sovereignty disturbed. Flows decentre, despatialise and dematerialise and yet they work along with and against the 'geo-political codes' of territorial sovereignty. Luke suggests therefore that 'the local and the global are commingling in new "gclocal" modes of production across and outside of national boundaries' and the new exchanges in international networks render institutions in nation states 'a fetter on the emerging glocal modes of production' (Luke, 1995: 101). Alternatively, Holton (1998) has argued that sovereignty has always been conditional and never absolute. Global flows and global elite power may not necessarily undermine nation-states. However, this does not mean that globalisation does not pose challenges for nation-state institutions.

Back to Criminology: The 'Cordon Sanitaire' and the Exclusive Society

Jock Young (1999) brought us onto this terrain through another route in his work on crime and late modernity. He pointed out that the greater the risk posed to property the more those in possession begin to construct a city based on the systematic exclusion of others and more particularly that a growing capitalised private security industry has bloomed whose very business has been the exclusion of others. The city has become a system of filters – excluding those that do not belong or who have no currency in certain spaces (Young, 1999: 18). Young also questions if we are heading for a 'dystopia of exclusion' – a dystopia based upon three key components as summarised in Figure 3.1 below.

The 'cordon sanitaire' represents an intricate series of filters that render the poor, the marginal and elements of the working class invisible or screened out of certain places:

> A clear line is created between the core group and those outside by a whole series of measures: by town planning, by road networks which divide cities, by the gating of private estates, by the blocking off of areas from easy access, but

above all by money: the cost of public transport downtown, the price of goods in the shops, the policing of the core areas, whether suburban shopping mall or inner-city development, and whether it involves private or public police, is aimed at removing uncertainties, of sweeping the streets clean of alcoholics, beggars, the mentally ill and those who congregate in groups. It is aided by the widespread introduction of CCTV (which in fact is more effective in dealing with incivilities than with serious, planned crime) and by the enforcement of numerous pieces of legislation to control disorderly behaviour (Young, 1999: 20).

Figure 3.1: *Young's Dystopia of Exclusion*

1. *The Core and Peripheral Workforces*	• Shrinking core workforce; • Increasing peripheral workforce.
2. *The Cordon Sanitaire*	• Protected spaces and lines of division demarcated by private security and CCTV; • Risk management / actuarialism; • Differential policing.
3. *The Socially Impure*	• Those termed as 'underclass', a group targeted for spatial segregation and discipline.

Source: Young (1999: 19-22)

The implication of Young's argument here is that 'planning' not only leads to 'invisibility', as Bartley (1998) has suggested for the Irish case, but it is part of a system of exclusionary devices. For all intents and purposes the *exclusive society* results from the intricate series of filters that sort those with little or no market currency or purchasing power, or indeed labour market credentials, into the same series of streams such that they result that groups develop on the basis of a common biography. Thus allocation policies of local housing authorities results in maintaining the 'dystopia of exclusion' by virtue of how they assign households to particular loci based upon the ascriptive characteristics of those households.

This late modern dynamic in some way returns us to the process identified by the Chicago school; that of systems of filters resulting in the spatial segregation and concentration of those of social and cultural likeness. However, the clear distinction is the presence of a segregating apparatus comprised of public policies and policing together with market factors such as the housing market a growing commodification of security. Newburn (2001) suggests that the turn to late modernity undermines the notion of the public police as an organisational adaptation to a cohesive and central social order, itself a paradigm of the modern. Citing Garland (1996) he suggests that if crime is accepted as a normal social fact, then the rise of gated communities, higher levels of private security are all indicative of 'the logic of late capitalism [that] requires and feeds on the commodification of security' (Newburn, 2001: 836). Moreover, there has been a rise of new 'legitimate forms of "private government" in the form of defended locales based on paid-for security expertise and the substitution of private controls for public organisation, e.g. the governing of 'super-malls' that occupy substantial spatial area of cities and suburbs. While security is being converted into product the poor are 'flawed consumers' while the rich 'seek to insulate themselves from [them by] fleeing from the urban core, hiding behind the barriers of gated communities and working within protected environments (Newburn, 2001: 841). In this sense, urban process begets urban form.

Conclusion

While the early urban ecologists of the Chicago School modelled the segregation of cities as an extension of naturalistic process of population sifting, more recent thinking suggests that this process is influenced by political and economic factors. Recent theoretical thinking has connected the urban process of protection by elites to have a determining influence on the emergence of the urban form. Castells's early work has been heavily criticised for its structural determinism, while at the same time he has rigorously demonstrated the connection between urban space with forces and relations of production. In particular, for the purposes of this dissertation, Castells has made a fundmental connection between urban rioting and disorder with the crisis of the model of urbanisation adopted by the state. His work on the informational mode of development and the 'network society' moves this analysis onto another plane. In this new model of capitalism, information is both raw material and end product, and

the process of conversion is mediated through flows of information, Castells has argued that the space of flows and the reproduction of social relations pertaining to flows, comes to dominate over all other relations between actors in urban society.

The shift to this new mode of development brings with it a challenge pertaining to sovereignty for nation states particularly in relation to the task of taming feral zones to the spatial relations of the space of flows. This it may share with others and may involve the enlisting of civil society under the rubric of crime and disorder prevention and 'active citizenship'. In this regard, the state's requirement to remain flexible and goal directed, goes against uni-dimensional ideas about its 'authoritarian' nature. This is not to say that it does not rule without both its iron fist and velvet glove together but involves specifying the nature of persuasion and coercion and the varying degrees to which they might be mixed in different local circumstances. This research will explore further the mode of mobilization of governance and more particularly the ways in which it re-orientates its 'left hand' (Bourdieu, 1998) in the hybrised practices of youth work and community policing.

The contemporary urban terrain is shaped and remade by globalisation and the primacy of information flows. This has involved a process of 'place remaking' that includes the clearing of 'undesirable' elements in order to ring-fence the culture of the global city ; and, 'rescaling' through 'institutional fixes' and restructuring industrial space for its redeployment as informational space. In this context the peripheral estates remain in the same state: often screened from view by earth embankments, shelter-belt planting and new façades along flow routes (see the case of Fairgreen South, Chapter Eight below).

The peripheralisation and marginalisation of the Dublin new towns is explored further in Chapter 5. The next chapter outlines a metholology for researching youth crime and disorder prevention modalities in the form of theoretically linked case studies.

Chapter Four Researching Youth Governance in the Urban Periphery

Introduction

Previous chapters have advanced an argument for understanding youth crime and disorder prevention in relational and socio-spatial terms. In this chapter, a methodology for researching the relational aspects of such issues is outlined. The research is comprised of a series of linked case studies based upon archived interview data and original participant observation. These case studies have been designed to provide micro-level accounts of social relationships over a ten to fifteen year period. But they have been organised within a theoretical framework derived largely from Bourdieu that seeks to grasp the levels of power operational and implied at macro, meso and micro levels of governance. The Chapters Six to Nine that follow present an empirically grounded investigation of the actions of actors within state and non-state youth organisations in civil society following the Ronanstown scenario.

The Conceptual Framework and Key Research Questions

The theoretical arguments developed in Chapters One to Three suggest very specific ways of analysing youth crime and disorder prevention in Ireland. Bourdieu's sociology encourages a field approach comprised of institutions and actors competing for symbolic and therefore legitimate power (see Figure 4.1). Emphasis on governance rather than government alone, shifts attention from an exclusive concern with state policy formation and execution from above, and encourages a network approach to modes of governance. From the theoretical considerations in Chapter Two, there are two contrasting strategies found with both government and governance; *coercion* and *persuasion*. They arise not simply from the state, but in a more complex way from state-civil society inter-actions. More macro-level themes such as state power or class domination may be explored within this framework, but so may be the possibility of a reflexive mode of governance through meso-level self-

organising networks operating through dialogic or discursive practices, themselves linked with micro-level worlds of social actors.

A conceptual scheme linking modes of state action and modes of curriculum and pedagogy is provided in Figure 4.1. Here some general coercion an persuasion strategies are outlined with respect to government and governance.

Figure 4.1: *Governance, Government and State-Civil Society Action*

	Coercion Strategies	Persuasion Strategies	
Government	Police and State Institutions *-Enforcement and extensive use of policing powers;* *-Surveillance and social control by extended judicial field (net widening)*	State Institutions *-Formulation of consent;* *-Forging of legitimate domination through symbolic power*	Modes of State Action vis-à-vis Youth Disorder
Governance	Meso Level Local Elite Networks *-Regulating Social Space* *-Securing police legitimacy* *-Mobilising social surveillance*	Meso Level Reflexive Networks *-Promotion of discursive strategies and modes of youth inclusion;* *-Promoting a public sphere for youth partcipation*	Modes of Curriculum and Pedagogy as State-Civil Society Action
	Monologic	Dialogic	

Hence, youth crime and disorder measures at local level operate within a field of governance that sets out the social space for strategies under modes of government and governance. Policing strategies using arrest-enforcement-prosecution or other strategies such as stop-and-search are examples of the top-down, 'iron-fist' approach. Where this is accompanied by surveillance, either electronic or social, it adds to the weight of coercive strategies. Youth crime and disorder prevention as a modality of policing, then involves more persuasive forms of communication, it might be argued,

seeking consent through mobilising at a cultural level in order to persuade young people as to the irrationality of their actions and the rationality of civic orientations.

This process might vary depending upon the form of local level network and its relationship to networks of actors more centrally involved in government, such as the mobilisation of existing local elites; the church or parish networks for instance. Alternatively, this might take the form of self-organising networks of actors at various levels at management and practitioner level in state institutions and civil society organisations. It might then be argued that those modalities that seek to develop communicative practices go beyond the imposition of cultural arbitrary or symbolic struggles, and towards a form of radical democratic practice that seeks to transform institutions by creating greater porosity and rational dialogue.

This typology will be used to analyse the empirical evidence. The categories used are ideal types around which the research will explore the nuances of local practice. The dissertation returns to this typology in Chapter Ten and discusses it in light of the research evidence presented.

Using this conceptual framework, the research questions posed here build upon the research carried out in the 1990s by British criminologist Ian Loader (1996). His study was based largely upon qualitative interviewing with young people in Edinburgh at a time of high unemployment. Loader drew upon Habermas' 'theory of communicative action' which rests upon a set of 'discourse ethics' that provide a framework or a set of procedural tools in which a desired change can be reached by conflicting parties. They are a set of democratic principles governing contact and are based upon a restatement of the 'equality' of parties to a conflict (Loader, 1996: 34). Habermas (1984) had argued that communicative action (part of a typology of types of 'rational' action) is a discursive alternative to both 'instrumental action', which is oriented towards success of one validity claim over another; and, to 'strategic action' which is also oriented to success indirectly through influencing the actions of other actors. Those who are party to communicative action are oriented towards *understanding*. They can exchange definitions of the situation with each other while at the same time pursuing their individual plans. When this 'process of reciprocal interpretation' breaks down, actors have 'recourse to discourse or argument' when

routine mechanisms can no longer repair the situation. However, in this context, actors have recourse to strategic or instrumental action and in the process abandon the communicative process (Johnson, 1991: 183-185).

Methodologically, Loader drew upon a form of 'depth hermeneutics' which he refers to as a set of techniques that enables an 'appreciative understanding as a dialogue between a range of competing perspectives, one in which the practical knowledge of situated subjects is entered into a conversation with the standpoint of the interpreter' (Loader, 1996: 46). In this context, depth hermeneutics are a form of 'mutual critique and education' between the interpreter and subjects and are seen as 'an initial stage in the formulation of a more ambitious explanatory account' (Loader, 1996: 47).

Loader's principal concern was the policing of young people's use of public space as this is free of direct adult supervision. Young people constructed a local 'we', a collective social network which protected its members from hostility in other less familiar (and not local) parts of the city (Loader, 1996: 64). In this potentially hostile context, young people had to develop collective protection strategies because this was not provided to them by the police. Formal policing, he argued, is limited in what it can offer to young people who are victims of violent crime because it only offers detection and arrest. This could only serve then to further threaten young people's security in public spaces (Loader, 1996: 74-75). However, police officers engaged in a form of policing of the public sphere which while being backed up by the criminal law, was more 'pedagogic' in nature:

> If young people get out of hand, the machinery of the criminal law is available and sometimes resorted to. But for the most part formal sanctions function as just one of the levers officers use to expedite the 'on the spot' order maintenance. This amounts to what one might call *pedagogic policing*. The police's primary concern is to keep young people in place by monitoring their activities and encouraging where necessary, alternative ways of passing the time. It is a practice based, not on mutual dialogue, but on 'communicating' to young people a series of messages about the norms of local public order, the places they can and cannot use, the people they should and should not be seen

> with, and the role of the police as ultimate arbiters of legitimate conduct (Loader, 1996: 88) [emphasis added].

Thus, policing in this context is about directing young people out of their 'socially unaware phase' (Loader, 1996: 100). However, pedagogic policing divides those who can be saved from those who cannot (Loader, 1996: 120) and in this context the possibility for democratic communication is remote. This is largely because police officers believe that there is a 'hard core' of repeat offenders from 'criminal families' are seen as fragmenting into a class culture that is characterised by hostility and anti-police sentiment (Loader, 1996: 126).

Loader's findings were pessimistic: he argued that the only way of ensuring any form of democratic communication between the police and the 'policed' is to 'de-centre the police'; the possibilities for which were remote. If this line of argument is pursued beyond the point where Loader left off, it becomes important to explore how far the state or civil society organisations might potentially be in a position to act in an intermediary capacity between young people and the police. There is a need then to broaden the scope of research to take account of the wider political and social relationships being played by sets of actors, not least the state.

The role of the state remains crucial here for as critical criminologists have argued (see Chapter Two) the police as one party to a conflict is not an institution that is independent of the state. Nor should it be assumed that the relationship between the police and the state administrative apparatus is devoid of contestation. This dissertation therefore seeks to build upon Loader's key work by broadening the framework to take account of the role of both civil society and state actors in setting the context for pedagogic action and the delivery of front-line curriculum in youth crime and disorder prevention. Equally, civil society actors in the guise of the youth service in this instance, require further study to establish the potential for communicative agency.

In summary, the principal questions under consideration by the research are as follows:

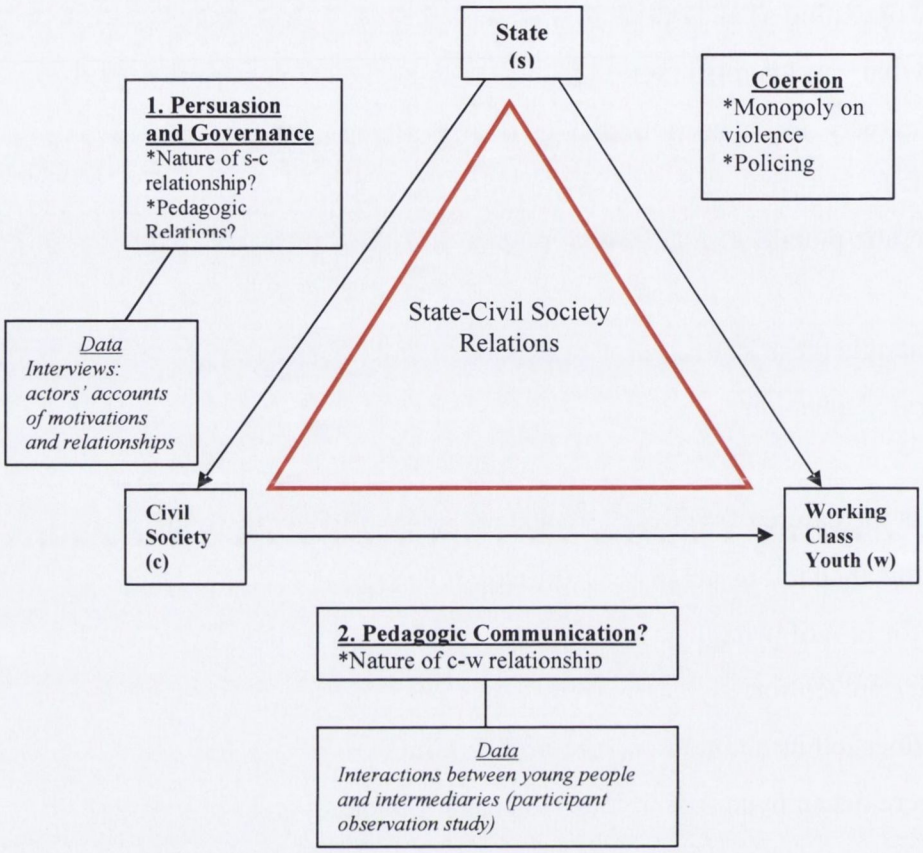
- Are youth crime and disorder prevention modalities an extension of state power operating as an adjunct to the monopoly on legitimate violence and if so in what ways is this manifest?
- Alternatively, might such modalities be considered a form of reflexive, self-organising governance that have transformative potential in creating democratic practices and discursive-communicative forms of action?

In order to untangle these key research questions, it will be necessary to unravel the following implied questions:

- What is the nature of civil society-state relationships in this field?
- Does this then tell us about the nature of governance?
- What form(s) of pedagogy is mobilised under forms of youth crime and disorder prevention?
- What does tell us about the nature of discipline?
- Are there discursive possibilities, resistances, nuances and / or ironies?

Figure 4.2 below summarises the conceptual framework and the research problematic arising from it. This is presented as a triangulated relationship between the state as the custodian of the legitimate monopoly on violence; civil society consisting of organised actors that are commissioned to the task of persuasion and governance under the rubric of crime and disorder prevention; and the young people of working class origin in the housing estates. Deeper understanding of the *s-c* relationship has the potential to reveal the nature, form and scope of these relationships. As the 'organiser' of consent, the model assumes that the state mobilises resources and pedagogy on one side of the triangle (its persuasive side) and on the other mobilises modes of coercion including the police and the criminal law.

Figure 4.2: *Conceptual map of research problematic*



The research problematic and the methodology chosen for the research are brought together in the following ways. First, the research had access to an archive of in-depth and semi-structured interviews conducted with senior state officials, police officers and local actors in both 1998 and 1999 as part of a national evaluation of the Garda Special Projects (GSP) / Garda Youth Diverion Projects (GYDPs) initiative. This provided the researcher with a ready-made database of existing material that would enable the identification of the historical, socio-spatial and criminological elements giving rise to such initiatives in the Irish urban peripheral context. The archived interviews provided an intense insight into the nature of the relationships amongst state officials, both between themselves as a group, and members of youth service organisations. They involve both a detailed recounting of the construction of the Garda Special Projects from a technical-administrative point of view, but also material on the motivations, understandings and definitions of the situation in operation following the situation at Ronanstown in 1991. From this perspective then, they provide an understanding of the nature of state civil society relations in this

domain. But they also provide an insight into urban governance and the integration of the urban periphery into the socio-spatial order, as argued in Chapter Three and developed further in Chapter Five.

Second, as the interviews had been conducted at the end of the 1990s, they provided an historic dataset, albeit limited to the macro and meso levels of governance. In order to explore in greater depth the impact of such modes of governance, research was also required on the micro level, day-to-day interactions between youth workers (as the front end resources mobilised under the GSP / GYDP initiative) and young people deemed targets of crime and disorder prevention.

Epistemological Considerations

The research involves a series of linked case studies in the field of youth crime and disorder prevention. It seeks to gain a position from which to understand both structure (in the form of the operations of systems of governing and administrative power) and micro level agency in the urban peripheral setting. Two epistemological considerations inform this position. The first of these derives from Bourdieu's practices of 'participant objectivication' and his 'epistemic reflexivity' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) whereby the sociologist's reflexivity is conditioned by their own position in the intellectual field which interacts with the field of power (see Chapter One). From here, it is possible to locate oneself on the 'insider-outsider' continuum or to give oneself a position in relation to the research. The second is drawn from the inductive tradition in sociology, whereby social life is encapsulated in the case study; where the generality of such social life can be viewed from the study of its parts. As such, theory can be elaborated on the basis of the case study, even if what it is a case of, only emerges through the act of research itself. Thus the research design seeks to encapsulate these two general influences, and these are now briefly discussed individually.

Reflexivity and Participant Objectivation

Bourdieu adopts an 'epistemic reflexivity' that places the sociologist firmly within the intellectual field, and thus, related to the field of power. In this sense, social scientists

are partial by virtue of their intellectualist bias (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 39). For Bourdieu, sociology must be a *total social science* and neither skewed in favour of theoreticism or methodologism. It follows that sociologists have to utilise 'tool kits' because

> the array of methods used must fit the problem at hand and must constantly be reflected upon *in actu*, in the very movement whereby they are deployed to resolve particular questions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 30).

Bourdieu's reflexivity is at variance with phenomenological and post-modern forms for it seeks to bolster rather than assault the 'epistimological security' of the discipline. In this sense, the effect of theory and research is to impact upon the reality it describes. For Bourdieu, reflexivity was a requirement of sociology or an 'epistemological programme in action for social science, and as a corollary a theory of intellectuals as the wielders of a dominated form of domination' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 38). Bourdieu's commitment to ethnography was based upon the objectivising of the subjective experience 'without giving up social analysis for storytelling and succumbing to the narcissistic seductions of literary entertainment' (Wacquant, 2004a: 398). Participant *objectivation*, which he suggests is 'the highest form of the sociological art' can only be realised where it is based upon 'as complete as possible on an objectivation of the interest to objectivize inscribed in the fact of participating, as well as on a bracketing of this interest and of the representations it sustains' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 260).

The research undertaken here is not full scale ethnography in the Bourdieuian sense as exemplified in the fieldwork of Wacquant (2004b) on professional boxing or Bourgois (2003) on selling crack in Harlem. It seeks nonetheless to open windows into the social field. A case study approach has been utilised that draws together available material and has utilised participant observation to examine youth crime and disorder prevention as an instance of the field of power and its connection to modes of governance in the urban periphery.

Researcher Reflexivity: Participating in the Field

In this research, my own position has varied between being both an insider and an outsider. This dichotomy rests between the role of an *outsider* (where the researcher has a professional relationship but is estranged from the internal commitments of the group or community under study); and, the *insider* who claims intimate knowledge based upon their native status within a collective or from a long term association with that group (see Labree, 2002). For Merton (1972), access to knowledge was brought into question in the context of increasing social conflict in the US and in Western societies generally. Singular affiliations with a particular group were inadequate and unstable according to Merton who argued for an interactive interchange of roles between insiders and outsiders. However, insider-outsider positions might not be viewed in rigid, dichotomous terms; for not all research scenarios conform to such homogenised situations, given that communities themselves connect with 'outsiders'. There are situations where there is variation in the statuses of actors who might be present in the setting but not have the claim to full membership. Thus a researcher can (and in some cases must) operate as both insider and outsider within a given research project. An example of this is Labaree's (2002) study of decision making in a university faculty senate of which he was a full voting member (insider status) but his research also brought him into contact with secondary members of the university who had no voting rights to whom he was an outsider. Dichotomous positions therefore suit homogenous research situations but have little relevance where the collectives (so assumed) under consideration are more fluid and dispersed, such as in the case of networks.

As a researcher my own engagement with the field has intersected with the situations and actor networks in a number of ways. The first of these took place from 1992 to 1993 as part of a research project undertaken for a BA dissertation (Bowden, 1993). This provided initial familiarity with the field close to the time of the Ronanstown situation, and the subsequent developments. A second vantage point was based upon the role I occupied myself within the field while working as a researcher at the Children's Research Centre at Trinity College Dublin between 1997 and 2000. This enabled participation in policy related networks such as the first conference of the

Children, Youth People and Crime in Britain and Ireland network at Stirling in 1998; at various conferences organised by the Irish Association for the Study of Delinquency (IASD); and, my appointment to an expert group on aspects of the juvenile justice system, at the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform between 1999 and 2001.

The third vantage point was enabled once I had been assigned as a researcher to undertake two evaluative studies in the field. The first of these was formative study of the development of the "Copping On Crime Awareness Initiative", for the Department of Education and Science. The second, an evaluation of the Garda Special Projects initiative. This third vantage point enabled a deeper and wider scale of data gathering and provided access to actors across levels of power. A fourth vantage point, was achieved through the dissemination of the evaluation results across the country that included a joint consultancy with the Dublin Institute of Technology for the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform in 2001 and 2002. The purpose of the latter was to advise on policy matters arising from the evaluation research. The fifth and final vantage point involved the participant observation study for this dissertation that included working alongside youth crime and disorder prevention workers in two different settings. The result of all these vantage points has been to provide an in-depth knowledge of the field in question by giving access to policy networks and governance networks.

Hence, in this study I am utilising these various vantage points to position myself as a participant within the field. Most importantly, I am drawing my interview data sources from the Garda Special Project evaluation (1998-1999) and from my most recent observational fieldwork undertaken in 2004-2005. While data were only gathered systematically at these two distinct points, my immersion in the field has a longer term, and participative dimension, as implied by Bourdieu. Thus during this entire period I have occupied both insider and outsider positions at different points in time. So far, most if not all, of the vantage points listed appear as 'outsider' positions vis-à-vis young people in peripheral estates, and youth workers. There are however further vantage points that complicate this picture and have 'insider' elements within them.

My own biography also intertwines with the research: reflected in three distinct ways. First, after growing up in a local authority flat complex in the Inner City, my family moved when I was 18 years old to a peripheral housing estate in Tallaght. My first job after leaving school was in a factory that within two years had closed down permanently and workers made redundant. Second, I practiced as a youth worker for six years in professional posts in an area of south central Dublin, and in the city centre area with homeless young people. Third, as a researcher my work brought me into contact with a wide variety of youth service organisations around Ireland not least my role as an evaluator, as above, but also my role as a member of the research team for the National Youth Work Development Plan in 2000-2001. Here I have mapped a personal trajectory from the peripheral context to the intellectual field, a la Bourdieu (1984), by way of the 'new service class' a la Offe (1985). My own positioning within the field thus reflects not only the occupation of vantage points, but the occupation of multiple, and indeed 'contradictory class locations' (Wright, 1989).

Apart from the vantage points that many of these positions offered, they primarily facilitated a degree of trust between myself and the informants. In this sense, I may have at times been granted the status of 'insider'. This was particularly the case during involvement in the various youth service organisations in Ireland, and similarly, in policy and practice networks in relation to youth justice and crime prevention. In both I gained substantial insider credibility. Thus when it came to revisiting archived interview data, respondents gave permission without haste. Similarly, when it came to getting access to field sites, youth service providers were equally forthcoming. Thus acting as an insider gave more legitimacy and trust to my work in later periods when acting as an outsider.

It was crucial that to observe the field that the research did not get overly close to the subjects. Some level of distance is required in this regard for as one gets closer to the status of insider, one becomes less capable of abstraction or less proficient at identifying patterns of interaction as one's researcher identity merges with those being studied (see Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). In this respect, my concern when undertaking the field study in 2004-2005 was to strictly observe interactions between the youth workers as intermediaries in the relational field rather than to engage in the private and personal lives of any of the subjects encountered. In this sense, some level of

distance was achieved. The chapter returns to the ethics of participant observation later.

Case Study Method

The research is best viewed as a series of interconnected case studies using a combination of semi structured, in-depth interviewing and participant observation fieldwork. Debates over the place of case studies in sociological research have circulated around issues to do with the generalisability of particular cases and the very concept of case itself (see Ragin, 1992). Case study research derives from the social naturalist inspired methods of the Chicago school and has provided an alternative to positivist explanatory methods. In this regard, Robert E. Stake (1978 / 2000) suggested that the case study method suited tacit knowledge for it embraced understanding, compared with the explanatory knowledge of positivism. He pointed out that 'good generalizations aid the understanding of general conditions, but good generalizations can lend one to see phenomena more simplistically than one should' (Stake, 2000: 23). This he held as cases suit an expansionist as against a reductionist model. Case study, he argued was preferable for it qualitatively matched the 'discourse of persons struggling to increase their understanding of social matters' (Stake, 2000: 24). Indeed, advocates of case study methods have suggested that in positivist approaches the actor (i.e. the case) is seen as passive and the variables as active, or put another way, the case is 'a locale in which the variables do their thing' (Abbot, 1992: 2).

In relation to the formulation, reformulation and elaboration of theory, the question of generalizability has remained a constant. However the issue is less to do with relating the study of the particular as analogue for the general and more to do with the question of *transferability* between settings. Cases provide a degree of anchorage and when supplemented with other cases, provide a greater grasp of the general. According to Walton (1992), some case studies make claims on the general without substantiation or without addressing 'what is it a case of?' A problem with this is the assumption that there is a known universe (generality) in advance of the research. Walton points out that 'hypotheses must be formed by recognising that the known universe is an illusion and, with it, that the claim to having a case of something is not

supported in any substantial way' (Walton, 1992: 125). Getting around this, Walton suggests that researchers can act in either a *substantive* or in an *analytical* way: in the former they plunge into and build upon existing known cases of the same thing; and, in the latter, they choose a deviant case in order to, for example, disprove a given law or identify exceptions.[29] For Walton, 'classic' studies such as Whyte (1955) or Goffman (1961) were classic because they could be transferred to or provide models for other contexts and settings. For Walton,

> It is, therefore, the generalizability of cases that begins to stake out broader typologies and causal processes, not some knowledge of universal sampling properties that frame cases. The universe is inferred from the case (Walton, 1992: 126).

Walton argues that cases are a process of reformulation of theory in that the case is reconceived as an empirical instance of something not foreseen, that the new case connects to both cause and to generality and that the researcher argues for or claims that the new case has greater scope (Walton, 1992: 129).

However, such a linear design does not hold in relation to the case study method deployed here. These cases are both *formulations* and *reformulations*. In the former, the case studies follow from events and the influences and roles of key actors in a field of power. In the latter, they are reformulations of the type of hypotheses suggested in the first instance by Wacquant, and also by classic studies such as Parker's (1974) *View from the Boys*; Whyte's (1955) *Street Corner Society* and by Bourgois's (2003) *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. My cases are a set of linked case studies that begin with the theoretical questions thrown up by actual and concrete events. This has forged the sequence: *events-theory-conceptualisation-empirical case analysis-formulation and reformulation of theory*. What it is a case of, then is derived both from the external context together with observations arising from the study of the relational field as an internal context.

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[29] As in the case of Margaret Mead (1977) in *Coming of Age in Samoa* where she was dispatched by Boas to uncover a negative instance of the 'storm and stress' thesis and thus find in favour of nurture over nature.

For Vaughan (1992), the key point of case study research is transferability from setting to setting. Thus varying the organisational forms chosen for study is crucial to the case study method. Comparisons of cases generate 'startling contrasts that allow, and ultimately transform, our theoretical constructs' (Vaughan, 1992: 177). Vaughan works within the inductive tradition based upon *theory elaboration* from cases studied:

> Theory elaboration is aimed at (1) developing theory that spans units and levels of analysis and (2) exploring particular sets of findings. Testing is involved, but is not testing of formal theory as conducted in the deductive, positivistic tradition. Theory elaboration depends on testing by comparison: data for each case are used to assess ('test') some theoretical apparatus (Vaughan, 1992: 181).

Theory elaboration is distinct from grounded theory but shares many common concerns; however it parts from grounded theory because it contradicts the notion of verification and discovery as a simultaneous process (Vaughan, 1992: 181). Thus by linking case studies of different groups of actors at different levels of governance, case study research seeks to create some connected understanding of the field under consideration. The question of 'what is it a case of?' becomes more complex and only possible to answer as the research progresses.[30]

The case against generalization in sociological research has been made by Lincoln and Guba (2000) in favour of the idea of the 'working hypothesis'. This arises because, they argue, claims as to the generalization of research findings are always probabilistic and therefore absolute. They are, moreover time bound as positivist generalisation becomes history before the research is printed (Lincoln and Guba,

[30] Vaughan started off her study of NASA following the space shuttle launch disaster with the 'organisational misconduct' model: data did not support this model and hence she shifted the focus of the analysis to a case of the social construction of risk as a complication rather than a replacement of the model (1992: 192). In my research, critical criminological literature suggests that the state revolves around coercion and shifts towards the creation of an ideological hegemony when faced with a crisis of legitimacy (Hall et al, 1978). The data on the other hand suggests networks, gifting and the buying of consent, through symbolic exchange through (a) signification and (b) beneficence that reproduces the field of social power. In addition, it started off conceptually as a case study of the Irish state but has shifted to a focus on how the state and civil society actors engage in governance of social space under late modern conditions. It thus represents one case study that develops a particular theory of the state and civil society, to be supplemented by others working in similar theoretical territory.

2000: 32). The basis of the 'working hypothesis' position is that while Stake's (2000) argument was for the simultaneity of formal and naturalistic paradigms, generalization within formal theory is nomothetically based (i.e. on scientific law). Thus idiographic analysis is always necessary. Again, they point out that when local factors are weighted, generalization is a working hypothesis and not a conclusion. Generalizability from a context is only transferable to another where there is a degree of 'fittingness' or congruence between the sending and receiving contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 40). Nomic generalization claims to transcend the need for such comparison. What is required, they argue is for 'thick description' of the context to enable the discovery of transferability. They draw from the metaphor of the discovery of holography (where an image is capable of being reconstructed from any component of the image) to assert that information in relation to the whole is stored in its parts, but that we need means of accessing and discovering it:

> [S]amples need not be representative in the usual statistical sense to render generalizations warrantable; any part or component is a 'perfect' sample in the sense that it contains all of the information about the whole that one might ever hope to attain... (Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 43).

Gomm, Hammersley and Foster (2000) are critical of viewing cases as microcosms without the adoption of sampling techniques, borrowed from theoretical inference and experimental research paradigms. Writing specifically with the educational setting in mind, they hold that generalization from qualitative case studies is both possible and desirable where such procedures are followed. In addition, in order to make generalizations from cases 'it is essential to use what information is available about the cases studied and the target populations; to recognize and signal possible risks to generalization of the findings; and, to organize the selection of cases for investigation in such a manner as to allow for relevant heterogeneity' (Gomm et al, 2000: 108). The problem with this argument, is of course that schools are institutional settings and they are governed by an institutional logic, organised around a particular hierarchical order and have relatively fixed population cohorts. Social life outside of such institutions is more complex and contingent and cannot be controlled in the same way as the classroom environment. Hence, Lincoln and Guba's (2000) argument has some merit in the context of the present research design.

The issue of transferability over generalizability has added merit seen against Stoeker's (1993) case study of local social movements in a particular Chicago neighbourhood under transformation. The data were gathered in three distinct periods over two decades beginning in the 1960s, and drew from participant observation, interviewing and utilisation of official and journalistic documentation. His 'intensive' research design explored the generalizability of the intense case. Local resistance organisation varied over the three periods from highly centralised, bureaucratic union type structure in period one; a federated and more densely networked federated structure in period two; and, a 'DSR' (Decentralisation, Segmentation, Reticulation) organisation in the last of the three periods. Stoeker could not generalise from his findings: he was only able to observe that the structure most successful for resisting 'growth machines' of rich urban developers, was the one that suited the local conditions where a particular type of political opportunity structure had developed.

Hence, the present research is based upon linked case studies in a variety of settings that amount to the response of state policy makers and other actors to a specific set of urban circumstances. The settings studied operate programmes that all came out of the same set of events; were brokered by the same actors and became part of a centralised scheme of community policing. Moreover, they are all linked by a network of state and civil society actors, either positively as fully integrated cases, or negatively as a deviant case.

Key Issues Guiding the Approach to the Research

The following four points are a summary of key issues arising from the above discussion.

1. The study aims to explore and comprehend the relationships established between actors and the conditions and events that forged those relatiohsips. The focus here is on the players motives and the mobilisation of ideas, values, resources and rationalities in the practice of governing urban peripheral settings. The research design was shaped in some respects by the existing data as this gave a unique

positionality within the field. Pursuing this strategy then enabled a combination of both insider and outsider roles to be played during the research.

2. The research design follows the sequence: events-theory-conceptualisation-empirical case analysis-elaboration of theory. In this sense it builds upon and works within the spirit of the analytic induction tradition, although not rigidly bound within that framework.

3. The research is not designed around engaging in nomothetic generalization and balanced more towards issues of comparison and transferability between settings. While accepting the merit of Lincoln and Guba's (2000) 'working hypothesis' argument, some level of sampling was required within this research in order to establish theoretical validity of the cases selected. Hence, it was required to have a level of variability in the cases chosen for study in order to present a cross-section of cases from the original study. There were some limits on this. In some respects access to the original informants was privileged as the study of which it was part was the first attempt to evaluate a police-justice initiative of this kind in the Republic of Ireland. Thus, the original interviews presented a uniqueness that might have been lost if a newer set of interviews were to be conducted[31].

4. To deepen the case studies elaborated from the archived interviews, and to contemporise the study, participant observation was undertaken in two sites. The research aimed for a distinct vantage point from where it would be possible to observe the interactions between those mobilised by state and civil society, and the young people who were the target for such initiatives. The criteria for selecting these had to take account of the link between the cases explored in the earlier period, as well as the possibilities and opportunities to achieve access.

5. Finally, theory is elaborated through the presentation of the qualitative data in the various cases studied. Case study research gathers data at particular periods, often responding to opportunities and access. The present study falls into this category. A

[31] This was the first time that the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform had a research budget for such studies to be carried out. Hence, participation in the research was aided by this factor in its own right, apart from any prior credibility the research had in the field.

summary of periods in which the data gathering took place, the data sources and the research strategies that they pertain to, is presented in figure 4.3 below.

Overview of the Research

Research Strategy 1: Interviews – Using Existing Sources

The revisiting of existing qualitative archives has recently become more widely practiced in sociological research (Brownlie and Howson, 2005) and has been the subject of considerable debate in contemporary sociology (Mauthner, et al 1998; Bishop, 2005; Parry and Mauthner, 2005). This approach has proved useful to sociologists where the population or the issue is hard to reach or is a sensitive subject for social research as in the case of male maximum security prisoners (Fielding and Fielding, 2000). A number of ethical and epistemological issues have been identified in relation to using existing sources or of archived datasets. Mauthner et al (1998) for instance have suggested that in general such a practice runs the risk of compromising confidentiality and anonymity given to informants; and, of losing essential background details that surround their initial collection. Attending to this by including in archives such materials as background fieldnotes and other records, is insufficient as authors discover a series of difficulties when they returned to their 'old' data. Primarily while there was more detachment, there was less emotional investment in the data and hence the researchers lost their level of immersion (Mauthner et al, 1998: 738). Hence as researchers shift their marital, employment and family status, or where they even change discipline, their positional relationship to the original data also shifts.

Figure 4.3: *Summary of Research Strategies*

Research Strategy	*1.1 Analysis of Archived Interviews (national and regional institutional actors)*	*1.2 Analysis of Archived Interviews (local actors)*	*2 Contemporary Field Study*
Method	In-depth, semi-structured interviewing	In-depth, semi-structured interviewing	Participant Observation (with some impromptu interviewing)
Data Gathering Period	September 1998 to January 1999	January to April 1999	June 2004 to May 2005
Period Reflected	1991-1998/1999	1991-1999	2004-5
Informants	Senior Government Officials; Senior Police Officers; Regional / National Youth Service Personnel	Local Police Officers (various ranks); Local Officials; youth service managers and frontline personnel	Youth Crime and Disorder Prevention Workers; individual and groups of young people; other local people and professionals as encountered
Areas	National / Regional	3 local area sites selected (from 5)	2 Areas: Fairgreen South; Leevale-Campanile Hill (LCH)

When the data for the present research project were originally gathered, they were only partly analysed based upon the interview notes. The taped interviews were archived until such time as that sufficient research time would enable the level of analysis that the interviews deserved. So as this analysis could proceed ethically, a process of contacting informants was undertaken in order to gain their consent, in keeping with the ethical issues raised by Murphy and Dingwall (2001: 343).

As such, my own relationship to the data is not so much one of returning to the data but one of expanding and re-constructing it with the view to a more rigorous and more theoretically informed analysis. While my own position shifted out of the applied and policy domains, the goal has been to move into the theoretical domain which in turn creates possibilities for generating new knowledge by stretching the interview data

within a wider theoretical framework. In addition, archiving and returning to my own research (as compared to sharing the dataset) has not lost background data given that this was retained with the dataset. Thus as the research is based upon my own archived data, a grounded theory approach was ruled out as it would have violated the first canon of such an approach, namely that analysis proceeds with data collection (see Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 6). Nevertheless, the approach to the research does share the use of theoretical sampling with grounded theory in that the research sought to examine the representativeness of concepts relevant to the cases, but departs from it by purposively selecting key informants.

An overview of the procedures adopted for selecting interviews from the total pool available for transcription and analysis, is provided in Appendix 1.

Analysis of the Interview Data (Research Strategy 1)

The interviews were transcribed and analysed using NVivo. A code list was produced for processing and further analysing the material. Given that the data were drawn from a pre-existing source, a flexible coding procedure was adopted to enable both the building of codes from the data and the use of a generic code list. The RAAMPS schema as outlined by Lofland (1971) was adopted as a basic heuristic device to order and manage the dataset. Using NVivo software, the RAAMPS list of categories became key nodes at which were coded sections of text from the interview transcripts. In addition then to coding at these nodes, additional 'free nodes' were constructed from the data as the coding progressed. This produced a set of free nodes (subsequently then recoded and re-distributed into the code list and placed with other nodes where possible). The point, was not to engage in a grounded theory analysis, but to get at the data so as a basic heuristic would serve as a launch platform for elaborating theory from the data.

Adapting it to the retrospective nature of this strand of the research data, the RAAMPS schema thus became the basis of an analytical framework that enabled the ordering of data into six key headings as outlined in figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4: The *RAAMPS Schema, Coding Start List.*

Acts: specific brief actions carried out as to how actors ordered the setting and how this enabled the future ordering of the setting.
Activities: as the *ongoing* and durable actions activities generated by key actors.
Meanings: the production of meaning in the setting through actions, documents or verbal communication between actors.
Participation: the adaptations to the situation made by actors engaged in the setting.
Relationships: how relationships were formed or transformed and the modes of engagement by which actors communicate(d).
The **Setting**: in this context the setting represents a number of locales – i.e. urban peripheral housing estates.
Source: adapted from Lofland 1971; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 61.

Research Strategy 2: Participant Observation

Access and Entry

Participant observation was chosen as a means of gaining a vantage point from which to witness the conduct of everyday interactions involved in youth crime and disorder prevention programmes in working class housing estates. It was assumed that this would involve structured, organised, and programmed activity. Upon entry however, there was a number of reasons why this was not the case (see relevant chapters), much of it relating to the timing of the research, the resources available locally to the host organisation, and compounded in one instance by the atmosphere of violence surrounding the emerging cocaine trade.[32] The point was to observe both curriculum in action, and thus the pedagogic agency associated with that. More detailed discussion of this is contained in the opening of chapters eight and nine.

[32] The research took place also against the backdrop of 'Operation Anvil', a Garda crackdown on criminal networks in urban housing estates. Both Fairgreen South and LCH were targets for this operation (see relevant chapters).

The fieldwork was carried out at two sites. The first of these was at Fairgreen South, where the Fairgreen Youth Service, a local branch of the regional organisation the Diocesan Youth Service (DYS) acted as the host to the research. The second was at Leevale Campanile-Hill, where I managed to work alongside staff for about 12 weeks, and with one youth worker for eight weeks. The entire participant observation stage of the research was conducted over 12 months. The two field sites were selected purposively. Fairgreen because of its historic connection to other DYS sites (at Ballynew in particular), and Leevale-Campanile Hill, again as a deviant case and as a site where I had originally conducted interviews in 1999. Crucially however, these were two sites where entry and access were possible given the timeframe and resources available to this research.

Researcher's Vantage Point(s) and Participant Observer Ethics

The principle of informed consent guided the research on the basis that to do otherwise would be a deception for as Bulmer (1982: 219) suggests that 'to insinuate oneself into a particular setting on false pretences, in order to gather material for research, violates the right of the individual to be let alone, to control his personal sphere and information about himself'.

Figure 4.5: *Researcher Statuses in Participant Observation*

Overt insider	**Overt outsider**
Covert insider	**Covert outsider**

Bulmer (1982: 239) offered four possibilities for participant observation as in figure 4.5 above. For this research, I played the role of an overt outsider. Covert participant observation is at times justified in certain settings and, as has been argued is not simply or 'inherently transgressive' (Lugosi, 2006) [see also Rosenhan's (1982) study of patients in a psychiatric institution]. However, practices such as those of Humphrey (1970) involving the observation of sexual practices amongst homosexuals in public toilets was said to have preyed upon men who were vulnerable, damaged the reputation of the social science profession, and used both deception and

misrepresentation (Warwick, 1982). To avoid such calamity, the present study remained as open as possible. The research was explained to key informants, and when I was introduced to young people, my status as a researcher was made known. Often however, this was not fully understood or grasped by those who were encountered. At times for instance, it suited my gatekeepers to describe me as 'a student' or 'Matt is working with us for a while'. Either way, I was presented as an overt outsider.

The vantage point that could be gained was in part facilitated by the institutional necessity for youth workers to work in pairs. Thus youth service organisations employ staff on a per session basis to accompany their workers. The purpose of this is for staff safety and as a 'safeguarding' device for both young people and adults who have contact with them. Hence, I became in both LCH and in Fairgreen, an unpaid accompanier. My own observer standpoint was that of the youth worker. This position thus enabled observation of the other youth worker(s) (*Geoff* and his colleagues in Fairgreen South; *Rick* and his colleagues in LCH) and his interactions with the young people; the young people's interactions with each other; my own interaction with young people; my interaction with the youth worker; and, the youth worker's interaction with institutions, professionals and families.

The overt outsider status was confirmed in the case of LCH as both I and the youth service issued a letter to parents of a particular group of boys (The Tuesday Club) as part of my accompaniment of Rick (the youth worker) would involve regular contact with this group. The letter described me as a researcher from the university who was working alongside the youth work staff for a thesis that he was writing. Parents had to sign and return a sheet giving their approval, which they fulfilled positively. In Fairgreen, most of my structured interaction was with an older group of young men aged 17 and over (The Plumford Boys); the youth service did not require that I would seek parental consent. However, every opportunity was taken to alert the boys as to my status. Despite this, my identity was an issue initially but this changed as we became more familiar and trusting. Both Geoff the youth worker and myself had to work hard to convince the boys that I was not a police officer. This eventually became a form of play and so rather than getting into outright denials, my strategy was to play along rather than appear defensive:

> The group rose and started for the door and as we moved to the car park the conversation went something like this:
>
> [Jimbo] "Why did you not have a game with us tonight Matt"?
> [Matt] "Geoff wouldn't let me. He said I wasn't good enough".
> [Jimbo] "Are you any good"?
> [Matt] "I used to be, but I haven't played for a few years".
> [Micko] "Will you be playing for the Guards on Tuesday"?
> [Jimbo] "That's right, he is a Guard, aren't you Matt".
> [Matt] "No".
> [Sonnie] "I forgot your name".
> [Matt] "Matt" [I shook his hand].
> [Micko] "He is a Guard".
> [Matt] "Do I look like a Guard to you? You look more like a Guard than I do with that tight hair cut of yours. Look you all have tight haircuts".
> [Jimbo] "Well you do as well".
> [Matt] "No I am just bald".
> [Jimbo] "You could be undercover".
> [Matt] "So could you".
> [FSGYDP 06, Para 81-97][33]

Participant observation with young people has a history of research practice that might, retrospectively, be seen as unethical with changing concerns about child protection. The vantage point gained by Parker (1974) might not be feasible today. Parker worked as a community youth worker at a residential holiday centre for Liverpool youth and this gave him a familiarity once he entered the field. He explained his presence amongst the boys initially that he was 'bumming around' as he had just got a new job at the university but was waiting for it to start. Thus Parker's entry to the Roundhouse Boys was aided by being able to establish the identity of 'Howard from Sandhills'. Moreover, his confessed demeanour as 'boozy', that he looked not unlike The Boys in his dress, and that he could play football, gave him greater acceptability. This was also strengthened by their identification with his job that he could be paid to 'hang around' and do a few hours teaching a week that they perceived as a 'cushy number'. Thus to gain an 'in', Parker boxed cleverly about his status as if 'the less known, the better'. On the other hand, Patrick (1973) entered the Glasgow gang he observed by being overtly untruthful about his status. Moreover, in this instance, the researcher teamed up on weekend leave with Tim, an inmate at an 'approved school' where Patrick worked and entered the field as a fellow gang

[33] NVivo data address. FSGYDP = Fairgreen South Garda Youth Diversion Project, 06 is the fieldnote document number, and 81-97 are the paragraph locations. These addresses are used in Chapters Eight and Nine for fieldnote data.

member. Patrick reported that being a teacher midweek and a gang member at the weekend placed him in an internal struggle 'between identification with the boys and [an] abhorrence of their violence' (Patrick, 1973: 14). Patrick left the field for this reason.

Thus by locating myself with the youth worker (the point after all was to observe his/her interactions) and by my insistence that I was not particularly interested in delving into private issues of the young people, I avoided any of the unethical positioning and voyeuristic character of the latter example.

Thus, my own principal 'stranger handlers' (Agar, 1996:137) in both LCH and in Fairgreen, were the two front line workers; they determined whom I came in contact with. The point was not to gain access to the 'regulars' but to examine how the 'stranger-handlers' handled regulars, albeit in the presence of a stranger. This idea is adopted from Agar (1996) who cited Whyte's classic relationship with Doc who taught him the precise sequencing of interventions, i.e. when to ask questions and when to remain silent. Gatekeepers understood my background as a researcher and what I had previously researched and understood also that what I wanted to study was how the young people interacted with them and participated in whatever activities or interactions were going on. I sought to impart that the point of the research was to explore the young people's engagements with youth workers in the crime prevention initiatives as a form of civic engagement. As youth workers led each interaction, I was in an instant position to observe the young people's interaction as a form of engagement with civil society, and with organisations and institutions in the setting. Indeed, the goal here is to learn from the insider (both Geoff and Rick were insiders); this stresses the idea that 'you're looking for a teacher with whom you have rapport' (Agar, 1996: 39). In this way one's vantage point becomes the point from which you can be inducted into everyday practice.

Analysis

Hence, the participant observation produced a set of detailed fieldnotes based upon the observations but in some cases they became weighted with recollected conversations. This has been the case for some researchers researching similar

themes. For instance, in his study of groups of working class boys in Liverpool during the 1960s, Howard Parker (1974) conducted an extensive participant observation study in which data was recorded in a diary and conversations were noted from memory. Others such as Bourgois (2003) managed to achieve a position whereby he could use tape recordings in situ. Such a scenario was not possible to achieve in this instance however, as the study was conducted over relatively short duration and could not achieve the level of access required. That said, two impromptu interviews with youth workers using tape recording were carried out in Leevale-Campanile Hill.

Like the interview data, the fieldnotes were coded and managed within NVivo. As May (2001) has suggested, the point of analysis is 'the categorization of the collected data in order that the events, relationships and interactions observed may be understood or explained within the context of a developed theoretical framework' (May, 2001: 164). Where possible, the same basic tree system was used to code the fieldnotes but the basic start list used for interviews was not strictly adhered to. Thus the fresh fieldnote data was coded using a significant number of 'free-nodes'. They were then re-coded into the existing tree node system where feasible or left as stand alone coding. Two key guiding principles derived from Becker (1979) were adopted.

(i) Selection and definition of problems, concepts and indices.
The researcher constructs a theoretical model which will be refined in the context of findings subsequent to the fieldwork (Becker, 1979: 314). Particular instances or accounts by informants may alert the researcher to the possibility that there is a greater linked phenomenon to be understood on further analysis.

(ii) Frequency and distribution of phenomena – what is typical and widespread?
This Becker suggests can be discovered through the use of what he calls 'quasi-statistics' where the observations involve some numerical presentation but which are not quantification per se (Becker, 1979: 317). As Becker suggests:

> [The researcher] decides, if possible, how likely it is that his conclusion about the frequency or distribution of some phenomenon is an accurate quasi-statistic, just as the statistician decides, on the basis of the varying values of a

> correlation coefficient or a significance figure, that his conclusion is more or less likely to be accurate (Becker, 1979: 317).

This process then has to do with validity, and moreover

> The conclusiveness which comes from the convergence of several kinds of evidence reflects the fact that separate varieties of evidence can be reconceptualised as deductions from a basic proposition which have now been verified in the field (Becker, 1979: 318).

Hence, two key rules were adopted for the analysis of fieldnote data. The first had to do with the convergence and clustering of data around certain nodes. This was measured, albeit crudely, by the number of paragraphs and the number of characters of text coded at each node (NVivo produces coding reports that provides such data). The second rule adopted was based upon the significance to be given to certain parts of the fieldnotes that contributed to the overall narrative. Thus while not reflecting a pattern, a two line statement from an informant could make sense of a particular story or train of thought being pursued.

In common with grounded theory, the analysis utilised analytical memos as a means of identifying the key themes and issues arising from the fieldnotes. Such memos were written at points of data convergence based upon the *in vivo* coding (see Bryman, 2001: 396) and these were eventually incorporated into the text of the empirical chapters that follow.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework applied and the methods used to undertake the research. The empirical chapters that follow will elaborate, deepen and even complicate the theory further. Prior to this however, Chapter Five is a description of the historical and spatial context in which youth crime and disorder prevention emerged. This builds on the socio-spatial theory considered in Chapter Three. This is central to the argument but also central to the case study approach here; an analysis of the setting will enable comparisons across settings and the question of transferability to be considered in further research.

Chapter Five The Local Context: Marginality, Sovereignty and Social Order in the Dublin Urban Periphery

Introduction

In Chapter Three it was argued that the urban periphery is a specific spatial and historic context in which the politics of urban marginality gets played out. This chapter contextualises the urban periphery in Ireland, with particular focus on Dublin, as a precursor to the case studies in Chapters Six to Nine. The detail presented here identifies the historic, social and spatial specifics in which youth crime and disorder prevention modalities emerged. The chapter draws primarily from the Irish urban studies literature, together with an analysis of the report of the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder (IGUCD) (Government of Ireland, 1993).

In this context, the chapter develops the idea that 1960s modernist planning vision of urban paradise in the form of the 'new town' met its nemesis in the 1980s and 1990s, largely associated with the relative absence of the market and with a curtailment and re-scaling of state action. Public disorder and the underlying 'public issues' associated with the 'new town' could not be addressed with the existing action repertoire of state actors and the police force. This matter is further explored in the analysis of interviews with these actors in the late 1990s, presented in Chapter Six.

Since the beginning of this century, redevelopments of the city centre and indeed the growth of the city outwards have created a shifting relationship between core and periphery. The chapter considers this in the light of changing patterns and strategies of order maintenance, where policing of the periphery remains constant in policing style.

The Dublin 'New Towns' 1970s to 1990s: Peripherality, Invisibility and Marginality

This section outlines some of the social structural and spatial changes that took place over two decades from the 1970s to the 1990s. The focus here is on Dublin as the largest city and metropolitan system on the island of Ireland. These changes have been key to the present formation of the city and its division into core and periphery.

Urbanisation and New Town Planning in Ireland

With the exception of Shannon in the mid-Western region, the development of 'new towns' in Ireland has largely been concentrated in the Dublin area. In other urban centres, responding to high levels of demand for public housing (see Fahey, 1999), the local authorities were forced to look to available land on the periphery of towns and cities. In relation to Dublin, the seemingly unplanned growth on the periphery now stands in stark contrast to the intensification of the location of office, apartment and hotel developments in the central business district. Lack of available housing land in the centre and the intensification of land use associated with the moving of Dublin towards a more globally integrated city, has meant that it has been subjected to a range of both 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces (Bannon, 1999: 8) reflected in simultaneous growth patterns in both the periphery and the centre. More recently, the Dublin urban system has stretched into surrounding counties in a 'commuter-belt' extending as far west as Mullingar, North as far as Cavan and South as far as Carlow (see Bartley and Kitchin, 2007: 19).

By the 1970s a process of population dispersal had begun. Between 1961 and 1991 the population of the inner city area in Dublin halved from 159,517 to 76,558 persons (CSO, 1992). At the same time there was a corresponding increase in previously rural areas of County Dublin of 192,000 persons or 83% in the decade from 1971 to 1981. This was explained partly by the relocation of inner-city residents to new housing in peripheral housing estates (public and private) and the concentration of owner-occupied housing for first time house purchases. Between 1981 and 1991 the population of the County areas (since renamed as South Dublin [Belgard] and Dublin-Fingal) grew by a further 81,000 persons or an increase of 29%. The main growth

took place in 'new towns' of Lucan / Clondalkin, Tallaght and Blanchardstown (Drudy and MacLaran, 1993: 10). Over a twenty-one year period from 1981 to 2002 the new suburban areas continued to grow relative to the declining trend in the municipal area, together with the development of housing estates on agricultural land in the county area.[34]

In two specific peripheral areas of North Clondalkin (NC) and West Tallaght (WT), population dispersal had already begun to filter into NC by the late 1970s and growth in WT began to surge during the 1980s. By the turn of the century, population growth had appeared to level off in NC such that over the twenty year period it grew by 65%. Starting later, the population of WT had continued to grow during the 1990s and grew by 200% in twenty years (see Table 5.1).

As a more general indication of population growth at the periphery, the 'New Town' of Tallaght had a population of 8,707 persons in 1971. By 1979 this had increased by 432% to 46,366 and by 1981 this had increased to over 56,000. Thus in one decade, Tallaght experienced rapid population growth in the order of 500% (CSO, 1981, 1986).

By 2002, population growth on the periphery of towns and cities had continued and considerable increases took place between 1996 and 2006 in an extended commuter-belt around Dublin in such towns as Drogheda, Navan, Portlaoise and Naas (Central Statistics Office, 2003; 2006).

[34] Despite recent increases in the city centre, the overall population trend in the Dublin County Borough (Dublin City) is downward. Taking 1971 as a base year, the Dublin City population declined between 1971 and 1981 by 4%; and 15.7% and 12.8% respectively for the decades 1981-1991 and 2002 (CSO, various years: see also Drudy 1991; Drudy and Punch 2000). The population of Fingal increased by 33% between 1981 and 1991 and continued to grow, increasing by a further 28% between 1991 and 2002 (CSO Census of Population; Drudy and MacLaran 1994; MacLaran 1993; Drudy, 1991; Drudy and Punch 2000).

Table 5.1: *Population Change in selected urban peripheral locations 1981-2002*[35]

Peripheral Area	Population 1981 n	Change 1981-1991 n (%)	Change 1981-2002 n (%)
West Tallaght[36]	6,926	16,786 (142.4)	21,333 (205.1)
North Clondalkin[37]	12,419	20,915 (68)	20,487 (65)

Source: CSO Census of Population, Vol.1, 1981, 1986, 1991, 2002.

In the 1990s, population and settlement trends were influenced, according to Drudy and MacLaran (1994), by a combination of the market and state intervention. On the market side, high land prices and returns to investors in the centre city encouraged developers to opt for higher value uses such as offices as against lower value uses such as housing. In addition a push-pull dynamic set off population dispersal to the periphery:

> Increased competition, lack of space for expansion and changes in demand put considerable pressure on traditional industrial enterprises, many of which contracted, closed or relocated to the periphery or even further afield. Technological change and containerisation likewise reduced labour requirements on the Docks, once a significant local employer. Apart from these various factors, increasing car ownership and the desire for more space influenced many inner city residents to move to the suburbs or further to the countryside. Increased pollution, traffic congestion and a perception of high

[35] There are two caveats accompanying these data. First that these areas are not officially enumerated using these categories of West Tallaght and North Clondalkin. Both of these derive from popular and commonplace usage. Second that District Electoral Division (DED) boundaries came into use only after the 1981 Census. By then, North Clondalkin had a sizeable population relative to West Tallaght. Thus it was not possible to capture any surge in population for the former.

[36] Tallaght West comprises the Tallaght DEDs of Jobstown, Killinarden and Fettercairn (see Punch 2002: 64). These DEDs are those identified in West Tallaght Rapid Areas (see www.pobal.ie/rapid) and generally referred to in research reports (see for instance Axford et al, 2004: 8).

[37] North Clondalkin comprises the Clondalkin DEDs of Cappaghmore, Moorfield, Rowlagh and Palmerstown West (North Clondalkin Community Development Project, 2001).

> crime rates and vandalism likewise labelled the central areas as being unattractive and influenced the out-movement of many with young families (Drudy and MacLaran, 1994: 11).

In terms of state intervention, the housing policies of the state and of the local authorities also contributed to relocation and population dispersal. Incentives such as remission of stamp duty on new dwellings encouraged the development of new housing together with the tax relief available to mortgage interest. The abolition of domestic rates in 1977 served to feed into building developments on the periphery. Local authority and owner-occupier housing on greenfield sites were encouraged as developers availed of generous zoning decisions of Dublin County Council and, even when the provisions of the 1963 Planning Act were invoked to control development, the compensation that would be due to land owners as of right placed considerable pressure on local authorities to yield to planning proposals (Drudy and MacLaran, 1994).

The net effect of stimulating first house purchases on new land was to concentrate newly formed households together. This combined with the public sector housing policy of prioritising households with children, created urban communities with young populations. While 44% of the population of the entire Dublin sub-region were under the age of 25 years of age by 1991, in the newer areas those under 25 years accounted for 50% of the population (Drudy and MacLaran, 1994: 12).

The development of Dublin proceeded in a series of historic planning stages since the foundation of the independent Irish state. The first of these, in the early 1920s, was influenced by Parisian architectural thinking and it espoused a modernist vision of suburban expansion. The framework for the period from 1970 to 1990 was premised upon the creation of satellite towns separated from the core of the city by a green-belt. In 1967 the state commissioned Myles Wright to draw up an outline plan for the Dublin region. It proposed the development of four semi-self-contained new towns to the west of the City to accommodate the expansion of population in this period (Bannon, 1999: 9). Together with the building of housing estates on the fringe of the city at Ballymun, Finglas, Darndale and other locations, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the emergence of the peripheral housing estate.

The growth of peripheral housing estates flowed from the industrialising optimisim of the 1960s. Planning experts in the late 1960s conceived of the new towns to deal with the projections of rapid growth in the urban population. In Dublin, much of this new development was proposed by Wright (1967) who presented a draft plan for development in the region. Wright also presented a modernist urban aesthetic reflected in the imagery of office buildings and accompanying motorway fly-overs (Wright, 1967: 27). The western part of the City was chosen as the Dublin-Wicklow mountains provided a southern development barrier to the south, the Irish Sea to the east and the airport flight zone to the north (Wright, 1967: 21).

Industrial space developments in this period were the first layers of developments in the periphery that subsequently became the 'new industrial space' (Castells, 1989) by the 1990s. The pattern of development that conjoined industrial and residential spaces was thus laid down in the 1960s and 1970s. The first layer, adjacent to residential areas in Blanchardstown, Clondalkin and Tallaght were the result of two property development booms: the first of these peaked in the early 1970s and the second in 1978 which culminated in the location of 63% of industrial property in the western periphery. These developments were to capitalise upon, inter alia, the promise of the development of an orbital c-ring motorway (subsequently the M50). The Industrial Development Authority (IDA) also adopted a policy of acquiring industrial land on the outskirts of the City and developed high specification advance factories (Drudy and MacLaran, 1994: 30-32). Hence the peripheral housing estate was to be the adjacent supplier of labour for the expanding new industrial space created around the edge of the city.

The new peripheral housing estates were based upon the 'neighbourhood principle'. According to Bartley (1999) who has documented this particular history, this principle was adopted as the basic planning idea:

> The underlying philosophy of this approach was that small scale arrangements of dwellings could permanently enrich community life by stimulating frequent interaction between residents and engendering a spirit of neighbourliness through spontaneous co-operation (Bartley, 1999: 229).

These ideas, Bartley pointed out, were imported into Irish planning practice via Britain where experiments with new social engineering principles had been underway in the post-war period. These early new towns had suffered from traffic congestion and their inhabitants from 'suburban blues' (Bartley, 1999: 230). The 1983 Dublin County Development Plan attempted, 'to produce a Dublin version of Milton Keynes' by joining the neighbourhood idea to those contained in the Wright Report favouring a 'new town overspill philosophy'(Bartley, 1999: 232). The new towns would accommodate target populations of 100,000 each and separate neighbourhood communities were to be able to avail of services located at new town centres. For Bartley,

> At a superficial level, the aim of achieving social balance in the new towns appears to have been achieved [in that] the social class profile of the new towns compares favourably with distributions for other single class areas in Dublin. However, this global picture of the social composition of the new towns is seriously misleading insofar as it masks significant internal patterns of socio-spatial segregation. Far from creating balanced communities the new towns may have accentuated social segregation by contributing to the creation of new ghettos – areas of physical marginalisation as well as social and economic exclusion – in the suburbs (Bartley, 1999: 233).

Rather than creating community and social cohesion, the neighbourhoods constructed in new towns have contributed to fragmentation and social segregation. The mechanism at work here according to Bartley (1999: 253) is that as states pursue policies through urban planning that spatially concentrate the urban population as distinct labour and consumer markets, this creates a social segregation to be managed. This is part then of the pattern of advanced marginality (Wacquant, 1999).

Urban Peripherality and Marginality

As the process of urban restructuring intensified in the 1990s, ecological measures for stimulating labour supply were instigated in the peripheral areas and other locales throughout the Irish state. These were an accompaniment to both the intensification

of neo-corporatist mechanisms under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP) in 1991 and subsequently under the Operational Programme for Local Urban and Rural Development (OPLURD) (Government of Ireland, 1995) which was underpinned by the EU Community Support Framework. The measures were focused supply-side actions providing services and training as a response to long term unemployment. Such measures have been criticised for not being very effective in stimulating demand and may even contribute to the institutionalisation of low wages (Geddes, 2000: 797). However the partnership structures they set in train have equally been praised as a form of 'democratic experimentalism' (Sabel, 1996).

Detailed case studies of local areas help to identify the precise mechanisms of marginalisation and characterise state policy responses. In their introduction to a 1990s case study of Cherry Orchard, a peripheral estate in west Dublin, Bartley and Saris (1999) pointed out that in the context of the need for international competitiveness, the Irish welfare state was being rolled back and welfare spending being re-diverted towards economic restructuring. Consequently, 'welfare recipients [were] being identified as the source of their own unemployment and poverty problems, and as such, [were] becoming targets of criticism' (Bartley and Saris, 1999: 82). Bartley and Saris (1999) painted a picture of poverty and social deprivation and that of a marginalised community – a 'suburb on the edge of the suburbs' which catered for people with limited private transport, physically isolated from employment, shopping and leisure markets, and where the absence of basic public facilities and services underlined the deprivation and marginalisation of the people living in that area (Bartley and Saris, 1999: 88). The state's response had been to saturate Cherry Orchard [and a host of similar areas throughout Ireland] with area based policy responses to promote community development. However, the authors argue that the local landscape became dominated by state and voluntary sector employees with little or no input from local people who were (supposed) to be *included* as a result of the programmes concerned (Bartley and Saris, 1999: 89). Such programmes, they conclude, have been the means through which areas that have been left behind by globalisation have been reinstitutionalised (Saris et al, 2002).

In this process also there has been an accompanying ideological and aesthetic struggle between the police and groups of young people as documented by Saris and Bartley

(2002). This study depicted the struggle between the lived realities of those in the Red Wall Gang, the police, the state and the adult 'community' over the struggle for a hegemony of aesthetics. Agencies such as a local crime diversion initiative (which is related to those initiatives that form the research focus for this dissertation) were also enlisted in order to scrub out the graffiti depicting urban realism and replace it with one representing an aesthetic of the rural idyll. This struggle for a hegemony of aesthetics, in Saris and Bartley's terms, brings us back to Bourdieuian ideas on the *field* whereby material and aesthetic interests collide and symbolic struggle takes place over defining reality. By extension, this contestation is also one about territory and how meaning and order is encoded into public space and how certain actors have the power to define that reality. For a hegemony to be established, or in Bourdieuian terms, how symbolic power can be attained, those doing the defining have to establish their legitimate right to name reality. Thus this sounds as if the police might well be involved in a struggle firstly to create *doxa* or a commonsense understanding that they are normalised civic actors on the one hand, while on the other hand, generating the understanding that they are 'more normal' than others by virtue of their power to classify.

More strikingly, Saris and Bartley (2002) capture the social conditions in the peripheral estates and their connection to policing, disorder and state containment as follows:

> In technical terms, Irish public policy towards poverty has been spatialised, looking to address the 'social exclusion' of areas and populations in line with continental, especially French models. Less charitably, one could argue that this ecological model of poverty led to a sense that poverty and severe social problems now exist largely in national parks for the socially excluded, complete with socially designated rangers (such as specially trained police and social welfare officers) to maintain the boundaries of, and keep the peace in, these people preserves (Saris and Bartley, 2002: 15).

As highlighted above, the planning failures (including the accentuation of social segregation, the mobilisation of social control agents and the screening of estates from public view), went beyond the dint of planning practice. For MacLaran and Punch

(2004) what appeared as failures were the result of deliberate actions that sought to strengthen the structural position of the Irish propertied class, a position that had been underpinned by the 1937 Constitution's protection of property rights. Thus the appreciation in land values could not be used for social gain which was

> eventually to be paid for by the working class through hugely inflated land prices. This became reflected in higher than necessary housing plot prices and resulted in a reduced capacity of the local authority to fund adequate community facilities (MacLaran and Punch, 2004: 36).

The Residualisation of Social Housing

A factor further complicating the structural position of the urban periphery has been the effective residualisation of public housing. Peaking in the 1980s, the public sector subsidy has shifted from direct local authority building programmes towards the owner-occupied sector and private-rented sector subsidies. The Irish local authorities had been building housing for rent since they came into existence in the latter end of the nineteenth century and by the end of the 1990s had built 330,000 dwellings, constituting 30% of the total housing stock. Of the total constructed, almost 70% have been directly privatised through the sale of dwellings through the tenant purchase scheme which has been in operation since the 1930s (Fahey, 1999: 3). In this way the eventual transfer of title from the local authority to tenants contributes to the significance of owner-occupation as the primary housing tenure in Ireland.

Since the late 1980s there has been a marked decline in the significance of housing provision as a feature of the Irish welfare state. Instead there has been a shift towards housing supports in the form of rent supplements through the Supplementary Welfare Allowances which grew in out-turn from the equivalent of €7.8m in 1989 to €146m in 1999 (Fahey, 1999: 5). Fahey pointed out that despite some considerable successes with local authority housing, a perception emerged that they had become 'single-class' in which there were concentrations of poverty, that they were segregated and there were problems associated with drug use, vandalism and alienation. Social relations within estates were often compounded by factors associated with internal differentiation and stratification often leading to tensions between the 'normal' and

the 'deviant' (Fahey, 1999: 24). These tensions were reported as the greatest single factor affecting quality of life and in turn contributing to the poor reputation of so-called 'problem estates' (Fahey, 1999: 34).

Like other aspects of the Irish welfare state, 1987 was a critical year for social housing and local authority housing in particular. Before then, local authority housing accounted for between 20 and 30% of total houses constructed but since 1987 it has remained below 10% (O'Connell and Fahey, 1999: 39). Indeed by 2001 local authority housing completions accounted for just under 7% of new housing built compared with 5.20% in 2005; the private market in house provision has thrived remaining at greater than 90% of total annual output from 2001 to 2005 (Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2006: 34).

High unemployment in the 1980s led to considerable demand for local authority housing and in order to free up housing stock, the Government introduced the Surrender Grant Scheme whereby local authority tenants could avail of a grant of IR£ 5,000 if they purchased a private house. This represented an incentive to those most economically established in estates that were worst hit by the economic crisis. Hence this politically inspired measure undermined the economic and social stability of the areas concerned by incentivising the exit of those most economically advantaged and those most socially and culturally active. According to O'Connell and Fahey, a total of 7,700 households (or 6.5% of the total local authority rented sector) availed of this grant.

> However, these households were heavily concentrated in the worst-off local authority estates, and they represented the best-off households in those estates (in Dublin, for example, 75% of the take-up was concentrated in three areas – Darndale, Ballymun and Tallaght). The scheme thus gave rise to a sudden exodus of the better-off tenants (many of them activists in various aspects of estate life) out of many of the most deprived local authority estates, and their replacement mainly by welfare-dependent households. It thus provided a brief but intensive push to the process of residualisation in those estates. It has been widely felt since that by the time it was recognised as a mistake and brought to

> an end, it had delivered a damaging blow to the whole local authority housing sector (O'Connell and Fahey, 1999: 40).

Hence while the 'new right' were claiming that urban disorder in the US and the UK were driven by a growing underclass of 'new rabble' (Murray, 1984) in Ireland, urban disorder may indeed have been stirred by political misadventure in the form of measures that economically undermined the places already most economically marginal in the spatial order.

By the late 1990s a looming crisis in housing had been identified. Private-rented sector housing had since the end of World War II reduced from a high of 47% of tenures to 8%. Correspondingly, owner-occupation, as the tenure of choice, increased from a low of 52% of tenures in 1947 to just under 80% by 1991 (O'Connell, 1999: 214). That the local authority housing sector has been neglected, and thus estates neglected and poorly managed is reflected in O'Connell's (1999: 216) view that approaches to management of the sector have been unimaginative and the approach is driven by a 'desk-bound rule-driven administration over creative responses to the needs of estates'. While official policy had the twin aims of ensuring that every family has an affordable, good standard house and at the same time encouraging owner occupation,

> [a] historical examination of Irish housing policy would conclude that while strides have certainly been made in pursuit of the first aim, far more vigour, enthusiasm and resources have been now characterised by a unique tenure imbalance, unparalleled by any other developed society. This evolving imbalance is very clearly identifiable as the outcome of political tenure strategies, which have shaped the policy environment between the different tenures and the subsequent housing choices available to households entering the system (O'Connell, 1999: 213).

The decline in the social housing stock has continued ironically 'at a time when thousands of families are in need of social housing' (Corcoran et al, 2007).

The Urban Periphery and Urban Disorder

The Dublin new towns with their mass social housing estates effectively led to a spatial scattering of the working class, who had previously worked in the older industries (such as baking, brewing and transport) in the centre city and the port. The restructuring of these industries, or their scaling down and peripheral re-location coincided with the outward dispersal of the working class from the 1970s. By the 1990s the peripheral areas had become destabilised by failures at planning and the public housing estates in particular had become undermined by the populist Surrender Grant Scheme. Emigration peaked in 1989 and slowed with world economic recession; the character of Irish emigration had appeared to be a mobility option for the qualified middle class who were twice as likely to migrate as those of working class or small holder origins (see Courtney, 1995: 68-70). The new peripheral housing estates became the containers of a growing pool of unemployed youth with little prospects of employment or migration. The new housing estates became the sites of urban disorder as outlined in the introduction to the dissertation. Poor public transport services in these areas initially made connecting with established social networks difficult, rendering new suburban communities isolated and excluded from the remainder of the city. This latter situation has remained a constant in the present day social and economic life of Dublin, largely because the transport system remains 'car dependent'; despite the existence of flagship projects like the Luas, there has been a historic absence of an institutional framework for public transport in the Dublin metropolitan area (see Wickham, 2006)

The New Towns After Fordism-Keynesianism

The capacity of the state to rescue the urban periphery from these various complications was seriously undermined by the end of the Keynesian economic welfare model and the Fordist production paradigm that supported it. In this context welfare spending would have had to be kept within strict limits. The structural position of the urban peripheral housing estates was compounded by the failure of the Irish state at the time to resolve a glaring contradiction resulting from the post 1958 industrialisation policy: that is that the Dublin working class was further undermined by the types of jobs lost after the dismantling of protectionism and the type of jobs

created after industrialisation. These required higher levels of skill and were dispersed over a wider geographical scale (Whelan, Breen and Whelan, 1992: 118-9). The peripheral estates and the new towns became the physical manifestation of a contradiction between the planning model that sought to cater for expanding pools of labour power and the industrial development strategy that favoured a policy of dispersal.

Brenner (2000) pointed out that the 'urban question' revives itself for each productive generation as a two sided social and political problematic:

> On the one hand the urban question refers to the role of cities as sociospatial arenas in which the contradictions of capitalist development are continually produced and fought out. On the other hand, the urban question refers to the historically specific epistemic frameworks through which capitalist cities are interpreted, whether in sociological analysis, in public discourse, in sociopolitical struggles or in everyday experience (Brenner, 2000: 362).

Applying this argument to Ireland, it is arguable that that the urban question in the 1990s was being played out in everyday conflicts over material and discursive 'order'. The high unemployment that existed at this time together with the undermining and greater residualisation of the peripheral housing estates was the immediate backdrop for clashes between the police and young people, and also reflected in a greater sense of state insecurity over 'social order' and 'sovereignty of space'.

These new terrains set the scene for a struggle manifested in space, and over space itself perhaps best evidenced by the events at Ronanstown in 1991. This conflict was waged between a new generation of working class suburban youth (who had no collective memory of conditions or action repertoires of the inner-city community; their enduring cultural reference to *place* was the optimism and expectation associated with the modernity of the new suburb); and, the state that was attempting to restructure the economy. Thus to borrow from *left realist* thinking here, the structural position of the youth subculture of the peripheral estate reflected both the heightening of expectation and its simultaneous thwarting by closure in the educational system and the labour market. Although temporally located in the interregnum between the

'crisis years' (Hobsbawm, 1994) and the take off of the 'Celtic Tiger', order maintenance became of critical concern. The research will examine more closely the actions of sovereign actors in newly urbanised space and the monitoring and surveillance of relations in that space through concerted state and civil society action. To begin this process, a summary analysis and interpretation of the report of the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder (IGUCD) is outlined below.

Sovereignty Over Urbanised Space: The Interdeptartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder

In response to the events at Ronanstown in November 1991, the Minister for Justice set up the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder (IGUCD). While the build up to the establishment of the Group was drawn out over a protracted period, it was the one key event at Ronanstown, as documented in Chapter One, that catalysed matters.

The Group examined the Neilstown / Ronanstown area which then became a framework to be applied to all urban areas in Ireland with policing problems.[38] While the Group appeared to rely upon commonsense, the report did confirm that disorder was associated with the history of the peripheral areas in question. The characteristics of such areas they listed as being 'single class', having no amenities and lacking in access to services (Government of Ireland, 1993: 15). The 'problem', as stressed throughout the report, was to do with the dynamic between displacement and settlement in this newly created urban context in which a young population was

[38] The report itself was written by an official who subsequently became the Director-General of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. As such the text represents a governmental discourse and provides an intense insight into the interpretations and meanings that the Group attributed to the causes and outcomes of urban disorder. The Group were not given specific terms of reference and were asked to propose measures that would address 'difficulties'. The Group reflects and represents the State in action. This was because it was comprised of officials at a high level and in that there were no lay members or external expertise. There was no independent research commissioned. Hence, this was a purely state driven exercise where the knowledge and understandings of state actors determined the eventual outcome.

decanted from the inner city to 'the middle of nowhere' (Government of Ireland, 1993: 51).

The incidents at Ronanstown on the 19th of November 1991 had less to do with crime *per se* and more to do with the broader concern for social order as the report outlined that the problem was attributable to young people's congregations and 'stone throwing' resulting in the intimidation of the 'law abiding' 'majority' (Government of Ireland, 1993: 26). Moreover:

> Underlying this concern is the perception that *authority itself appears to be under attack and a fear that, unless the trend is 'nipped in the bud', all of the conventions on which ordered society is based will be put in jeopardy with extremely serious consequences for society as a whole* (Government of Ireland, 1993: 26) [emphasis added].

The measures that flowed from this and other statements in the IGUCD report have to be seen as an attempt to achieve social integration because of the way in which these measures sought to reconstruct the 'conventions' that would restore or reproduce social order. The situation at Ronanstown, were it to be repeated elsewhere would have resulted in the breakdown of order in urban society as a whole, according to the report. Hence the volatility of the situation at Ronanstown represented a threat to the social order but because it was seen as symptomatic of what was happening in other urban peripheries around Ireland, a wider threat was posed to the social order, and by extension, to the economic recovery generally.

In stating its definition of the situation, the Group pointed out in a number of paragraphs that it was a criminally inclined minority that manipulated a law-abiding majority. In this regard, they proffered the theory that the problem was the result of the manipulation by deviant Others. No evidence was offered for this except that the Group adopted the police view:

> The Gardai advised us that a tendency toward the emergence from time to time of general disorder problems involving groups of youngsters can be attributed to a significant extent to the presence of a small hard core of

> criminals who incline towards the view that (a) authority in all forms (Gardai, fire services, etc.) should be 'taken on' and (b) that the local community should be made to understand that it is this hard core rather than the authorities who hold *the upper hand* (1993: 23) [emphasis added].

It followed then that a *strategy of persuasion* was necessary to wrest power from the 'hard core'. It needed to convince the community that disorder was located within the hard core group and by a logical extension, order would be restored by the state in that it would or should reassert the 'upper hand'. Two strategies were implied by this. The first of these was to minimise the power of criminally inclined young people through a process of *selective incapacitation* (see Mathiesen, 1998). The second was that of some form of *pedagogic action* was required on the part of the state in order to mobilise community sentiment in its favour. Hence while at a surface level the state responded with hard and soft policy options, it simultaneously entered into a form of *symbolic struggle* over its own legitimacy. Thus the form of policing may have become 'symbolic policing' (Loader, 1997) or a process of reinstating the symbols of the state where these were perceived to be absent (for a discussion of this mobilisation in the case of French cities, see Body-Gendrot 2000; Crawford 2002). The research will consider this process in greater detail.

The Group recommended the extension of a number of situational crime preventive measures like roundabouts on roads to design out joyriding from the physical landscape. Alongside these, they extended the persuasive strategies deployed by the GRAFT project in Ronanstown.[39] Hence the GSPs / GYDPs were conceived in the context of an emerging urban crisis. State and civil society actors may have indeed been mobilised in response to these events at Ronanstown in order to pre-empt any deepening of such a crisis. Moreover, the remit of the GYDPs was framed in the context of the need for reclaiming the city from the young people who occupied the open spaces: the open spaces created in the housing estates were the only option for a

[39] Give Ronanstown a Future Today (GRAFT) was set up jointly by the Ronanstown Youth Service, An Garda Síochána and the Probation and Welfare Service in 1991. It and a similar project in Killinarden Tallaght, evolved into the Garda Special Projects (GSPs) by 1996 and were extended to at least 60 locations around the country since 2000. For a more analytical account, see Bowden and Higgins (2000). After the publication of operational and practice guidelines, this scheme of projects became known as the Garda Youth Diversion Projects (GYDPs) (see Centre for Social and Educational Research, 2003).

public sphere for young people at that time. But more importantly, the young people involved in the clashes with the police represented a wider urban contradiction and so this may have added to the urgency with which the state responded. Hence youth crime and disorder prevention as a distinct modality emerged at this juncture: the research will examine these modalities in closer detail in later chapters. For now, youth crime and disorder prevention itself emerged from critical events associated within a socio-spatial and socio-historical context. The research challenge is to specify the nature of mobilisations of concrete curriculum and the form of pedagogic relations therein.

The emphasis upon achieving state *upper-handedness* in the IGUCD report was a call for the mobilisation of both state and civil society actors as a (re)establishment of sovereign power over newly urbanised space. Significantly, in this instance the Department of Justice stepped in as a last resort to co-ordinate a global response to the problem of order. The economic and social conditions in Ireland at that time precipitated such a response – welfare based solutions appeared to be out and justice solutions appeared to be in.

Such a scenario was somewhat prophetically diagnosed in urban sociologist David Byrne's (1984) case study of systematic peripheralisation in Dublin. Byrne wrote:

> Essentially we are dealing with a situation in which the system based 'peripheralisation' of inner-city working-class populations in relation to production is associated with spatial peripheralisation which has its origins in the value dynamic of inner-urban land. Once the people are relocated there is a major problem in managing them: given the absence of a central discipline of labour (Byrne, 1984: 417).

The Changing Relationship between the 'Centre' and the Periphery

Dublin city centre has become a site of consumption and there has been an attempt to redefine a *centre* through 'place re-making' and urban restoration most clearly expressed in the redevelopment of O'Connell Street; that involved the artificial (re)creation of a 'centre' and included, inter alia, the removal of 'undesirables' from view (Corcoran, 2004). Indeed, since the 1990s, greater use has been made of public order legislation to remove the poor and marginal people from the streets (see O'Donnell and O'Sullivan, 2001). This mirrors efforts by cities across Europe to revitalise and re-brand the city as a destination for tourism and capital investment (see Coleman 2004 on the case of Liverpool). In addition, the residential transformation of Dublin city centre has seen the invasion of a new and youthful urban middle class (Kelly and MacLaren, 2004). This has ushered in a pattern of development that Smith (1994) has referred to as 'urban revanchism'; an urban process whereby spaces once occupied by the dispersed working class have been gentrified and commodified for a new, globally connected middle class with no previous connection to the spaces they now occupy. Thus property supplement writers have encouraged the pioneers of this 'new frontier' to retake residential areas where they will find the 'best bargains' or if they 'want to show real gains, (to) look on the margins' (O'Connor, 2003). So despite any redesignation of the city as distinct cultural zones or 'moral regions' (Park, 1925) a new entrepreneurship has grown up around the revalorisation of city spaces based upon their actual and potential market value. Elsewhere, such an urban process has been linked with the 'hardening of the surface' of the city towards the poor and marginal who are both priced and designed out of residential property and the new 'castles of consumption' (Davis, 1990).

As time has advanced, the economic and cultural logics of globalisation have influenced the public sector institutions charged with managing Dublin City to the extent that the local authority has recently embraced an entrepreneurial ethic that has made it 'pro-developer' in the gentrification of the City (Kelly and MacLaran, 2004: 51-52). This resembles the idea that the city is being developed around a 'growth machine' in which key decisions are sought by elites so as that 'urban fortunes' can be made and unmade (Logan and Molotch, 1987). In this vein, land rezoning has come under parliamentary and judicial scrutiny in the last decade to the extent that the

commingling of the political and economic elites over land deals has been of considerable public interest. Indeed, a former Minister for Justice, Mr. Ray Burke (who had set up the IGUCD) has been judged to have received a 'corrupt payment' from private property developers in 1989 for the purposes of supporting and 'influencing' the planning status of lands in North Dublin (Flood J., 2002: 139-140). Moreover, redeveloping space no longer utilised for Fordist based production, requires both 'rescaling' and 'reconversion' (Swyngedouw, 1996). This involves the reconversion of space evident in, for instance, the closing or rationalisation of industrial zones (such as Dublin port) and its conversion to a financial district; this process required a degree of institutional innovation on the part of the state (the setting up of the Dublin Docklands Development Authority) together with the flexibilisation of the tax laws to facilitate the economic elite at senior levels in such developments (see Keena, 2006). Internationally, such high visibility projects have been facilitated through processes that themselves occur 'through the formation of new elite coalitions on the one hand and the systematic exclusion or further disempowerment of politically and / or economically already weaker social groups on the other' (Swyngedouw, 1996: 1449).

The peripheral housing estates have remained in the same condition largely: they have both literally and metaphorically been 'by-passed' by the 'Celtic Tiger'. West Tallaght for instance still suffers the poverty of 'crumbling walls' and 'damp bedrooms' (Holland, 2005: 11). A recent community based study in West Tallaght reported that this peripheral area had retained higher than average concentrations of unemployment, that one third of households were headed by lone parents and the risk of poverty posed to households remained high despite economic growth in the country generally (Axford et al, 2004). Moreover the *invisibility* of peripheral housing estates (Bartley, 1999) has been radically worsened given that they have become bound within the new corridors of flow comprising the network of transportation routes surrounding the outer city.

In more recent years, the city has become divided into zones that have concomitantly set off differential policing in spatial terms. Thus policing of the urban periphery has remained 'confrontative' alongside a more benign style in the city centre (Institute of Criminology, 2003). For as Bannon (1999) suggested, Dublin city has been

developing both outwards in terms of housing and industry, and at the same time concentrating commercial, office and residential development at the centre. It is this division of labour between the core and periphery that has resulted from the reordering of the city that has come to be reflected in spatial variation in policing.

Thus the conversion of space into product (Lefebvre, 1991) has resulted in new context for young people's autonomous participation in public space. As the city centre becomes more of a consumption space it is to be enjoyed through market relations, through shopping and the 'night time economy' involving drinking and clubbing (see Lovatt and O'Connor 1995; Hobbs et al 2000). Indeed, in the Dublin periphery, young people continue to be defined out of 'community' and find themselves debarred from generic community facilities that results in them creating cultural lives involving the use of the streets, the alleyways and the open areas (Lynch et al, 2005), the very form of public presence that results in local reaction and therefore the focus of attention by the police.

Since the IGUCD report was published in 1993, there has been considerable economic and cultural change in Ireland. Persistent unemployment, which had dogged the urban periphery for two decades, and was the cause of much of its failure as an experiment (Punch and MacLaran, 2004) has changed somewhat. In this connection, youth crime prevention programmes have become part of the state's ensemble of measures geared towards those most marginal to labour markets.[40]

It has been demonstrated that the very success of Irish economic globalisation has been the role of the state institutions who have acted in an interventionist, developmental capacity (O'Riain, 2000). This very success is however being undermined by a liberal ideology and the myth of the hegemony of the market by the

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[40] This was best exemplified by the incorporation of the GYDPs as a social inclusion labour market measure in the National Development Plan 2000-2006 (Government of Ireland, 1999). In the run up to the formulation of the Plan, the Department of Finance for instance were sceptical as to why youth spending should not be placed under the aegis of the Department of Education. In a letter from the Department of Justice to the Department of Finance, accessed by the author, the purpose of youth crime and disorder prevention was labour market related as it was pointed out that the 'programme' 'will focus on the development of specific programmes to ensure that socially excluded young persons do not become *chronically unemployable'* (Letter from DJELR Assistant Principal Officer to Dept. of Finance, in re: 'Estimates 2000 – Garda Youth Diversion [Sub-Head A.3.7], Garda Vote', copied to researcher by email on 19th August 1999). Emphasis added.

denial of the fact that the success is attributable to the flexible-developmental, interventionist policies of the Irish state (O'Riain, 2004). However, it appears the more that governing elites adopt an ideological creed, the greater the need to reclaim space. Coleman (2004) has suggested, based upon his study of Liverpool, that this dynamic is part of the roll-back of the welfare state and the roll-out of the neoliberal state where there is a struggle for 'a hegemony of aesthetics regarding who and what should and should not be seen' (Coleman, 2004: 32). Indeed, Kelly (2003: 177) has suggested that a re-imagining of youth as a dangerous Other reflects 'an institutionalised mistrust of young people' and as such risk management and disorder prevention strategies 'emerge at the intersection of institutionalised imaginings of danger, risk and economy'.

Such re-imagining has been evident in the inclusion in the Criminal Justice Act 2006 of 'behaviour orders' to deal with so-called 'anti-social' behaviour, similar to those introduced in England and Wales under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. In the Irish context, the public discourse about Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) involved some criticism of the state for rowing back on the welfarist-restorative principles included in the Children Act 2001 (Bacik, 2005). Indeed, the ASBO and the Good Behaviour Contract have been offered as examples by British criminologists of 'the progressive criminalisation of marginalised youth' based upon an 'ever-expanding government machinery of "mistrust"' (Stephen and Squires, 2004: 368). Together these 'situational' devices for reducing the supply of criminal opportunities are bound together with the emergence of digital surveillance that supports a neo-liberal economic agenda (Graham and Wood, 2003: 243). In the climate where a neo-liberal ideology is struggling for a hegemony (O'Riain, 2004) the future may hold a greater degree of surveillance and disciplining using a cocktail of digital and human surveillance, and the labour market.

In recent years, the use of the term 'socially excluded' to describe groups marginal to labour and commodity markets has come to the fore. The term has entered official parlance given its placing as a prominent component of the Irish State's most recent 'National Development Plans' (Government of Ireland, 1999, 2006). Whilst this attention is being paid to this group there is a very significant contradiction. While on one level the socially excluded groups are becoming a 'target' for social policy

initiatives, they are also increasingly being drawn into the social control and crime control net. In relation to the latter for instance, O'Donnell and O'Sullivan (2001, 2003) note that the overall crime rate in Ireland has been falling but they also point out that the effect of the 'zero tolerance' rhetoric of the late 1990s saw greater emphasis on the prosecution of nuisance and public order offences and most notably the targeting of 'beggars', prostitutes and street disorder (O'Donnell and O'Sullivan, 2001: 58).

The youth crime and disorder prevention modalities instigated following the Ronanstown events transmogrified into an extended disciplining device as it came to be incorporated and linked more to the state's labour market supply-side strategy. It is upon these modalities that the research will focus in order to enable an exploration of urban relationships between the state, civil society organisations and the working class and marginal youth in the peripheral housing estates.

Conclusion

The emergence of a trend towards the polarisation of the occupational structure is evident in the Republic of Ireland (Breathnach 2002, 2004) and a review of the Irish urban studies literature demonstrates the extent of urban restructuring and 'destructuring' (Castells, 1989) alongside population displacement and dispersal. Accompanying this however, is some level of contestation in material, ideological and aesthetic terms (Saris and Bartley, 2002). It has been argued in this chapter that the outbreaks of youth disorder in the western suburbs of Dublin emerged from this history of displacement and re-settlement. The research then will explore the process of solicitation of civil society organisations in the youth sphere and their mobilisation towards governance of youth and hence the achievement of goals in concertation with the 'goal directed state'. The research focus therefore will consider the hybridisation of spheres of activity (i.e. youth work) and its confluence with policing and order maintenance.

This chapter has outlined that in the Republic of Ireland, a modernist project of peripheral urban house-building which was conceived in the economically prosperous boom years of the 1960s turned into a crisis in the 1990s with such spaces latterly

becoming invisible and excluded. These spaces posed challenges to the state in terms of security and policing and it is to these locales that the research questions and the research itself will be directed. The research will therefore consider a mode of social control and surveillance utilized as a strategic means of integrating space with society and economy as a whole.

In addition, an 'institutionalised mistrust' of young people has emerged best expressed in the reassertion of the elective arm of the state in the form of 'behaviour orders' to deal with 'anti-social behaviour' in the Criminal Justice Act 2006 (Hamilton and Seymour, 2006). This came despite the restorative-welfarist ethos of the emerging youth justice infrastructure following the Children Act 2001. The urban landscape is also being increasingly panopticised through the utilisation of CCTV in both the city and town centres and in the peripheral housing estates. Indeed, the preventive technologies seeking a technical fix for controlling citizens in public by reproducing a culture of mistrust, are arguably part of a band of 'anti-social criminologies of everyday life' (Hughes, McLaughlin and Muncie, 2002: 329). Moreover, globalisation may set off patterns of difference in which forms of governance are multiple. Youth justice might well be undergoing a process of transformation bought about by the emergence of neo-liberalism and policy transfer, but it is also becoming *multi-modal* 'through national, regional and local enclaves of difference, coalition and resistance' (Muncie, 2004: 176). Youth justice appears to be constructed from shifting alliances between neo-liberal and social democratic approaches. Thus it takes on a hybrid form that 'activates multiple lines of invention, contestation and contradiction in policy making and implementation' (Muncie 2005: 57).

Finally, there is a pattern of differential policing of youth at the site of reproduction (the housing estate) and the site of consumption (the pubs in the night-time city centre economy). This is the context of the contemporary urban question against which youth crime and disorder prevention modalities, operating in the housing estates, will be explored in later chapters.

Chapter Six Consent, Cultural Capital and the Urban Question

Introduction

This chapter analyses the dynamics of state-civil society relationships following the outbreak of disorder in Ronanstown. The focus here is on responses to youth disorder, analysed in terms of the triangular model of state, police and civil society relations outlined in Figure 4.2. This chapter is more specifically concerned with the intersection point where state and civil society coalesce around questions of urban order. Hence, this chapter further explores these relationships as part of an 'urban process' (Harvey, 1997) that is directly connected with the history of 'new towns' in Ireland.

This chapter builds upon the chronological account outlined in the Introduction to the dissertation, by providing actors' accounts of events from 1991 onwards. The data presented are from archived interviews with national or regional level actors: those senior within their own institutions in the state, the police force and youth organisations (see Chapter Four). These are used to provide an exposition of the changing nature of governance in the urban periphery in the period 1991 to 1998. Actors' accounts are explored in a way that draws attention to the nature of 'symbolic struggle' (see Chapter One) by the state and the police force in the urban periphery. The argument centres upon the role of actors who forged a form of network governance in the area of Ballynew that became crucial to the formation of relationships in other peripheral contexts. Such a network came about, it is argued, for the purpose of exchanging social and cultural capital through the practice of gift giving and reciprocation. It is argued that this process emerged in the context of the absence of a pre-existing machinery in the Irish state in general, and the Irish police force in particular, to mobilise civil society around public order in the urban peripheral housing estates.

Context

In advance of presenting data from the interviews, this section provides four key points of context in order to develop the argument. First it outlines a brief resume of the socio-economic conditions in Ireland leading to the emergence of youth crime and disorder in the urban periphery (see also Chapter Five) and to the mobilisation of state strategies. Second, it provides an outline of key developments from the mid-1980s contributing to the residualisation and hybridisation of the youth service. Third, the history and character of the Irish system of youth justice is outlined together with an outline of the diffusion of the Garda Youth Diversion Projects throughout Ireland from 1991 onwards. In this connection also, the section provides a sketch of two youth service organisations that are the focus of the research in this and subsequent chapters. Fourth, this section identifies the key players interviewed for the research as those involved in managing urban disorder in the 1990s that had erupted in the urban periphery in the earlier part of the decade.

While the Irish economy had initially thrived under the shift from protectionism to inward investment or 'branch-plant industrialisation' in the 1960s and 1970s, the associated industrial dispersal policy shifted demand for unskilled labour to rural areas. Consequently this led to growing pools of unemployed labour in cities as economic recession contracted inward investment; although by the late 1980s the policy was reappraised and the shift in manufacturing employment away from Dublin relaxed (Van Egeraat and Breathnach, 2007: 131). While there was a reduction in the unemployment rate from 17% to 13% associated with a programme of recovery in this period, this was short lived as external factors such as the exchange rate crisis and hikes in interest rates forced unemployment to rise to 16% in the 1991-1993 period. Internal factors such as reducing emigration and the growing labour force associated with a combination of sustained fertility rates contributed to this rise in unemployment. This immediately preceded a period of sustained rapid economic growth that has characterised the 'celtic tiger' years from about 1993 onwards whereby increases in foreign owned manufacturing industry had stimulated employment and reduced unemployment dramatically (O'Connell, 2000: 62-63).

During the 1980s a sustained economic recession was met with a programme of economic and fiscal adjustment leading to cutbacks in public services. The period saw a series of deflationary budgets that served as means of correcting 'the huge imbalance in the public finances and it represented a strongly pro-cyclical fiscal stance at a time of very low growth' (Fitz Gerald, 2000: 42). While welfare regimes across Europe were experiencing crisis following the 1970s oil shocks, Ireland's welfare state had only emerged on the back of the process of late industrialisation. Public expenditure as a percentage of GNP grew to over 70% by the late 1980s, but by the 1990s it had decreased to 55% following a programme of adjustment (O'Sullivan, 2004: 323-324). While concentrations of poverty and marginality emerged during the 1980s (Nolan, et al 2000: 212) a more complex and graduated picture had been observed. Fahey and Williams (2000: 241) noted that it was not just a case that there were large 'blackspots' – significant concentrations of poverty and marginality – but that such areas were likely to exist alongside 'grey' and 'white' spots of relative affluence. Those areas that were badly off in 1987 were still badly off by 1997 when the 'Celtic Tiger' was at full tilt.

At the start of the 1980s, youth policy was being fashioned within an ambitious, social democratically inspired framework, set out by the recommendations of the Costello Report (National Youth Policy Committee, 1984). This appeared then to be out of kilter with the fiscal reality of impending cutbacks in public services. The Costello Report sought to democratise Irish society through democratic participation by young people in political and social institutions. Moreover, it took the view that 'the exclusion of individuals and groups from decision-making at any level, or lack of encouragement for them to be involved, could well lead to a sense of powerlessness, apathy, indifference and destructive behaviour' (1984: 15). A major tool for achieving the participative-democratic ideal was through a youth service that would achieve a range of educational and social objectives but through voluntary participation in social education programmes it would achieve a level of 'political literacy' (National Youth Policy Committee, 1984: 114). Recognising that family and education provided degrees of social and political education, the youth service, it was suggested had 'special characteristics' in the form of informal and out-of-school education that helped to equip young people to be 'self reliant' (National Youth Policy Committee,1984: 115). Hence a 'comprehensive national youth service' under

the Minister for Education was proposed which would be implemented regionally through the Vocational Education Committees (VECs) and delivered by a mixture of voluntary and statutory providers locally (National Youth Policy Committee, 1984: 141). The mode of discipline envisaged for young people in Irish society was a social democratic one whereby self discipline and participation would replace the need for the panoptic regulation previously provided by the Catholic Church and the family.

The Government adopted the Costello recommendations in the form of theWhite Paper, *In Partnership with Youth* (Government of Ireland, 1985). However, following the 1987 election the new Fianna Fail minority government 'decided not to implement' the youth service fully, given its adoption of a programme of fiscal adjustment (Government of Ireland, 2003: 15). This signalled the abandonment of the opportunity to reconfigure youth citizenship and participation vis-à-vis the youth service.[41]

The changing economic conditions from the mid 1980s led to a hiatus in the provision of the envisaged national youth service. Instead what emerged was piecemeal and voluntary sector led; the sector cobbled together a youth service based upon some core funding from the Department of Education and utilised other sources as they emerged including Department of Justice funding and those from local area partnerships for educational support initiatives for early school leavers (see Cullen, 1999).[42] This was reflected in analysis for the youth work plan (Hurley, Bowden and Daly, 2001) which indicated that funding for youth work had stagnated during the 1990s, remaining at or about the annual increases in public sector spending generally. In this context, the suppression of youth welfare proposals in favour of reconstructing economy and society against the demands for global competitiveness saw a greatly diminished youth service. In this context, initiatives such as the Garda Special

[41] Policy development in this regard did not appear until 2001 in the form of a Youth Work Act 2001 which established some statutory functions for VECs, put in place a national assessor as regards the quality of programmes, and instituted a National Youth Work Advisory Committee (NYWAC). A National Youth Work Development Plan 2003-2007 was subsequently produced setting out the goal of youth work participation. Youth work, the plan pointed out, would function in tandem with other services but was distinct from other youth provision by virtue of its voluntary nature (Government of Ireland, 2003: 15).

[42] Core finance for youth services has been provided from Exchequer returns from the National Lottery since the late 1980s.

Projects (GSPs) were thrown together to deal with the problem of youth disorder and indiscipline in the urban periphery.

Youth justice in the Republic of Ireland is presently governed under the provisions of the Children Act (2001). The Act replaces the Children Act of 1908 and introduces a range of community based sanctions and interventions, and might be broadly regarded as combining welfarist and restorative principles. The 1908 Act had remained as the principle legal framework until its replacement and was augmented by the provisions of Probation of Offenders Act 1907 and the School Attendance Act 1926 (O'Sullivan, 1998a: 316).

Part Five, section 52 of the 2001 Act raised the age of criminal responsibility from 7 to 12 years of age. The Act recognised that no child as young as 12 was capable of committing an offence and that children under 14 could in their defence claim that they did not have the capacity to understand that the offence or the omission was wrong. This part of the Act was not implemented and was subsequently replaced by the provision of the Criminal Justice Act 2006 which did raise the age of responsibility to 12 years but only to 10 years of age in cases of the serious crimes of rape, murder and manslaughter. On the basis that there is little evidence to justify this provision empirically, Kilkelly (2006: 55) pointed out that was it contrary to best practice in other jurisdictions and moving against the spirit of the 2001 Act.

The 2001 Children Act accorded a statutory status to the Garda Juvenile Diversion Programme previously in operation as a discretionary scheme within the police force since 1963. The Act states (Part 4: 22 – 24) that a child may be admitted to the Juvenile Diversion Programme provided they accept responsibility for their criminal behaviour, consent to be cautioned, are over the age of criminal responsibility and under 18 years. The Act also provided for the administration of both formal and informal cautioning, supervision of children who are formally cautioned. The Diversion Programme is implemented by the National Juvenile Office of An Garda Siochana and oversight is provided by a National Monitoring Committee. The Garda Youth Diversion Projects while set up independently of the Youth Diversion Programme, are designed to work in tandem with it (see Centre for Social and Educational Research, 2003).

The Act made provisions, at a variety of levels and within various authorities (i.e. Gardai, Health authorities or the Courts) for the provision of family group conferences. In Part 4 section 29 the Act defines a conference as a meeting of person's concerned with the child's welfare. These restorative aspects of the Youth Justice System have been slow to evolve, are seen as resource intensive and it remains a marginal action within the overall youth justice system (see O'Dwyer, 2007).

The 2001 Act also provided for the establishment of the Special Residential Services Board to review the education and care programmes for children in detention together with the undertaking of research and regular monitoring of child detention units.[43] Furthermore, the Children Act 2001 established the Children's Court (previously referred to as the Juvenile Court, which had previously operated as an *in camera* session of the District Court.

Detention for children upon receiving a custodial sentence, is usually provided in a range of institutions (which are either assessment centres or schools and are either former reformatory schools or industrial schools[44]), but in practice many young people are detained in St. Patrick's Institution for young male offenders (Lawlor, de Roiste and Devlin, 2007: 260). On this issue, Kilkelly (2007) has cautioned that the regime at the Institution requires young offenders (as young as sixteen) to eat meals in cells and wear prison clothes which might undermine any potential rehabilitative effect with young people. Moreover, 'the absence of a care or educational ethos, prevalence of drugs and bullying' implies that 'serious questions must be asked about the capacity of St. Patrick's to operate in a manner that protects and promotes the rights of young people in line with our international obligations' (Kilkelly, 2007: 256-257).

The 1926 School Attendance Act was replaced by the provisions of the Education and Welfare Act 2000. The Act provides for the entitlement of every child in the State to

[43] The SRSB has recently renamed the Children Acts Advisory Board under the Childcare (Amendment) Act 2007 with the additional responsibility to publish the criteria for, inter alia, the appointment and training of any Guardian ad litem and the admission and discharge from special care units of children subject to special care orders (http://www.srsb.ie/, 24 January 2008).
[44] For a detailed discussion of the history of Reformatory and Industrial Schools see O'Sullivan (1998b), Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999).

a certain minimum education. To that end it provides for the registration of children receiving education in places other than recognised schools and the compulsory attendance of certain children at recognised schools. Furthermore, the Act requires parents to take responsibility for requesting to send their child to an alternative place of education (Part 3: section 14). In addition, special provisions are made for the continuing education and training of young persons of 16 and 17 years of age who leave school to take up employment.

Finally, the disparate system of Youth Justice has recently been incorporated under the institutional gamut of the Irish Youth Justice Service. The Service was set up following the publication by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2005) of the Youth Justice Review. The Service co-ordinates the policies and operations of three Departments (Health and Children, DJELR and Education) under the Office of the Minister for Children. The challenge for the Service is to operate within the principles that acknowledge a primary concern for the interests of young people, that children in conflict with the system be treated age appropriately, that they have the same rights as all other children vis-à-vis protection and education, and that detention should be a last resort (Kilkelly, 2007: 260).

The Garda Youth Diversion Projects operate under the auspices of a promoting youth service. The youth services typically act as an employer and recruit and train any staff assigned to a GYDP (CSER, 2003). In this research, particular attention is paid to the contestation between two youth services in the Dublin region, briefly outlined below. For the purposes of the analysis and discussion here, these are given generic names that reflect their core character.

By the end of the 1990s, a total of 14 projects were established in urban areas throughout the state. These were usually established where the Department JELR received a written application from local consortia including the youth service and Garda members as the principal players. Before 2003 the criteria for setting up a GYDP initiative were primarily discretionary and relatively unwritten. A set of guidelines were produced (CSER, 2003) as an outcome of the national evaluation of the initiative (Bowden and Higgins, 2000). The evaluation indicated that the 14 projects then established had a curious chronological pattern in that there was wide

variation between the time of application and the eventual approval. This appeared to underline the discretionary nature of the initiatives and the common argument put forward in the field that the projects were rolled out in those areas with the most difficult policing problems. For instance, Bowden and Higgins (2000: 35) noted that the CODY project had its application approved within one month of submission while the TEAM project at Muirhevnamore in Dundalk, waited more than two years. The former coincided with the widely publicised riots at Gallanstown at Halloween in 1995 after which a project was established almost immediately. In the latter case, a senior member of Sinn Fein had become a member of the committee promoting the setting up of the GSP and may in part explain the reluctance of the DJELR to proceed to approval for such a protracted period.[45]

Following the inclusion in of the GYDPs under the National Devleopment Plan 1999-2006 a total of 100 projects were supported: the most recent Plan has included the GYDPs as a social inclusion measure and allowance is being made to expand the number of local projects to 168 locations nationwide in the period 2007-2013.[46]

On the whole, two thirds of the GYDPs are located in cities. Of the 59 GYDPs set up by 2002, a total of 22 or 37% were located in Dublin (see Figure 6.1 below), and between them Cork and Dublin constituted 51% while the combined concentration in cities including Waterford, Galway and Limerick was 66% (for data source see Centre for Social and Educational Research, 2002

The Secular Youth Service (SYS)

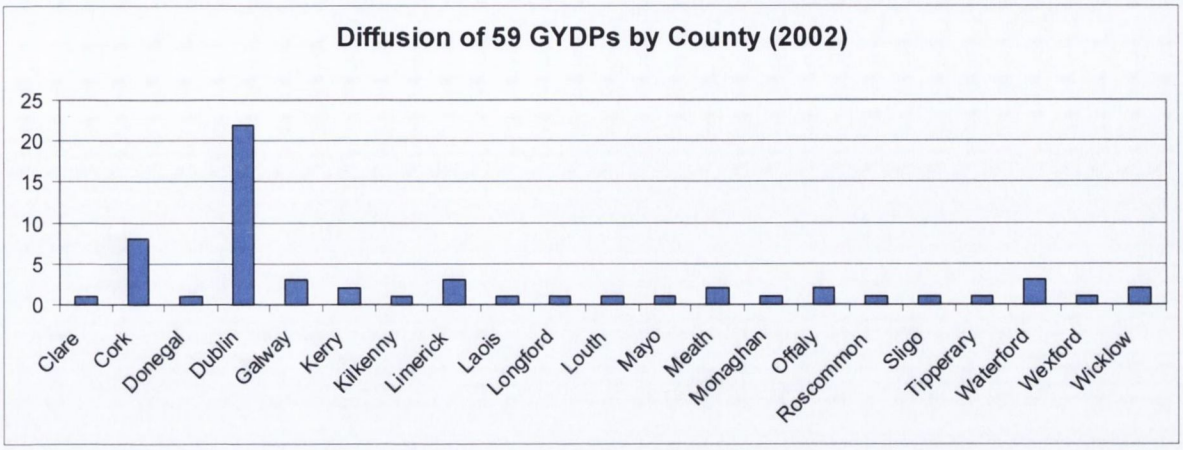
This fictive title is given to this youth service to reflect its non-denominational character. It was established as a sub-committee of the City's educational committee, the statutory agency charged with responsibility for post-primary schools. The SYS was set up as a response to the poverty in the Dublin tenements and later was expanded to the newer housing estates in the outer part of the City, constructed in the 1930s and 1940s (see Power, 1993).

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[45] In interviews carried out by the author in Dundalk in 1999 and later in 2000, informants suggested that they feared that this was the case but had little definitive evidence to prove it.

[46] See Speech made by the Minister for Children, Mr. Brendan Smith TD, 19 November 2007 to the GYDP Annual Conference 'A Vision for the Future', http://www.nco.ie/viewdoc.asp?Docid=651&CatID=12&mn=&StartDate=1+January+2007

Figure 6.1: *Garda Youth Diversion Programmes in Ireland in 2002 (CSER, 2002*



From the outset it developed a curriculum that was focused upon the imparting of vocational skills in leather work, home economics, carpentry and literacy. This was referred to as the 'Brugh' model.[47] In recognition of the emergence of city centre based youth cultures in the 1970s, the SYS piloted youth work with the 'unattached' and in the 1980s its focus shifted to piloting community youth work in youth projects managed by local committees. Since the mid-1990s the SYS has become the municipal agency in the City responsible for the disbursement of funds under the Young People's Facilities and Services Fund and the Local Drugs Task Fund, both being key dimensions of the State's National Drug Strategy. Hence, the SYS, while an implementation body in the youth sector, is also a funding agency.

The SYS Committee is comprised of 12 members, half of which are City Councillors and the remainder are comprised of youth work interests and appointees of the city vocational education body. The Committee also has representation from the DYS (described below) and in recent years, some Councillors associated with it directly have also been members of the Committee.

Two central principles delineate the SYS from other youth work organisations. The first is a central focus on the relationship between the young person the youth worker. The second is its dedication to working with young people outside the traditional

[47] Brugh is the Irish gaelic for 'broch' which is the archaeological term given to a fortified circular stone tower found in early Christian settlement sites. Brugh is also used in relation to youth hostel (Brugh an Oige).

youth work domain. The SYS has maintained a scepticism of the Garda Youth Diversion Project initiative and has not sought to expand or extend its involvement in it beyond two local areas.

The Diocesan Youth Service (DYS)

The DYS was set up in 1944 and operates youth services at a range of locations throughout the Archdiocese which includes a wide swathe of the province of Leinster. Its operations can be divided into 'faith based work' and 'youth services'. A large portion of its work is centred on the organisation of parish based activities including the organisation of the Taize[48] youth delegations from Ireland together with participation in pilgrimages to Rome (DYS Annual Report, 2004). Its organisation is divided into youth services and 'faith development' teams reflecting its mission for the 'evangelisation' of young people in school and non-school settings. The DYS is governed by a Council of 12 members appointed by the Archbishop.

The DYS youth services are comprised of 300 affiliated local voluntary groups; it provides programmes of summer activities together with the provision of regional youth services in Dublin and surrounding counties. This is overseen by a youth services manager. The DYS operates a total of 10 GYDPs.

Finally, the incidents at Ronanstown as depicted in the introduction to the dissertation gave rise to the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder as outlined in Chapter Five. The need for such a policy response occurred precisely because of the institutional vacuum sparked off by cuts in public spending on services. This was exacerbated, as previously observed, by the concentrations of substantial pools of unemployed youth labour in the new peripheral housing estates. Thus the research presented below explores state strategies mobilised in response to these conditions. It is based upon interviews with some key personnel overseeing state strategies in response to disorder in the peripheral housing estates in the early 1990s, alongside interview data from informants charged with managing the Garda Special Projects initiative that arose as a development of preventive strategies deployed following these incidents of urban disorder. A list of the key players is outlined in Figure 6.2 below.

[48] A youth ecumenical movement centred upon the town of Taize in France and set up by the charismatic Brother Roger (see www.taize.fr).

Figure 6.2: *Key Informants at National and Regional Level*

Informant's Position or Role	**Informant Initial**	**Date of Interview**
Police (National Officials)		
Garda Superintendent at time of interview; had been responsible for programmes at the National Juvenile Office in An Garda Síochána for the previous five years, just six months prior to interview	Insp 1	October 1998
Garda Inspector responsible for the National Juvenile Office at time of interview and previously associated with the local manager of NYO as a member of a local Garda Special Project	Insp 2	October 1998
A Garda Superintendent at the national Garda Community Relations Section and Director of the Garda National Juvenile Office	Sup	September 1998
State Officials		
Previously a Principal Officer at the Department of Justice and was an Assistant Secretary to the Department at time of interview	ASG	November 1998
An Assistant Principal Officer in the Department of Justice responsible for Probation and Welfare Services	APpw	November 1998
A Principal Officer in the Department of Justice with specific responsibility for Probation and Welfare Services	POpw	November 1998
Formerly a senior probation officer of the Department of Justice on secondment to another state body at the time of interview. Assigned to Ballynew in 1990-1991	Spw	November 1998
Youth Service Personnel (National and Regional)		
Director of National Youth Organisation (NYO), an NGO previously a rural youth organisation that expanded its youth services operations into cities and urban areas after 1982	NYO 1	October 1998
An area manager of NYO responsible for two new suburban areas	NYO 2	October 1998
A local manager of NYO responsible for one suburban area. He reports to the area manager of NYO	NYO 3	October 1998
Director of a secular Youth Service (SYS) responsible for youth education and welfare in the Dublin municipal area	SYS dir	October 1998
Director of Youth Services for Diocesan Youth Service (DYS); a former civil servant in the Department of Education	DYS 1	October 1998

Disorder, Sovereignty and the Discourse of Dangerousness

The chronology of events outlined in the introduction to the dissertation, illustrated the extent to which the state officials expressed fear and witnessed danger and overt hostility towards authorities, especially the police. The breakdown of law and order in the new housing estates was seen as manifest most especially in the events of November 1991. This entailed what was seen as a drift between the police and the people living in the estates, most notably in Ronanstown.

In the early to mid-1990s, the situation at Ronanstown became a symbol for the ills of urban society; a screen on which was projected a greater urban crisis. Similar areas built in the late 1970s and 1980s did not garner the same level of media attention, but were nevertheless perceived by the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder as undergoing a similar level of crisis. At the local level, disorder associated with young people's use of the public space was a cause for social and political anxiety.

While levels of overt disorder were seen as problematic, the extent of the rift between the police and civil society was considered to be extreme. The police station at Ronanstown, which was built in an isolated position and likened to a conflict zone, became a symbol of that rift. Moreover, staffing levels at the Ronanstown station were not seen as sufficient to deal with the policing of urban disorder [Law and Order Breakdown, POpw, para 121][49]:

> There was no tolerance of the Gardai by the people. When the Fire Brigade got the same treatment it was the actual stoning and the injury of firemen that brought it to a head rather than the alienation towards the Gardai. It was the actual highlighting of the fact that the Fire Brigade had been prevented from reaching a fire and stoned out of the area that brought about changed thinking. (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

The level of disorder is connected to the prevailing urban model itself as the construction of suburban housing estates on the periphery was a central part of state

[49] NVivo data addresses are provided for all interview data as follows [Data Node, informant initial, paragraph(s)]. Informant initials for chapter six are provided in Figure 6.1 above and for chapter seven in Figure 7.1.

development strategy of the period. In this context, the police officers assigned to the new areas were confronted with *a new urban policing scenario* for which they were not fully prepared. The Commission on Remuneration and Conditions of Service[50] in the police force changed the nature of Irish policing as it transformed the localised and vocational nature of An Garda Síochána into a mechanised and routinised police force [Routine and Mech, Sup, paras 35-1]:

MB: So this was a different way of working then....?
Sup: There were less people.
MB: Yeah there were less people.
Sup: Less people to do the same job. And less people to do the beats. And we ended up retreating back into patrol cars and less people on the beat and of course also people going to the border; that took away from it. And that whole period of the seventies I mean you had the car bombs in Dublin, you had the car bombs on the border; you had the Special Criminal set-up. They were difficult times. The seventies were very difficult times. And, and we carried the brunt of that, there's no doubt or question about it. And I'd say we lost the people to some degree and then combining with that at the very same time the Government policy of this extensive urbanisation west of Dublin and in most cities I suppose. The Ballymuns, I don't know when they went up (Police Superintendent).

The new towns, by virtue of their dispersed and low density nature, required by definition a degree of mechanisation for both civil and policing purposes. Hence the nature of the urban model and the process of mechanisation were feeding into a crisis of confidence in the police [Wild West, Sup, para 87]:

> It was absolutely it was disaster which caused them to be created. It was the fact that this was like getting out of control. It wasn't handled, handleable, [laughs] if that's a good word. I mean Guards were suddenly being put into big buses with grills on the windows, having stones and bottles thrown at them. The same sort of scene as the RUC with their big wagons up there. A sort of *'ringing 'round the wagons'* you know, that they're out there and you're in here and that just doesn't work. You end up with a battle scenario (Police Superintendent). [emphasis added]

This informant draws here from the 'western' film genre to illustrate his understanding that mechanisation leads the police force into a defensive position: to defend territory held. The re-ordering of urban space towards the west of Dublin, had

[50] Commission on the Garda Síochána (1970), *Report on Remuneration and Conditions of Service.* Dublin: Stationery Office. Also known as The Conroy Commission.

institutional and organisational consequences for the police and the state. Moreover, the use of western cinema metaphor signals a sense of danger, the unknown; the frontier. Other informants used similar terms to describe the breakdown of law and order and the anxiety and fear associated with it, together with their description of conditions in Ronanstown in particular [Descrpition of conditions, ASG, para 76]:

> Ronanstown itself was very striking by its impoverishment in terms of facilities and resources. There was eh the local church which was ch… whose doors were chained up and had no windows in it. There was a pub that was like something from the *wild west*. Em, there was virtually no shops (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

These references appear to point to an underlying sense of fear and anxiety about the potential danger posed by social polarisation. In addition, there was a sense of official abandonment of these area; marked by the absence of both the state, the market and civic institutions. The actors here give meaning to the notion of the city as having an outer physical limit, but their invocation of 'wild west' metaphor gave it a cultural meaning too: it represented the idea of a *new frontier* where there was no precedent for how to deal with disorder and where the state was operating without a template. In this scenario, we saw a usually office bound civil servants making a trip to the edge and using this cinematic vocabulary to fix an image of fear and impending danger.

But while this civil servant was glimpsing over the edge in 1990 or 1991, an event that took place in Tallaght in 1987 gave the police force there a similar sense. A fifteen year old young woman, Carol Carpenter had been murdered in a local park on Friday evening but her body was not discovered until Sunday. This was a significant moment for the Garda Superintendent, then an Inspector who fixed that day in his mind as 'Carol Carpenter Sunday'. He and his officers sought to preserve the scene for forensic examination. A group of young men had been drinking nearby and they vandalised the police cars even though, according to the police officers present, they knew that a body had been discovered. The Superintendent was asked what he thought explained this situation and he responded as follows [Sup's Anomie Theory, Sup, para 137]:

> Normlessness, yeah as your man talks about it. Normlessness. Eh, those children in there do not perceive the normal society as being meaning anything to them (Police Superintendent).

This sense of the abnormal was significant for this officer: he was working without precedent and had not witnessed the kind of drift that he had at the murder scene. He also recounted how families were made up of 'abnormal liaisons', reflecting a sense that the basis of social order was chaotic and unconnected from the cultural and social life of the rest of society [Underclass Visions, Sup, para 172]:

> Now this particular house we were investigating now, the mother who was killed had two or three children [...] to one man who was gone. The guy living with her, his wife and son and daughter who was about twenty; he was older. This mother was about twenty-nine who died. The guy who was living with her had a son and daughter of nineteen or twenty, away gone with his wife. He was living with this one who had two or three children and she would have become pregnant to him but he had another lady around the corner in a different estate who was also pregnant to him. So there were three distinct families with one father you know (Police Superintendent).

The low incomes of residents of the housing estates plus the concentrated levels of lone parents were contributors to a discourse of dangerousness [Seismic Metaphor, ASG, para 84]:

> There is a lot of money going into that area and a lot of social workers and things like that but after people met their immediate necessities they had damn all spending. Levels of unemployment out there were *off the Richter Scale*. And em, there was a very high ratio of one parent families. Enormous. It looked like they had taken the whole waiting list from Dublin Corporation and dumped it out there (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

Notice here also that the urban question is evoked again by reference to the dislocation of those in need of social housing from the city area being 'dumped' in Ronanstown. But most significantly here is the use of a seismological metaphor to describe the unemployment situation. Similarly the population growth in Tallaght together with lack of physical and cultural infrastructure was a potentially violent situation [Underclass visions, Sup, para 5]:

> Tallaght had gone I suppose from about 1970s a population of ten thousand to about maybe eighty thousand in 1987 and nothing for them. There were no

> footpaths in Tallaght at the time. There was one or two pubs. There was nothing only this big Garda station and nothing else. Okay, there were lots of industrial units but again they were targets for crime. And my experience as an outdoor policeman at that time was that you were literally sitting on em an explosive (Police Superintendent).

The reference to both the Richter Scale and the 'explosive' situation in Tallaght are encased here in informants stories about the development of these new suburbs themselves and in this regard they clearly enjoin the question of urbanisation with that of urban order and disorder. Here we see a very strong link created, if not determination, of the problem of order and that of urban restructuring and working class dispersal, as documented in Chapter Five. The traditional Dublin working class, occupiers of the flat complexes and houses in the inner-city, were lured to the new towns on the promise of more favourable living environments. After years of economic contraction and seemingly intractable long-term unemployment, the 1980s ended with new town communities in desolation and despair.

Crisis of Police Confidence and a Crisis of Territoriality

The discourse of dangerousness was generated around the idea that the rhythm of social life began to be structured around groups of men whose time-space began in the afternoon and ended in the early hours of the following day. Some housing estates experienced extremes of male unemployment, particularly in Ronanstown and in Tallaght. This disorder was produced by an oversupply of labour and a severely stunted economic situation; emigration opportunities were restricted to a mobile, educated middle-class (see Courtney, 1995). Thus the crisis had to be managed and order had to be imposed in the new housing estates on the periphery. The absence of work together with the various eruptions of disorder called for a crisis management strategy on the part of the state [Description of conditions, POpw, para 47]:

> Yes, I am saying that when crises occur you have to react. I think when you go into areas where there has been a crisis there has to be a plan. You have to set a model that is wider than the crisis. There would have been an increase in juvenile crime but there wouldn't have been the lawlessness to the extent that you had out in Ronanstown or Cherry Orchard, in Blanchardstown, Finglas or in Coolock (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

Significantly, it was the Department of Justice, with its crime and security mandate, that drove this strategy. The model too was 'wider than the crisis' in the sense that the issue was not solely about focusing on the transgressors but on the problem of securing order itself. The purpose of this strategy was mobilise 'the community' and to maintain the territorial sovereignty of the state [Sovereign Crisis, POpw, paras 59-65]:

POpw: This was very much about breaking new ground. Learning how to get to know people living in a very disadvantaged area where unemployment was as high as eighty percent and where life only starts in the community at 4 o'clock in the day. You know, if you drove through Ronanstown at 10 o'clock in the morning it was absolutely [gesticulates that it was quiet] quiet.
MB: Quiet.
POpw: Whereas up to 4 o'clock in the morning it was alive. And there were major issues, joyriding was big and there were angry people. All that had to be handled. It wasn't just about what I would call taking the youth in and nobody else. It did mean having to negotiate, having to talk to people in the area to get people on side. It was to build up trust. And that trust was very much about how to bring the people and the law enforcement agencies on side (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

The absence of trust in this case led to an apparent crisis of confidence. However, this was made more complex by the question of territory. This had to do with the appropriation of physical space from the state and marking spaces out in which the state did not have ease of access. In this context, it was young people's appropriation of the public space for collective expressions of their youth culture and their identity that generated the crisis.

But the crisis of territoriality was compounded by the activities of republican activists in both Tallaght and North Clondalkin in the period in question. In particular, the activities of the Sinn Fein party and its paramilitary wing the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) were even more troubling to the state by virtue of its perceived undermining of sovereignty in these locales. In 1994, Sinn Fein held its Ard Fheis (Annual Conference) in the community centre in Tallaght; the group of housing estates became a focal point for international media and for a weekend. But symbolically, it was because Sinn Fein activists were involved in civil society activities in the areas through their involvement in the organisation of youth activities and community associations. Together with the fact that the PIRA's armed struggle

was still in operation, the motives of these activists were called into question by the state, by the police force and by some voluntary and community organisations in these areas [Sovereign Crisis, POpw, paras 153-155]:

MB: Is the creation of order the more operative [concern] than the creation of services to deal with "the delinquent"?

POpw: It was the need for a profile of the Gardai in the local area, to enable them to reduce what I would call the negativeness towards them. Therefore they, by being very proactive in this area was helping them to be in the community and to be seen as if you like people that can be talked to and that they are humane. I think there was a worry at the time, a spill over from the North that the Gardai were going to find themselves alienated. There were very proactive people, and let's be candid, 'vigilantes' who were being promoted by Sinn Fein at the time in communities. There was a desire, a need to ensure that this would not happen. They were apprehensive that if you like, the 'vigilantes' in local communities would become more the norm than the police. And none more so than in Killinarden and Ronanstown. But more so in Killinarden because there was very high powered people in Sinn Fein who were running a youth service in Killinarden and the Gardai were not allowed inside the door of the hall in Killinarden (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

The threat posed to the security and integrity of the state by the PIRA had reminiscence of a view that Sinn Fein had considered themselves be the provisional government of Ireland in exile; that they inherited the spirit of both the 1916 rising and were the custodian victors of the all-Ireland election of 1918 (see Munck, 1988). In this context the notion that the PIRA would create 'no-go' areas within the constitutionally defined territory of Ireland was anathema to the sovereign state. Hence struggles over access to public spaces presented a serious threat to the sovereignty and authority of the Irish State. For the police, being excluded from entering public or civil spaces posed a major challenge, particularly in Tallaght [Sovereignty, Space Question, POpw, para 155 continued]:

> And I remember the Garda Assistant Commissioner having to sit down with the Chief Superintendent and two Garda Superintendents in Tallaght, prior to the open day being run in the Centre in Killinarden, the first attempt if you like to break the barriers. They spent two hours deciding whether they would go in uniform or whether they would go in plain clothes. They asked me as I happened to be there: 'Will we be refused admission at the door if we are in uniform'. I said 'it's not my business' but as the fella said to the judge; 'if you are a superintendent, you are superintendent'. And I said to him 'if you can't go there in uniform you have to ask yourself the question', 'what is wrong'? I said 'if you feel threatened by that, then', 'do not go in uniform'.

> But I said 'if you feel comfortable you are the Superintendent in the area', and so forth, 'then I think you should not have any difficulty about it'. If you're refused, well', 'that's something that you will have to cope with'. But I said, 'I do not believe you will be'. And they were not [laughs]. I am just saying that it was the concept. The conceptual idea was to breakdown the hostility growing in that community towards the Gardai. The position has improved and the area more settled (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

Again, struggles over order and disorder interconnected with the urban through the question of the governance of space as in the example above.

The Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder

The following piece of transcript is central to analysis of the questions under scrutiny in this dissertation. Here, one piece of transcript is presented and its constituent parts are numbered [1] to [6] to facilitate analysis. The transcript is drawn from the interview conducted with the Principal Officer of the Department of Justice who had been consulted on many crime and security issues in the period. He also served as a member of the Interdepartmental Group on Urban Crime and Disorder. Here he is being asked to clarify how far an explicit policy framework underlay the state funded youth crime and disorder initiatives in the 1990s [Third Sector Within, IGUCD, POpw, para 127-133]:

MB: But did the Interdepartmental Committee, did it get into the detail. Is that the forum in which these kind of things were born and is that the point at which the goal setting should have taken place or the setting of the broad policy parameters. Did that take place?

POpw: What happened was that the Committee decided, [1] as a matter of policy, that what was recommended in relation to [Ronanstown] could apply in any part of the country. But it did focus on [Ronanstown] and if you like there were initiatives taken by representatives within the group. [2] I am sure the Department file will show that [my Departmental colleague] was very much to the forefront. He and one or two others would have been the instigators of what happened rather than any thinking within the Gardai at a policy level. So therefore it wasn't a question that Garda management sat down and thought this through; it was very much a whole number of initiatives taken. And I suppose it is fair to say that [name], Assistant Commissioner threw himself into things in a proactive way. There was very much an off the hoof approach. 'We've got to do things: we do them now'. And he was there in the middle of it all. He would get [bangs table] football outfits from O'Neills for these kids.

He went down to CIE and say I want a loan of one empty container to put in a field in Ronanstown. So there was a soccer club and there was a boxing club they went to [my colleague] and Wheatfield [prison] built the boxing club for them. So if you like there was a whole number of fire brigade responses.

MB: No pun intended?!

POpw: [laughs] Yes. All put into place. [3] And then on top of that there was 'how are we going to get the Gardai accepted?' This is, was the unwritten and underlying situation. 'The Minister for Justice has a problem about the non-acceptance of the Gardai. [taps table repeatedly] They are not acceptable to some of these people so how does he get all the other Departments in on this'. [4] It was most unusual for Justice to take the initiative, it was the then Secretary who brought it about. The Justice Department should be the last department to take this kind of global view of what is wrong within an area. But it was done because of the fact that it was an alien community and the Gardai were not welcome. [5] So everything was focused on how you bring about a situation so that the Gardai would be acceptable to the community. So you have to, you have to give them a whole number of goodies and [6] it had to be *seen* that it was not the other agencies that were giving them. It had to be *demonstrated* that the Gardai were giving them. And therefore, the Minister who succeeded Ray Burke, Maire Geoghegan-Quinn went out several times to the local community and met all of them and amongst other things agreed to put an extension onto the Garda station. Every function in Ronanstown took place in the Garda station in Ronanstown. No matter what it was. It was all focused in on the Gardai. Everything had to be there. The extension was done in jig time. It had to be elevated to a new level to get to get the barriers down from around the station (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

[1] As discussed earlier, the Interdepartmental Committee responded to the urban disorder in Ronanstown and so their deliberations became universally applicable to the remainder of the State. In this regard, it was an experiment as to how conflicts being played out under the urban question (see Chapter Three) could be managed across time-spaces.

[2] It appears from this key informant's understanding of the situation, that the police force needed to be marshalled from the top. This is the case as they were prone to spontaneity without addressing the underlying situation. The resort to 'off the hoof' gift giving appeared to indicate that the police force had a limited action repertoire in dealing with an urban crisis.

[3] It is clear that the problem of credibility in the police force was an underlying condition that needed to be addressed; and, it fell to the officials of the Department of Justice to focus the attention of senior police officers on this fact by reminding them that it was the Minister who had a problem about the 'non-acceptance' of the police in in urban areas.

[4] In relation to dealing with this crisis of territoriality, the Department of Justice wanted to enlist the support of other government departments and to do so it put itself into a *steering* position. Other departments, the police and civil society would be mobilised for *rowing* functions. Many of the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee report referred to wider social policy responses and hence the Department of Justice put itself into a steering position vis-à-vis expanded social policy initiatives to arrest the crisis in urban areas at this time.
[5] The state had to deliver some 'goodies' in order to address the crisis of confidence and the crisis of territoriality.
[6] It was necessary that the police force be seen to take the credit for having brokered or levered these gifts from the state (and subsequently from the private sector). Hence the strategy to legitimise the police was to make them *visible* in whatever way possible; and by extension, that they be visualised as a beneficent and benign force.

Following from this position, actions of the police and state in relation to two conjoined activities – youth disorder prevention and community policing – must be seen in the context of points [5] and [6] above. All actions emanating from the Department of Justice strategy here were oriented towards police signification. Their aim was to build civil society in these particular neighbourhoods and to develop an ensemble of forces that would deliver cultural capital through a *strategy of visibility*. In the following sections, the question of how such visibility was mobilised is considered in relation to the peripheral settings.

Visibility as a Response to Youth Disorder: The State and Civil Society

In order then to accumulate capital, the police and the state officials were involved in a process of engagement with civil society actors in order to accumulate legitimate power. This is explored here in relation to the ways in which civil society actors were mobilised to the task of order maintenance, the deployment of youth services towards the provision of primary and secondary prevention and mobilisation of dominant pedagogy based upon a moralising curriculum. Central here, is the police-community orientation that holds that police legitimacy results from engagements with civil society that sets up a mutual relationship based upon a flow of information.

Following visits of civil servants to the Ballynew area and the subsequent funding of some civic activities, such as providing a ring and gym facilities for a local boxing club, the Department of Justice and the Guards decided to formalise this arrangement by allocating funds to finance these community relations activities. In the process, they consulted the Probation and Welfare Service. Initially, the police emphasis on local visibility meant a preference for the employment of civic leaders to work with young people at local level. However an employment embargo in public jobs that was in place at the time, did not allow for the creation of new posts to facilitate this within the public service. Hence, civil society organisations in the youth sector were mobilised to the task.

The Probation Service sought to persuade the police and the Department that it would be more advisable to fund existing youth service organisations with visible operations in both peripheral areas around Dublin. Two non-governmental youth service providers, the Diocesan Youth Service (DYS) and the National Youth Organisation (NYO) were summoned at one hour's notice to a meeting at the Commissioner's Office in Garda Headquarters in the Phoenix Park. For the youth organisations involved this was a bizarre event: when they arrived they were greeted with a coterie of senior police personnel together with senior officials from the Department of Justice [HQ Meeting, NYO, paras 23-37]:

NYO1: And I'll tell you there was a funny kind of a story about it. [laughs] We were invited one day out of the blue [.] 'would we go into the [Garda] Commissioner's office'.

NYO 2: At twelve o'clock we got the phone call. [laughs]

NYO 1: Will we come into the Commissioner's office'. And off we trotted into the Commissioner's office and we were to go into there there was supposed to be press briefing by the Minister for Justice, who was eh, Burke at the time, I suppose. Anyway, he wasn't there. So the Assistant Commissioner announced that these projects eh…..

NYO 2: There was two. There was the BRATT project for Towerstown and the KEY project, which they didn't have names at that stage.

NYO 1: They didn't have names.

NYO 2: And we were being told 'you're taking this over' [laughs].

NYO 1: You're taking these on [laughs loudly]. So we agreed. But it was easy for us to agree because it was part of, it fitted into our programme and mission and purpose and so on. And …

NYO 2: And I think you know [Senior Probation Official] who worked in the Probation Service, she was very, she made the phone call at twelve o'clock to come to, the Probation Service were involved in it. And I think that she was one of the people who was very instrumental in saying 'look, don't, Guards don't set up a youth service, work in what what is already there' (National Youth Organisation Officers).

The Minister for Justice, Mr. Ray Burke was supposed to attend the meeting but did not. He had earlier been taken to Tallaght to witness the situation there for himself. The scene at Garda HQ appeared even more bizarre by virtue of the presence of an invited guest [HQ Meeting, NYO, paras 80-100]:

NYO 1: [We got] a phone call at twelve o'clock in the day. We had it by one.

NYO 2: I had heard little bits through [youth officer] and [Senior Probation Officer]. They spoke to the Probation Service a bit about it. And I think it was Ray Burke made the decision.

NYO 1: 'Twas Ray Burke. Well Ray Burke was brought out on a visit to Tallaght.

NYO 2: Brought out on a visit to Tallaght.

NYO 1: And was driven 'round in his car and he says 'Jesus this place is dreadful'. I mean, 'something has to be done', you know. [question to NYO 2] Was that the day that the fella from U2 came in?

NYO 2: Oh yes we had the Bono.

NYO 1: Oh no it wasn't Bono, no it was the Edge.

MB: Was it Larry Mullen?

NYO 1: Larry Mullen.

NYO 2: Oh yes yes sorry yes.

NYO 3: Well you see the Assistant Commissioner is sitting up at the end of the table and in walks this chap. And the Commissioner says 'well, this man needs no introduction'. And he comes and he sits down quite near me and I have no idea in the world who he is. And I says 'of course he needs it I am dying to know who the hell is your man' [laughs loudly]. (NYO Officers)

In this scenario, actors had been brought together without either knowing what other actors were connected with the initiative. Thus, key actors drew upon a network of some sort. Mullen had been invited by the Assistant Commissioner; others present were unsure as to what connection he had had to warrant an invitation.[51] While the

[51] From informants' accounts, it transpired that Mullen had been invited to attend because U2 were to become involved in donating musical equipment, and was to be involved in fundraising. However, it is not clear how or if such a plan progressed.

NYO appeared to be overtaken by the sudden and almost comic nature of the event and therefore treating the promise of funding more cautiously, the DYS saw it differently, despite the confusion [HQ Meeting, DYS 1, para 19]:

> And as we arrived and went up in the lift we met [personnel from NYO] So we went upstairs anyway and there was a lot of humming and hawing and of course [NYO 1] and [the DYS Director] were asking, were being very slow. *I saw this as an opportunity to get additional resources and I was all for it. The others were being very cautious.* (DYS manager). [Italic emphasis added]

In sum, the police were dissuaded from their spontaneity and persuaded to engage with civil society in the housing estates of the new towns they would be better to work through the existing, albeit stunted, youth service infrastructure. Hence in order that their Community Relations function be extended, it required willing partners. While a blueprint for a national youth service had been accepted by the Fine Gael-Labour coalition government in 1985, it was abandoned by the Fianna Fail administration after the 1987 election. Once it had adopted a general policy of fiscal rectitude, Government did not have the resources to implement the blueprint. In this sense, the problem of youth disorder may have itself been both exacerbated by the lack of social infrastructure while contributing further to infrastructural challenges. Once youth disorder had broken out, the state had no institutional framework to mobilise youth policy and services in this domain.

The Moral Projection of Futures and the Proliferation of the DYS Model

This section explores the relationship forged in the peripheral area of Ballynew and focuses specifically on the relationships between the Diocesan Youth Service (DYS), the police and state actors.

The response to youth crime and disorder in the urban periphery then was to mobilise youth organisations to offer programmes to young people in addition to their existing mode and level of activity. However, this was executed in a variety of ways according to the *modi operandi* of the host organisations. Following the Ronanstown riots of 1991 and concerns over republican activists and paramilitary volunteers organising youth activities in Tallaght, two initial projects were supported. In

Tallaght, the National Youth Organisation, whose tradition stems largely from agrarian activism and rural development, sought to work alongside schools and to engage youth in small groups. In Ballynew, the DYS was informed by its tradition of youth clubs and pastoral care.

A senior probation officer was assigned by the Department of Justice to work with the local committees overseeing the Ballynew and Tallaght projects. In an interview, she said that while the two projects were intended to divert young people from disorder and offending, she felt that in the case of Ballynew that the funds were diluted into the everyday activities of the DYS there and hence it lacked a clear focus [Curriculum, Spw, paras 542-544]:

[MB recaps on earlier part of the interview]

MB: Like during that time it was clear that they weren't involved in something, because they were in the centre for one session a week. But whether that leads to diversion?

Spw: Yeah, yeah. And the other side of it is I mean I am just reading is that this got worse as far as I remember. The at risk groups for instance the Thursday club, the Friday club, the Wednesday club the [.] there was every fecking club and they were all dropping in for an hour and [..] and they would have been argued very fiercely that they should be continued and I, *really I was never sure what they were all about*, you know. I mean I don't have a problem with you seeing this stuff Matt, I think (Senior Probation Official). [italic emphasis added]

The DYS saw its presence in Ballynew as one of community building. In this context it sought to mobilise community sentiment in favour of creating the positive appearance of the area. This curriculum was based upon the notion that the area needed to be represented well to the outside in order that it could integrate with the society as a whole. More particularly, they sought to develop a sense of civic responsibility, the absence of which reduced opportunities for social mobility. Thus the curriculum was underpinned with a disciplining and regulating pedagogy that connected the projection of identity (what Ballynew is and who we are) to labour market chances [Pedagogic Communication, DYS 1, para 89]:

> So they [youth workers] ran an environmental project, a cleaning up. That if the place looks scruffy that you gave the whole area a bad name and if the area had a bad name then it was harder for you to get jobs. So really the people that suffered in Ballynew from the graffiti on the walls and from the litter were

> the people of Ballynew. So they went around into every class in the schools, down to every youth group, [youth worker] and a Guard went to do that work and they held a competition and they had an arts competition about 'Keep Ballynew Tidy Today'. And that's where the name BRATT came from, Ballynew Requires a Tomorrow Today (DYS manager).

The project acronym is a slogan that reinforces and underpins this pedagogical communication –Ballynew Requires a Tomorrow Today. It is a plea or a clarion call to desist from disorder and to do good deeds today in order to secure *a future* tomorrow. It calls for offsetting the troubles and issues of the present for a promise of *a future* thus emphasising the idea of deferred gratification.

It is this orientation to the broader appeal that becomes part of an ideological struggle for decency within and an expression to those without, that the working class community is decent and well behaved. Thus young people were mobilised into leisure pursuits; schools were visited by Guards, hand in hand with youth workers; the local youth theatre group scripted and wrote a play about joyriding. In this context, representations of the problem were constructed as a discourse of the deviant anti-hero, who by his actions would never win out; he had *no future.* This representation was packaged as an appeal for understanding from those without together with a pedagogical communication for those within [Pedagogy, DYS 1, paras 135-143]:

DYS 1: Now if you don't have recreational outlets for them, if you don't have their youth theatre saying and making a conscious decision, 'we will call ourselves the Ballynew Youth Theatre: why should we be ashamed? Let people hear about us and know that something good comes out'. They did their drama on joyriding and brought the Chief Commissioner of the Guards and the Secretary of the Department of Justice there and said 'that's how joyriding affects our lives 'cause there's her boyfriend that was killed, and her boyfriend he was the tough guy in the gang'. Let the Commissioner be there, let the Bishop be there. Let the teachers be there, let the Department of Justice there too, and [the Secretary of the Department] was good enough to come.

MB: In terms of engaging these people in it was there an intention?

DYS 1: Well they did their play. And when I saw it I felt it was so good that the people who need to see it should see it. So we had it for the funders' night. You know, the Chief of the Guards and you know fair enough the Allied Irish Bank and the Gardai was there.

MB: And what were you trying to do by doing that?

DYS 1: We were giving the youngsters, well I suppose we were trying to prove that the youngsters had the solution. That here was a group of youngsters who looked on this. They worked out that it was the hero

> thing in the leader of the gang. He wanted to be the big guy. He wanted to be the guy who could pull any bird he wanted to. He was untouchable. He eh, that people were afraid to say no to then. The cops were fair game. And it was when he was killed that they came and as they dealt with their grief that they worked out that he was the foolish guy and we will never let a guy like him boss us around again [..] you see (DYS manager).

Such was the appeal to the police force of the DYS model and its pedagogy that it became idealised by them. It was this that informed the written circular (HQ Circular) outlining Garda policy in relation to youth crime prevention projects. The BRATT project became the exemplar and transformed into a statement as to the elements that a youth crime prevention project should contain. In particular, because of its orientation to the appearance of the area outside, it sought to underpin police community relations. Accordingly, this model became favoured by the police for its potential for information flow, according to the drafter of the Garda Headquarters Circular [Improving Information Flow, Insp 1, para 62]:

> When I came in first when I think I had five or six projects I think I was on the committee of each of them but I found very quickly that with the brief I have I just couldn't attend meetings or whatever. But to keep my hand in and keep in touch with the stuff and all the rest it was the Ballynew one. I thought the model I thought was particularly good. They had an excellent co-ordinator, still have there, who's from the area and is excellent and supports various different things. But I mean the meetings I've attended there like the scenario was people came in and reported drug selling like you know in a particular house [...] you know. And they they held them in the Inspector's office and he was there. He took notes like. And then there was minutes taken and then next week he could tell them like that they raided the house and there was someone arrested and what they found. Now this was great feedback information to people like. They came in and raised something and he was telling them. And they had no qualms about giving information. Now that was a big step forward I found (Police Inspector 1).

Some accounts suggest that the favouring of the DYS suited the situation whereby there was a mutual flow of social and cultural capital, and thus firmly bound the police to the DYS. In addition, the police were perceived as lacking reflexivity and the evaluative skills for the job they had undertaken. This frustrated efforts of the Probation Service to act as an effective, professional intermediary [Covert Contract, Spw, para 251]:

> So from my point of view yeah I mean, it was around, and I would have had problems with that, that there was as far as I was concerned, a reluctance to really examine what was happening at some level because it was if you like, the two key agencies were happy. The, the voluntary organisations were happy because the Guards hadn't the, weren't able to look at what they were doing. They hadn't the tools to look at what they were doing and em they were quite happy to let that go provided that they got a few bob for this, that and the other thing. And there was a kind of a little eh *covert contract* around that kind of thing (Senior probation official, Department of Justice).

Thus the accumulation of symbolic capital, and therefore power, was contested for and in which there developed an alliance between the police and the DYS, or the 'two powers'. Others were left outside the major decisions, including the Probation Service and local representatives chosen as committee members.

Net-widening, Primary and Secondary Prevention

In the period 1991 to 1998, An Garda Síochána with the support of the Department of Justice, sought to follow a community policing model that had as its basis a strategy of visibility. To deliver this it sought to embed itself in civil society based upon a quantitative principle: *the greater the degree of visibility the more it was perceived that the police were embedded in civil society*. Thus in responding to youth crime the initial intention was to de-emphasise specific young people at the centre of disorder, who could be processed by the criminal justice system, and to seek avenues for publicising the civic role of the police. These activities served as an entrée to the public sphere or to 'get a leg-in' [Visibility, Insp 2, paras 53-55]:

MB: What did you see on the ground then?
Insp2: Well I saw the commitment of the people who were there was the first thing I suppose. And the likes of the co-ordinator who was there. The manager [of the NYO]. Very very committed people. And as well as which I found that the community people who were involved [.....] I got to know them and then I got to know other people through them which opened doors and made my job in Blanchardstown that much easier. At, for example, the likes of public meetings on various issues. Like there was a lot of meetings say on drugs [..] and drugs clinics and drugs problem generally, being organised at the time. I found that the fact that I was known to people [.....]
MB: Gave you an entrée?
Insp2: That's right yeah, gave me a leg in (Police Inspector 2).

General, community wide activities by virtue of their maximisation of visibility, enabled a greater sense of visibility and greater opportunities for 'policing the social' (Loader, 1997). The preference for this has distinct origins in the *ad hoc* way in which the state and the police responded to the crisis. The problem it seemed was one of the lack of symbolic power wielded by the police: this took precedence over a coherent state response to the issues facing young people living in the urban periphery. The combined primary-secondary preventive strategy was favoured because there was a belief that those who had offended or who were involved in disorder required a custodial response (i.e. through the *selective incapacitation* of the 'hard core'). The primary-secondary preventive model widens the net of the criminal justice apparatus by effectively encompassing those without a criminal status. In this case more young people were recruited into police sponsored activity regardless of risk.

Arising from a lack of capacity and willingness of the 'two powers' to move beyond their starting position then, the GSPs became a community building device for the DYS and a community relations mechanism for the police, through which it could accrue both social and cultural capital [Third Sector Within, Fuzzy Nature, Spw para 323]:

> Yes I mean, what I am saying is, because of the unclear and *fuzzy* nature of these projects, em, [....] they became catch all for everything else worthy and useful and well meaning and [..] hopeful in the area, which a lot of which were, well meaning and positive activities. But in the end of the day, you know, it was just too much to go on with, you know (Senior probation official, Department of Justice).

While the two agencies in the Ballynew area were involved in a net-widening strategy, the approach on which it was based became dominant in police circles by the mid 1990s. Curiously, the local agenda in Ballynew was driven by the Gardai at a very senior level. Meetings of the BRATT committee in Ballynew were attended by Superintendents, Chief Superintendents and on occasion by an Assistant Commissioner. However, the net-widening approach had greater political import outside of the institutions involved. In Blanchardstown, in the mid-1990s, concerns were expressed about the disorder being caused, apparently, by a specific group of young people. The initial focus had been on this specific group but there appeared to

be a political demand to spread greater visibility across a wider area [WEB Story, NYO paras 152-158]:

NYO2: It was political.
NYO1: We were concerned about that at the time I remember.
NYO2: It was Nora Owen [Minister for Justice, 1994-1997] apparently whose constituency came into that area. She insisted it would be much bigger than just Mulhuddart.
NYO3: And I think it became the biggest geographical areas to be covered by one of these projects and I think it still is. Which is hard covering four disadvantaged areas when basically we only put in for Mulhuddart (National Youth Organisation officers).

The emphasis on a wide net and on primary and secondary prevention as a combined model in both community relations and in youth disorder prevention (the BRATT model) became part of the organisational culture of the police force, such that the promotion chances of local police managers depended upon how they fared with such initiatives [Garda Organisation Culture, POpw, para 137]:

> [But then] you see a culture grew up that a police force can only do this. The message went out that if you wanted to get your promotion you had to make an impact in Ballynew. So therefore there was a queue for sergeant [laughs]. So, what I am saying is there was now such a high profile within the Gardai in relation to North Towerstown and the North Towerstown BRATT project, was being promoted all over the place. You look at the files, you look at the speeches that were made by different Ministers, it was being promoted big time at every opportunity. Now that made all the other divisions if you like interested. You look at it. Killinarden very quickly..... Blanchardstown very quickly. These were all identified as 'horrific areas' immediately (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

The police, in particular drove the emphasis on quantity of young people to be involved. Even if they agreed broadly with the quantitative principle, the youth service was more aware of its operational upper limits [Curriculum, Spw, para 648].

> One thing that there would be tension between the two of them about was the numbers. The Guards would have been push push push push all the time and more and more and more and more projects [..] setting up projects all over the place. When I say projects they wanted clubs clubs clubs in North Ballynew or wherever. And the youth service would be saying only so much is possible. The Guards would have been completely out of it in terms of any concept [laughs] of how you divert [..] being quite, being blunt about it. Totally out of

it. Eh, now the youth service would have being holding the line a bit more around that. They would still have maybe ten clubs without doing any very substantial or meaningful if you like. But the Guards would have been looking for at least a hundred young people on the books (Senior probation official, Department of Justice).

The visibility strategy was the key way in which the police dealt with the crisis of credibility and territoriality, and moreover, as a way of regenerating its symbolic power. This was delivered through mobilising agencies in the youth field and funding broad based primary and secondary preventive activities in the housing estates. Key here was a cohesion between the DYS organisation in particular and the Garda Síochána. Other organisations were more sceptical of the police role in their work; thus their caution led to a greater degree of negotiation over the appropriate models to pursue. The visibility strategy depended to a large degree upon the *Weltanschauung* on which it was founded; much of this drew substantially from commonsense and relied upon the mobilisation of the symbols of the state and the police force in particular.

Garda Community Relations Theory

Both principles and practices developed by the Community Relations Section of the police force were oriented towards normalising the Garda officer. In this case, the police were viewed locally as Other, and hence, they needed to become part of the daily lives of young people. However this required change towards 'positive' or pro-police dispositions [Community Relations Theory, Insp 2, paras 191-199]:

MB: Okay, what kind of an attitude then would you think that people have as a positive attitude then?
Insp2: Well I mean I'll give you an example of it like, generally the young people that come in on the projects, generally are, would have very negative perception of say the Guards. But the fact that next time that there in doing something and that there may be a Guard involved with them whether it was bringing them in the community bus or involved in organising something that they are actually doing.
MB: So these projects would be successful at achieving that kind of change if it could be demonstrated that attitudes to the Gardai are positive in some way? [Telephone rings]
Insp2: I think that would certainly be part of it yeah. [Answers phone]. (Police Inspector 2).

The process of normalisation however creates a difficulty in relation to the enforcement of law. The creation of a division of labour between community Guards and those assigned to standard policing, calls into question the purpose of community policing itself. In this context community policing serves as a apologia for the severities of routine policing; a sort of rounding of the sharp edges. Thus it is possible for community police officers to develop relationships with young people in the community but this does not transfer to the force in general. Moreover, the emphasis in the curriculum is on young people changing their attitudes but not yet upon institutional change and adaptation [Community Relations Theory, Sup, para 121]:

> [But] the Guard going in at night when they were drinking there on the green or whatever and going in in the patrol car (…) who was trying to enforce law and maybe was responding to a call from some poor old lady in a house next door who was afraid of these guys out there, you know. Well those Guards would be "bastards", as far as those young people would be concerned. So its all about breaking down barriers. And those barriers are still not broken down. And we have more to do as a police service to educate our own people as to even what's being done in there (Police Superintendent).

The community policing concept involves improving contact between the police and citizens such that it enables the police to engage in conjoint problem solving in the community (see Miller, 1999: 4-5). The thesis also suggests that the community police officer should as a matter of practice, engage with other agencies and informal organisations around them. This co-operation with others is envisaged as 'of the utmost importance for the sharing of knowledge, understanding and information' (Alderson, 1979: 2004). In sum, the community relations theory is based on the premise that gaining access to civil society and developing trust therein, necessarily improves the flow of information between both but more particularly that it increases the flow of information to the police vis-à-vis crime and disorder [Improving Information Flow, Insp 1, para 74].

> But you could see that happening down at projects level, people were kind of expecting it. Certainly those involved in the project were getting that and they were expecting that and they were getting frank information and open information and they were given information back. And it wasn't in question too that like I think that as soon as they mentioned to the Guards that so-and-so was doing something that the Guard was going was going to arrest him. Like they had gone away from that like that the there was no status to what comes here that once a crime comes to your attention like you have to have an

> arrest or whatever. So that wasn't a concern that he's going to them for a witness statement is and bringing them to court and that. They knew that you were discussion the thing here and you're looking for the best way of dealing with it and you know. It was a level of trust built up like and we developed you know (Police Inspector 1).

Signalling Presence

Community relations thinking was driven by a policing doxa. This was not however based upon local whim but developed at the top level and expedited downward throughout the police force. The Department of Justice, also cohered with this view at a top level, although some informants were more critical of the 'fuzzy nature' of the concept. However, it was seen in the Department of Justice as a necessary response from the top of the Garda hierarchy [Garda Procurement, Network in Action, ASG, para 136]:

> The Guards used their em connections to tap industry in the general area to sponsor small events and functions and so forth. And now this was all about bridge-building. Now I am not saying that some of these things would not be happening in the normal course but they were given a little more emphasis from the top. The Assistant Commissioner of the day was taking a big interest in it (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

This emphasis on visibility was clear by the way in which these projects commenced their existence with a launch. This was part of the process of 'selling' the project to the troubled communities and part of the process of signalling the presence of the police [Visibility, Insp 1, para 42]:

> But em no it wasn't meant to be the be all and end all of everything but there was a concern or consciousness that if you wanted to have impact people had to know about you. So the the the marketing of the project was an issue as well that it should be sold. It should be marketed and I think in that regard most people went into a launch when they got their cheque from the Minister and either the Minister arrived down or....I know I was down at the BALL Project myself when the Minister arrived down and there was a bit of razzmatazz and there was an announcement and the local press were there and there was tea and sandwiches produced afterwards and there was talk about it and the press you know carried stories (Police Inspector 1).

This signalling approach thus was part of the process of *signification*, whereby a 'politics of representation' takes place through both discourse and practice, in order to produce specific meaning (Hall, 1997: 8) The intention here is to engage in public acts where presence is maximised by being *seen*. Thus while the public relations aspect of the GSPs was not seen by some as a function, it was part of the process nevertheless [Community Relations Theory, Insp 1, para 42 continued]:

> It was never an intention, I don't think it was never a set intention for public relations for the Guards. There was never an aim but that but that did grow like and that grew tremendously, you know. And and go to the conference and you had sixty or seventy people there and they were all directly or had some involvement in it they would always certainly all be talking about the public relations because you nearly had to go further to make a green field of it. But it did put you in direct contact with put you in direct contact like with local people on the local issues and you were getting it from the horse's mouth. People who lived in streets in areas were talking about crime or the kids standing in their street corners and they're giving it directly to a Guard you know I mean. Eh, and there was feedback you know. There was a mechanism like there like the next month you talked about that and it was in the minutes of the book and you know. It was a very informal way of policing but I thought it was very effective (Police Inspector 1).

Garda Special Projects were allocated a budget from the Department of Justice which was valued at IR50,000 (1998 prices). This was used to pay the host youth service for salary and related costs plus the cost of programmes. A practice developed whereby the police typically reserved ten percent of the budget for allocating to their community relations activities. While it was never clear to some what the strategy was pertaining to this small allocation, it was driven with considerable organisational muscle by the senior officers in the force who often turned out to local meetings in the early days of the Ballynew project [Garda Agenda, Third Sector Within, Spw, paras 193-203]:

Spw: [The Guards] would have argued always that they needed a small amount of funding for, [.....] I don't know, I am trying to think, like in Tallaght
MB: Like trophies?
Spw: Ahemm trophies yeah. It would have been or for the community groups or football jerseys or send somebody to Lourdes or..but I mean they were the kind of things do you know what I mean. Em. So it was kind of a fund is the way I would put it, a fund very often.
MB: But that would have been a proportion of the budget rather than the overall....?

Spw: It wasn't a strategy. It wasn't that set. And towards the end when I was involved it would have been we'd have been saying let's argue, let's agree a figure that falls into that other category. But that would have been further along the line. Initially that wasn't the way it was. It evolved really yeah. I mean I suppose what I would be saying in terms of how the thing evolved it would have been mainly there was, I mean, and being honest it was **man**-power, I mean man-power but on occasions there was one Guard but mainly it was **man**-power. **Man**-power you were talking very often there about [.....] sometimes up to five Guards sitting at a table, usually senior (Senior probation official, Department of Justice) [informant's emphasis].

The ten percent allocation in budgets became a contentious issue for the police and they were protective of it to the point of using organisational 'man-power' to secure it. Indeed, the absence of a general allocation to local police stations for community policing purposes part explains this desire to ring-fence a proportion of the GSP budget. The visibility strategy was not worth pursuing without the purchase that small allocations to football teams and scout groups enabled. This bought visibility capital and offered photo opportunities. Police officers made a point of turning up in uniform and making an event from such occasions [Visibility, Signification, Insp 2, para 257].

> We had, in the WEB project we allocated ten percent of our budget, that's five grand a year to assisting other groups like football clubs, whatever it is, about the community. Well the question I asked when I went up there was 'Well do these football clubs know that this anything to do with the Guards at all'? And invariably they didn't care where it was coming from, to buy a new set of kit or whatever it was. So what I started doing was, I said I would go in uniform to a day when the football was training or the choir was singing or whatever they were doing. And make a deal, make a big deal about presenting the cheque. Maybe get a photographer from the local paper to be there to get the picture in the paper and we'll say 'the WEB project, blah blah blah presenting a cheque for two hundred quid to the local Mulhuddart Twirlettes' or something with a view to making people aware (Police Inspector 2).

The importance of a tangible exchange is crucial for the police officer in his / her daily community relations practice as it provides the basis for a gift-giving ritual [Visibility, Insp 2, paras 265-269]:

Insp2: Traditionally say a good Guard, a good community guard or sergeant or whatever rank it is it doesn't matter, he's out in the community may be doing lots of good work which will have nothing tangible to give to this community as such. Okay you go to meetings and you arrange Neighbourhood Watch or

Business Watch or whatever it is but the fact that you can actually come along to an organisation and physically I mean give them, two hundred pounds even, or do something like tangible like that on the ground, I think that makes, it certainly makes a difference in my experience. Even though the amount of money you are handing over may not be very big.

MB: Well a cynic might just come along and say 'look, why don't you just get PR machine behind you', and go out and do press releases and you're your picture taken with the Blanchardstown Blazers or whatever it is?

Insp2: Because you can bluff some of the people some of the time but you aint gonna bluff all the people all of the time! (Police Inspector 2)

The gift giving ritual involved here reflects the underlying *symbolic violence* of the exchange (Bourdieu, 1977), as discussed in Chapter One above. Moreover a degree of 'bluff', trickery or dishonesty is attached to this by the manufacture of the situation. Thus the gift of money offsets any scepticism or suspicion about motives that might be attached to turning up empty handed, just for a photo opportunity itself. This sleight of hand it seems was one of the key ways in which the police force bought support – by dressing up actions or events that were intended to represent one meaning on the surface but another underneath. This creative massaging of the events and of actions smoothed over the contradictions and conflicts that might be represented in a particular message [Visibility, Signification, ASG, para 228]:

> [I mean] I thought it was extremely clever the way one of the security things we did a the [Ballynew police] station. The Garda cars, the Gardai and a few cars were being stoned at attacked. Kids would sneak into the car park and vandalising their cars which was incensing the Guards. So [.] we got them chain-link fencing and spotlights and all kinds of stuff. But instead of us saying like this is the fortress approach they actually linked that with an improvement in the meeting facilities eh local communities in the station and they had em [..] they had the local people along at a little sort of launch party when launched the revamped em station. Even though a lot of it was security, they even had one of the local women turn on the lights [clerk walks in and hands interviewee a document] thanks E (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

The local woman ceremonially turning on the lights is supposed to give the impression of openness behind the security cordon so as that it would not appear as if the police were re-trenching. Thus the retrenchment was cleverly disguised as a gift for local people and one of theirs endorsed and accepted the gift by switching them on. Lights wer turned on but shadows appeared to be cast at the same time. Moreover, gift giving elevates the social status of the giver as patron whereby the

receiver is duty bound to return in kind or to accept the social relations implied in the giving. Thus the Guards sought every opportunity to present medals and awards [Visibility, Signification, Sup, para 216]:

> And the general feedback that you will get this is just brilliant. We are giving back to these people. We have something to offer these people. If you go up into Knocknaheeney after a prize-giving ceremony and there'd been a soccer tournament or something I mean the Guards are giving out the prizes and stuff like that you know. It's a bit like Youth Achievement Awards. It may be difficult to measure but I mean if things were bad, you wouldn't be in there in the first place (Police Superintendent).

Having a gift as a 'tangible offer', is the key to gain access to territories where one's presence is in question. Thus the giving is part of the re-taking of spaces and placing the state, its institutions and symbols back within that territory. Procuring gifts then became part of the everyday practice of winning and taming territory; money could be found; Government Departments could be persuaded to co-operate; and, public utility companies could also be called on for support [Gift Giving, Garda Procurement, ASG, paras 70-72]:

MB: You found some money?
ASG: Ah yeah. And the Department of Finance were [..] em co-operative in doing it. Very small things. I remember one of the first things that they did was they organised eh eh a trip to Mosney for a whole scatter of local kids using CIE buses and I think the Gardai were able to get those buses and things free (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

To gain access to civil society, the police had to cross a boundary guarded by gatekeepers whose adherence and compliance were a prerequisite. And thus there were innovations in how the domain of civil society could be accessed. A party was organised each year for volunteers in Ballynew in which stated meaning (thanking volunteers for their community efforts) masked its coded meaning (raising the profile of the police and creating communal bonds between citizens and institutions) [Visibility, Gift Giving, DYS 1, para 167]:

> Now there must have been twenty Guards at that. There were school teachers were there. All the community people were there. There was a band there. I was there. [Name] from the Probation office was there and a couple of other people. Now that was one hell of a party. The [claps hands loudly] purpose of

> that party was to say thanks to the community leaders and volunteers and to celebrate all the good things that were happening. Now [...] 'a skite' the Comptroller and Auditor General would say, that that was a skite that they were partying or whatever. That raised the whole profile of the Guards offering the fat ladies of the community to dance. Em, the Super sitting down with a guy and thinks 'I'm buying a round of drinks'. And this whole thing of a pride of place (DYS Manager).

Having the Superintendent as a drinking friend and 'fat ladies' dancing with the police officers blurs boundaries between the official function of the institution and the civilians. Such blurring enables the ease of movement into and out of civil society and enables the purchase of social capital in the form of consent. This dance is a difficult set of steps for the police; a risk that is paid off through the accumulation of social and cultural capital.

The two key powers both began to govern through civil society: the police, in need of legitimacy allied itself to the DYS which gave it the necessary entrée it needed. And so this model, the thinking on which it was based became a blueprint for how it should be done. It became the yardstick by which all other attempts by the police to gain access to civil society was measured. But this symbolic struggle was not just a local phenomenon as it was underpinned by national and regional institutions and their informal networking and as such it was both horizontally and vertically integrated as a network.

Networks: Institutional Congruence and Conflict

The Network of Actors

The Irish police force, An Garda Síochána operates, at least from an official point of view, upon strict bureaucratic and hierarchical lines. The stratified layers consist of the Commissioner aided by two Deputy Commissioners; the next layer is divided functionally to four Assistant Commissioners and regionally to six Assistant Commissioners. The various divisions, be these of a regional or functional variety, are headed by Chief Superintendents or 'divisional officers'. Divisions are again organised into districts or specific functional areas and headed by Superintendents or 'district officers'. Garda geographical districts and functional areas are then managed

by Inspectors.[52] Communication in this context travels up and down the hierarchy before it becomes official policy to be communicated to stations. So a policy in relation to youth crime and disorder prevention projects was drafted at Inspector level and signed off on before it moved up through Superintendent, Chief Superintendent and Assistant Commissioner before it is finally approved and circulated in the form of a Headquarters Circular. Such a HQ Circular was issued by An Garda Síochána in 1998 in relation to the Garda Special Projects [Garda Hierarchy, Insp 2, paras 37-39]:

MB: Right. And a Headquarters Circular is typically sent out?
Insp2: That's the way we do. I could show you a bundle of them there that come out reams of them every year. Could be a couple of hundred of Headquarters Circulars each year. It's the way the *wisdom percolates down*, you know [italic emphasis added].

Knowledge and ideas were driven downwards, even if the origin of the ideas had percolated upwards in the first place. Such vertical communication within the Garda was breached in the case of the crisis in Ronanstown. On the basis of correspondence, to which the researcher had access, it was clear that alternative channels of communication opened up between the local police station and the Department of Justice in the form of a key memo that was sent to the Department before being sent to Garda HQ. This appears to have been unprecedented and exposes an informal understanding that existed between the two parties to suspend normal vertical communication channels within the Garda Siochána in view of the urgency of resolving the crisis. The exigencies of the situation required new communication tools and new action repertoires were needed, without organisations having to depart from their original mandate [Third Sector Within, Knowledge Gap, paras 244-248]:

ASG: We didn't come at it from a philanthropic perspective. We came at it from our traditional social control perspective.
MB: And it was to some extent a new departure then?
ASG: Yeah well we just needed a new bag of tricks because things were changing (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

However, while this informant suggested that he did not start from a philanthropic position, the social control response was quasi-philanthropic in nature. The mobilisation of the police hierarchy and ranks in some cases took the form of

[52] See www.garda.ie/angarda/orgchart.html

fundraising and procurement that was based upon gift giving, as argued earlier. Hence the "new bag of tricks" involved bags of "goodies" procured from the private sector and from state utility companies [Garda procurement, Network in Action, ASG, para 136]:

> I have to say once the Gardai eh started to turn their minds to this they became very imaginative in the ways in which they found to help local people. I remember [the Assistant Commissioner] blackguarding some company down the docks to give him a couple of containers to be used for dressing rooms for a local football team (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

Hence in order to gain local credibility, procurement took the form of harassing or cajoling companies into supporting the police in their endeavours as part of a wider process of networking undertaken by senior police officers. The usual principles of governing could be suspended: 'blackguarding', has connotations of skulduggery, being unprincipled and scoundrel-like in order to achieve aims. This is one form in which networking took place, but it also reveals a degree of instrumentalism on the part of actors involved.

This network was informal and rarely came together in one venue and often involved telephone conversations between some of the key actors. However an event was hosted annually by the DYS and the Gardai in Ballynew at which some of these national and regional actors engaged with each other [Network in Action, Inclusion Exclusion, POpw, para 17]:

> I do not know at a local level Matt but like North Towerstown, it was set up on a very different level. And each year it has an annual get together and each different agency hosts it. So there is if you like a report of what happened during the year. Now whether that is at the instigation of DYS or at the initiative of the Gardai I am not sure, but each agency on rotation takes the lead for the meeting each year. So therefore there is, if you like, on an annual basis some interaction by having a meeting. People come together for about an hour and a half, lunch afterwards. So there is if you like, a feed in and some network (Principal Officer, Department of Justice).

For the DYS, the preference was always that local issues were to be resolved at that level. However a structural response could be mobilised if required. The strength of

the DYS was its ability to mobilise its latent as well as its manifest power [DYS and the Network, Not a Democracy, DYS 1, paras 199-211]:

DYS 1: But each knows, I mean the Guards know that if I am unhappy with something or other, [youth officer] comes to me and says to me he is unhappy about something. And I will ring either [Garda Superintendent in Community Relations] or [Chief Superintendent]. Now we'd be very slow to do it but they don't know that. And then if the Probation and Welfare thing, then over to [Principal Officer in Justice] and so forth.

MB: But then as a matter of course there's the annual meeting of the four agencies?

DYS 1: The four agencies, and the principals are meeting.

MB: Is there a possibility if an ad hoc meeting was required that it could be arranged?

DYS 1: Oh absolutely. Absolutely.

MB: I don't think that's the case everywhere.

DYS 1: Oh no but I mean this is the way this thing is. Don't forget you know, *this is not a democracy. This is a hierarchy* (DYS youth services manager). [italic emphasis added]

The DYS is not a democracy. It too is a hierarchy as I was reminded in this interview. It is vertically connected into the Archdiocese and under the direction of the appointees of the Archbishop. Hence, the principles of transparent governance could be suspended if the DYS became unhappy with a situation. It reinforced its own hierarchy by networking across and above in other hierarchies, mostly on an informal basis. The DYS drove and reinforced this process and managed to secure its position by connecting itself to the state hierarchy by creating events and opportunities to network.

The network emerged as an innovation of *government* to produce acts of *governance*. It was the need for an inter-sectoral alliance to build consent that drove this innovation; it involved the suspension of hierarchy and the circumvention of bureaucratic norms, thus breaking out of the 'iron cage' of rational legalism in the Weberian sense. It involved mobilising those forces that cohered with the alliance for consent and excluded others who had a different political vision: those who had a vision of an alternative; republicans; the local community development project in Ballynew and others. Networks operate simultaneous processes of inclusion and closure and hence they reproduce themselves as 'privileged oligarchies' (Rhodes and

Marsh, 1992). A practice had been forged at Ballynew in the urban periphery. Both the DYS and the police had been the beneficiaries of it and by the mid 1990s it was time to export the model into different contexts.

Conflict: Exporting the Ballynew-DYS Model

The learning that the DYS and the Garda Síochána gained in governance in the peripheral suburbs in the early 1990s became the driving force for Garda Community Relations strategy in relation to youth disorder. The Garda HQ Circular highlighted the twin aims of the Garda Special Projects: that of diverting young people from crime and disorder, and promoting Garda-community relations: this duality had been forged in Ballynew by the BRATT project. The only exception to this was one model which had been specifically ring fenced and where the local promoters had resisted the Ballynew primary-secondary preventive model, and opted for a more offender focused secondary-tertiary approach (see Chapter Seven).

By 1997 the police and the DYS sought to introduce a new GSP into Fairgreen: this project caused consternation amongst the agencies involved. To the players involved, the issue at stake appeared to be one of institutional competition and the vying for resources. Moreover, it represented a clash of models: between that of primary-secondary preventive actions favoured by the DYS and secondary preventive youth work plus tertiary intervention favoured by the Secular Youth Service (SYS). Taking a macro view of this conflict it appeared to represent a deeper level urban conflict that involved territoriality and colonisation. An observation was made to the Director of SYS that the relations between the two were tense and that they might be described as dialectical [Agency Conflict, DYS dir, para 81]:

> It's all competitive you see. And we would have a, to extend that further Matt, the difference between ourselves and DYS is a point of argument. My argument with DYS and the point that I would make to them is that we are not another delivery agency. We are not another DYS in disguise. We are a statutory body with statutory responsibility to co-ordinate what's going on in the City. And we take that quite seriously. It means that we will adopt a model of delivery in a locality that best suits the circumstances. It doesn't mean that every new youth worker in the City will be employees of ours and will be a VEC vehicle in a community (SYS Director).

The SYS is a specific type of agency. Firstly it is a statutory body and operates as a sub-committee of the Vocational Education Committee (VEC). These Committees are part of the local governance of secondary and comprehensive education outside of the denominational schools. Secondly, the VEC subcommittee consists of elected representatives of the local authority (Dublin City Council). In this context the SYS is integrated within the system of urban governance in the City of Dublin. It is part of the ensemble of institutions that make up the city itself.

The DYS had access to a network in which it could promote an application to open a GSP in Fairgreen. The SYS had no access and had sought to get two Government Departments (Education and Justice) to converse so as to ensure that Justice funded projects were not put into places where there were mainstream Department of Education supported initiatives already in existence [No Discussion, SYS dir, para 85-89]:

SYS dir: I mean this is well documented [..] and it's an issue in youth services as to distinct from Justice, Department of Justice project one. Em, and I think part of what the Department of Education tried to do in getting agreement with [named Department of Justice official] that they would discuss this before they'd locate a project, that he'd talk to [named Department of Education official] so that some exchange of information would occur there between that to so that one would brief the other about the politics about what's happening in a particular area etc. I think you need to have it. It needs to happen at a whole load of levels you know.

MB: And the absence of this appears to lead to lack of clarity, confrontations, lack of planning?

SYS dir: Well you see it's no requirement. I mean this is part of the problem with placing it. There is no requirement on DYS to have any conversation with us (SYS Director).

The DYS had got itself into a position that it could circumvent hierarchy: its power derived from its position in the network but also its vertical power as an agency of the denominational hierarchy of the Diocese. Apart from the clash over Fairgreen, there was conflict over discourse and practice. The following example exposes this conflict.

A man who had worked with the DYS in Ballynew as a volunteer was employed by the local Garda Special Project at Cill Oran, an area within the municipal boundary.

He had been handpicked in advance of a job being advertised. There was lobbying from members of the network that the SYS should employ this particular person. He had established his credentials with the network because of his involvement with the DYS in Ballynew [Exporting BRATT, SYS dir, paras, 237-241]:

SYSdir: [Because] I think that the dynamic between the three parties has really had to be haggled out in Cill Oran Develops Youth [CODY] particularly I mean that's the really interesting dynamic for us. And I I mean I am not sure I want this formally recorded but in the initial stages of that we were being told by the Guards and the Department of Justice, who we should employ in it [..] when CODY was being established we were told that 'we want you to employ person x, they're really good at the local level and blah blah blah and blah blah blah'. Em.

MB: And did you employ person x or did that happen?

SYS dir: We actually did employ person x but only when person x passed all the criteria right. The problem with it as it turned out as one of the problems we had in CODY was that person x perceived they got the job because they were picked and knew the Guards had picked them in advance and because they were on the ground on their own they felt they [he] was working for the Guards and had a free run at doing whatever they liked because they were already [.] they had negotiated or thought they had a salary etcetera in advance without an ad even being placed, right (SYS Director).

'Person x' proceeded to do as he would have done as if he had worked for the DYS; his candidature was endorsed by players in the informal network; he understood thus that he could reproduce the DYS model but was not allowed by SYS personnel and by local people in the particular area. He got frustrated himself and left eventually.

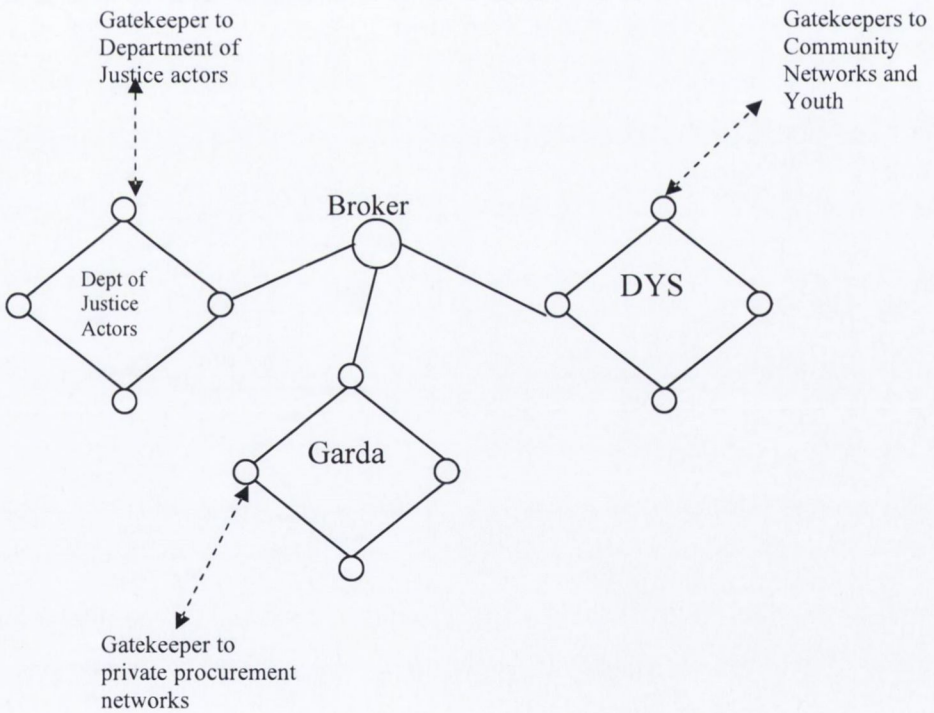
This story demonstrates a process of contestation over the ideas in the DYS model but also an urban conflict. A new mode of governance had been forged in the periphery and was now being foisted into the municipal boundary. At the time, the urban institutions that had been established over several decades, constituted a framework for the government of youth services in the City. Conflict arose here and in Fairgreen when the DYS sought to import its model into the city, only to have it resisted. However, in the case of Fairgreen, the DYS had won because the combined weight of the network and the absence of a transparent policy process enabled the DYS to

ignore the SYS.[53] Its regional weight, together with its vertical link to the denominational hierarchy and its experience of coalescing with the Gardai and the Department of Justice, gave it considerable power in the case of Fairgreen.

Mapping the Network

While the study of networks was not the intention of this research, it is clear from the interviews that a degree of networking took place between key actors in order to achieve results. Analysing the responses to the situation at Ballynew, reveals that this networking had particular characteristics and that key individuals played roles in linking with different peripheries. In the case of Ballynew, the various organisations were connected through a key broker as in Figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2: *General Network Map; State, Police and the DYS at Ballynew*

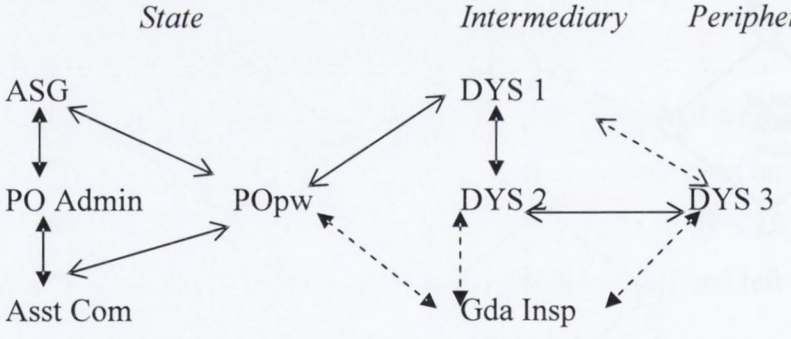


By virtue of its privileged position within the network, the DYS acted to preserve its own position often by using its influence, as in the case of CODY in the previous

[53] The DYS is effectively a regional organisation as its boundary is spread over several counties and stretches from County Meath in the North to the borders of County Carlow to the south and includes the counties of Dublin (including Dublin City, South Dublin, Fingal and Dunlaoghaire-Rathdown,), Kildare and Wicklow.

section. Other actors were in a position to lever resources or access by virtue of their roles as gatekeepers to other networks. Thus as in Figure 6.2, the police Assistant Commissioner was said to have been in a position to 'blackguard' his way to private sector companies and public utilities. The Assistant Secretary General (ASG) was in a position as gatekeeper to lever the Department of Justice and the Garda Síochána. The DYS acted as a local network with access to indigenous organisations: by virtue of their key positions within a range of local initiatives and in governing bodies of various kinds, they were able to operate closure. Taking a closer look at the roles played by key individuals, as in Figure 6.3, the relationship between the DYS manager at organisational level (DYS 1) and the Principal Officer who was in charge of probation services (POpw) acted as a key link into the justice hierarchy as well as facilitating intermediation between state actors and those embedded in the periphery. The actor POpw was able to act effectively as a broker between government and the periphery or in a sense, to span a 'structural hole' between clusters of actors such that it enabled the flow of social capital (Burt, 1992, 2005).

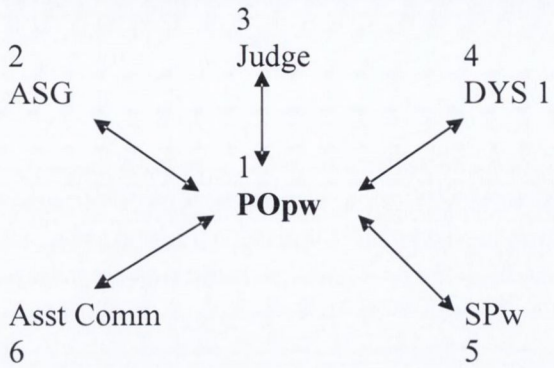
Figure: 6.3: *Network Governance and the Periphery; Network Map for Ballynew*[54]



In addition, the actor POpw, by virtue of his engagement and co-memberships was situated to effectively act as a bridge between his state position and the DYS. A hub and spoke illustration of this is presented in Figure 6.4 below.

[54] Key: ASG - Assistant Secretary General. PO 1 - Principal Officer in Dept. of Justice responsible for Garda Administration. POpw - Principal Officer in charge of probation and welfare services in Department of Justice. Asst Comm – Assistant Commissioner in An Garda Síochána. DYS 1 – Diocesan Youth Service manager in charge of youth work services. DYS 2 – Local manager in Ballynew. DYS 3 – co-ordinator of GSP in Ballynew. The latter two actors feature in data presented in Chapter Seven which deals with local contexts.

Figure 6.4: *Key Actor as Broker, Hub and Spoke Model*



This model is only suitable to describe this actor's connection to one area, but in this case it was a key relationship because of the formation of an action template to be applied in other peripheral contexts.[55] Hence, the Principal Officer (POpw) was connected to the periphery through his senior officer (Spw) and had a personal working relationship with the DYS manager. His co-memberships facilitated that linkage. The grouping 1,3,4 can be identified as a cluster here because both the Principal Officer and the High Court Judge were members of the DYS governing body. The cluster 1,2,3 can also be identified because these three actors went on to be key players in the setting up of a delinquency study group. However, the interview with the Principal officer here reveals that while he acted to fill the structural hole, he appeared disappointed with the behaviour of the police in particular, once that door had been opened.[56]

The Power of the Catholic Church

As outlined earlier, the DYS was connected to the hierarchy of the Church given its structural position within the Archdiocese and its attachment to local parish networks. Thus as a church organisation the DYS was very aware of its own power, even at the level of its latent power [Our Network, Our Influence, DYS 1, paras 63-75]:

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[55] In the case of Emmetstown (see Chapter Seven), the local node was connected back through ASG more so.

[56] This same actor, as already indicated, had been a member of the IGUCD (see Chapter Five) and in the 1980s had served on the National Youth Policy Committee that had proposed an integrated youth service. In some private conversations with this informant he revealed the view that the GSPs would have been better placed within the integrated youth service proposed by the latter Committee. Its abandonment thus put him in a position to bridge the structural hole, opting perhaps for, in Jessop's (2003) terms, a 'satisficing' approach.

DYS 1: Because in a funny kind of way you see this is a very odd institution. There is a view out here that we are the Church. And that we have great power. And also and it's the whole value of the thing is that if things are not going well with BRATT at the moment, suppose there's some problem and I am not happy about the way the local inspector is doing that. I ring [Superintendent] or [Chief Superintendent] down in [...] and if I don't get any satisfaction there we'll go to Pat Byrne [then Garda Commissioner]. And Pat Byrne, if Pat Byrne gets a letter from the Director of DYS to say that he has concerns about this project we would see Pat Byrne. Now we have never used that. Never. Never. But they know we can use it.

MB: Who know's it?

DYS 1: Everybody knows. The local Gardai would know because we would meet once a year and the local Gardai will see [..] ourselves. We were very fortunate I suppose in a way that em in the beginning at the time the BRATT was set up our chairman was [high court judge]. So the Guards had respect for [him].

MB: DYS's chairman?

DYS 1: Yeah was [high court judge], you know Mister Justice [name]. And em eh because he never tried youngsters in Ballynew. So that was shall we say no harm our former director had been a solicitor and was well known on juvenile jus (.) [he] was on juvenile justice work. So that was never invoked. We never pulled that rank. We never asked [high court judge] to interfere but there was a belief out there, for a long time the Inspector there was anxious to get promotion so he lived and drinked BRATT to make it the flagship, [name]. And that was fine. So as far as the local people were concerned the [community development worker] and his community council [member of BRATT] was part of that. [DYS youth officer] is the treasurer. Sister M is the Chair I think or was. So you had a whole.....

MB: Was she [Sister M.] with the Diocesan Social Service Agency at the time?

DYS 1: Which is our sister agency (DYS Manager).

Here the informant lists off their connections from senior levels in the state to the lower levels of governance. She highlights the extent of their network from the top to the lower levels of power in society, that reflects the scope of the Church's network. It has links with the elite and with the poorest sections of the society. In addition, she indicates that they have never had to use their direct power but it is that everyone knows that they have power. It is that idea that 'everybody knows' that means that she can use her influence if she wished but has never had to. By logical extension, this would mean that at levels below her, officers on the ground in Ballynew and other parts of the region have access to the same power, which may embed them into local

contexts with minimum challenge. 'Everyone knows' encapsulates the commonsense or 'doxa'; actors choose not to act as they understand their place in the system of domination, in Bourdieu's terms (see Chapter One).

In more recent years however, the Church's role as an organiser of society has diminished. Theretofore it was party to a 'positive game' with the state in the provision of welfare, health and education. In this sense they both were winners in a mutual flow of cultural capital (and hence legitimate power) between them (Peillon, 2001: 171-172). Thus in the present research, the networking between church institutions and the state occurred where neo-corporatist institutions began to assert more of an influence on social policy. However, in the interregnum, the practice of institutional giving was mobilised as a means of accruing social and cultural capital for the police force, so as it could be converted into symbolic power and hence the legitimate force of domination.

Conclusion

In the context of the politics of crime and community, Hughes (2007) draws attention to the use of habitus in this field in relation to three critical factors: the social constitution of good sense (or 'doxa' in Bourdieu's terms); practices and commitments entered into that have the capacity to outlive the context in which they were formed; and, how new conditions clash with actors' prevailing habitus. In this way, new institutional practices or environmental conditions also converge 'to produce new, complex, unpredictable subjectivities, rationalities and forms of purposive activity' (Hughes, 2007: 86).

This chapter reveals the clash of the police habitus with changing conditions. First, the Garda Siochana was symbolic of the spirit of Irish nationhood, i.e. a rural and Gaelic speaking people. Modernisation of the force took place from the 1960s onwards. During this period, members of the force agitated over pay and conditions culminating in the Conroy Commission in 1970. The Commission recommended the reduction of working hours to 42 hours (Kilcommins et al, 2005: 208). It is also claimed that as the Commission ushered in the introduction of overtime allowances, it set off a process of internal competition for enhancing incomes, giving rise to 'a

wasting spirit that was bound to subvert and did rapidly undermine morale' (Allen 1999 in Kilcommins et al, 2005: 208). The increasing urbanisation and peripheralisation in Ireland (as documented in Chapter Five) also undermined policing habitus further by virtue of its demand for mobile, mechanised policing units.

Urbanisation brought about a new urban policing scenario that undermined the policing habitus, which had learned to expect a deferential and civic response from the public. This undermining was evident for instance in the case of the Carol Carpenter murder at Tallaght in 1988 and also in the Ronanstown disturbances of 1991. Further instances are noted also in relation to accounts of senior officers feeling insecure about their identity as to whether they should attend meetings in uniform and questioning what their response might be if they were refused entry to a community centre at Tallaght. In the changing environment for policing, whereby it had to reconstruct its legitimacy, it reverted to the institutions of civil society following Alderson's (1979) call for a model of community policing where knowedge, understanding and information could be shared. The policing 'good sense' in An Garda Siochana, it is argued, stretched out into civil society seeking to secure greater visibility in order to assert their symbolic power; most evident here in relation to the staging of gift giving rituals, brokered by a network of benefactors.

In the DYS in particular, the police found a willing partner, and in the SYS, a reluctant partner.[57] The DYS habitus is informed by its role as a purveyor of what Etzioni (1999) has termed the 'good society': it acts as an external moral voice, an agency of social reinforcement that supports the values that members already have laid down in their families and schools, by acting as a 'voice of virtue'. This moral voice Etzioni suggests is the best antidote to an oppressive state because it promotes free choice, giving rise to the 'good society' that 'persuades, cajoles, censures and educates' for its members to make the right choice, with state coercion as a force of compliance (Etzioni, 1999: 94).

The DYS habitus is captured by its actions and accounts of its work as the voice of virtue: its presentation of moral drama, its challenging of young people to conform

[57] The SYS habitus is further discussed in the conclusion to Chapter Seven that follows.

and its coalescence with the police in gift giving rituals, all serve to underline its role as the organiser of the moral curriculum. Furthermore, police and DYS habitus converged rather than clashed, both conjoined in a form of moral communitarian contract that enabled the process of community building to coincide with community policing. In this way social and moral order could be co-produced in the locality but the new 'good sense' resulting from this co-production also became the means through the urban periphery could be governed across a wider scale.

In the early 1990s the state did not have a policing machinery that could mobilise civil society in substantially working class neighbourhoods at the periphery. In this regard, the existing mechanisms of community policing were not applicable or had little local credibility. The state officials were acutely aware that the breakdown in order in Ballynew was a potentially seismic event that could trigger other such eruptions in the remainder of urban Ireland. Their role was to re-establish policing by consent and to fulfil their 'social control' function [Urban Order + Economic Model, ASG, para 214].:

> Well it was more that if the Gardai were given certain resources they would get involved in a way that was not as not as enforcement driven. In the end of the day the Department of Justice then and in its previous incarnation was about eh [..] social control. You know, preserving the possibilities for civilisation really throughout the society and the conditions under which economic and social development can occur. So a certain minimum level of order is a pre requirement for that. Other things can't happen unless there's order and there is support for law and order (Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice).

This level of order based on consent in the periphery of the city was functionally necessary, among other urban requirements, for ensuring the development of the Celtic Tiger. Without re-establishing the social order, the peripheral areas could neither benefit from investment, nor the large shopping developments that were about to be put in place as regional centres. As a senior official remarked: 'it's very difficult to bring an industrialist out here trying to sell this as an industrial site when you are dodging the broken glass on the road' (Assistant Secretary General, Department of Justice).

But then Ballynew had become a model for dealing with problems of urban disorder throughout the entirety of urbanised Ireland. In this context, Ballynew was a metaphor for the urban and hence the shopping centre proposed for there was equal to the branch plant for Limerick or Cork or other parts of Dublin.

The youth crime and disorder initiatives (GSPs) emerged directly from the disorderly conditions generated by urban restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s. They evolved as an expression of the confluence of practices of hierarchical organisations involved in the 'doing of governance' in particular locales. In this context the relationships were part of the extension of sovereignty over urban space arising from a crisis of territoriality: they were involved in the process of reinserting the symbols of the state where the binding force of those symbols had been in question.

An informal network of actors thus emerged in which the police and youth services coalesced. This network was the culmination of the efforts of the police and the DYS in Ballynew. In this context, the urban process reflected a desire to tame the urban peripheral housing estates. In addition, the relationships formed in the periphery became a template for other such areas throughout the country, although it has been demonstrated that they were resisted when an attempt was made to export this model into a settled municipal context. This suggests that such relationships could only have been forged in new urban spaces that had weak local authority infrastructure and underdeveloped civic traditions.

Networking between state officials and others at national level provided a degree of co-ordination of diverse local responses, further explored in Chapter Seven. The emergence of this mode of governance reflects an *institutional hybridity* in Jessop's (2003) terms: formed on the cusp of the end of the state-church 'win-win' game (Peillon, 2001) and the intensification of globalisation and leading to new forms governance. Key individuals made the process possible by virtue of their positions in relation to adjacent networks and was also facilitated by their co-memberships and personal relationships.

Chapter Seven The State, the Police and Civil Society: Symbolic Power versus Communicative Agency

Introduction

This chapter deepens the exploration of relations between the state, police and civil society during the 1990s by examining three local case studies in urban peripheral settings. These case studies enable a closer consideration of the research questions by examining actor relationships and resource mobilisations at the meso level (local management of state programmes and systems) and at micro level (face to face interaction between with familial and communal modes of life. In this sense the chapter further explores the means through which local youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives where organised along the lines of the visibility strategy, as outlined in Chapter Six. The chapter also considers whether alternative mobilisations offer the possibility for more open dialogic systems, enabling also a distinct form of network governance.

The chapter examines practice in three settings in greater detail: Ballynew and Leevale-Campanile Hill, both in Dublin, and Emmetstown in Regional City. This is organised in terms of four major themes. The first involves the *motivations* of state, police and civil society actors for setting youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives in place. The issues under consideration here relate to if and how actors pursued the promotion of police visibility, as argued in Chapter Six. In this sense, the chapter considers the degree of institutional accommodation between agencies or networks of actors. The second section probes deeper at the forms of *curriculum and pedagogy* mobilised at the level of practice. Those that are reflexive are distinguished from those that appear to underpin a form of panoptic governance. The third section considers the forms and actions of networks in the three sites, focusing especially on Emmetstown and Leevale-Campanile Hill (LCH). The section outlines the shape of networks based upon informants' accounts. Finally the chapter gives some consideration to the issue of discursive communication with young people in the

peripheral estates and the police through the intermediaries in youth services, and pays particular attention to practices in the Pinevale Project at LCH.
It is argued that local variations in characteristics such as institutional traditions, class position and 'habitus' of practitioners, play a key role in determining both the curricular content of the programmes, and also in the configuration of meso level governance networks. In turn this seems to influence whether or not state strategies result in the mobilisation for the mutual flow of cultural capital or whether they are interested in redirecting such capital towards the young people in peripheral settings.

The chapter is based upon archived interviews with local level officials, civil society intermediaries such as youth workers and local police officers at Superintendent, Inspector and Sergeant levels as summarised in Figure 7.1 below. The interviews were conducted in spring 1999 and hence relate primarily to that period. A closer exploration of the contemporary situation is outlined in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Visibility, Resistance and Institutional Accommodation

Accommodating and Adapting to the Visibility Strategy

In the preceding chapter, interviews with police and state officials revealed the extent and nature of the commonsense theory underpinning the police community relations strategy that emerged from the crises of youth disorder. This was largely based upon the assumption of gaining the maximum level of 'visibility'. This process involved optimising opportunities for the inserting either physical or symbolic presence in places where public confidence and cooperation with the police was under strain. The remainder of this section examines the local context for such a practice in relation to youth crime and disorder prevention projects under the Garda Special Projects (GSPs). First we explore the variations in adapting, accommodating or indeed resisting this 'visibility strategy' through the various motivations for initiating youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives.

Figure 7.1: *Key Informants in Three Local Areas*

Informant's Position or Role	Informant Initial	Date of Interview
Leevale Campanile Hill (Pinevale Project)		
Secular Youth Service (SYS) regional manager, responsible for youth services in a geographical area of Dublin City including the Pinevale Project	SYS 1	January 1999
Project co-ordinator for the Pinevale Project between 1997 and 2000	SYS 2	January 1999
Police Inspector who played an active role in the management of the Pinevale Garda Youth Diversion Project	Insp P	January 1999
Ballynew (BRATT Project)		
Senior Youth Work Co-ordinator for the DYS at Ballynew, a trained teacher who had worked in Ballynew since the late 1980s	DYS 2	February 1999
Co-ordinator of the BRATT Project, a local man recruited to the post in 1991	DYS 3	February 1999
Garda Sergeant at Ballynew Station, with additional responsibility for Community Relations and for Neighbourhood Policing	Sgt B	February 1999
Member of BRATT committee, nominated by local community development association	Comm B	February 1999
Emmetstown (Emmetstown Youth Development Group)		
Police Superintendent for the Garda Division of Regional City, an active board member of the GSP / GYDP at Emmetstown	Sup E	March 1999
School Principal at the Primary School at Emmetstown and board member of the GSP / GYDP	Prin E	March 1999
Police Sergeant in Regional City station assigned to community relations and neighbourhood policing	Sgt E	March 1999

In Regional City, the GSP at the Emmetstown estate fully incorporated the visibility strategy. The strategy involved organising activities such as youth clubs and a pipe band in which the police played both an integral and a symbolic role. The clear intent was to engage in this dimension of the public sphere as it offered opportunities to signify the presence of the Gardai. In this context, the Regional City Project had a Garda presence in its day-to-day activities. It also created an opportunity for the police to assign their names to this space such as using a bus with the Garda logo for

ferrying young people around the area between activities, and naming a youth club 'COPS' [Visibility, Sup E 184 to 190].

[MB clarifies point made earlier by interviewee]

MB: …[I]s the idea that they would know clearly in their heads that this is a Garda project and that this is something that the Gardai are keenly involved in?

Supt E: It is yeah. It is. It's a two-fold purpose: the Gardai are in charge of it, we're there. We are having to make sure that 'tis properly supervised, there's proper adults propping it up. You know it is a logical and an operational kind of thing.

MB: Yeah. I suppose people using the facilities, and schools using the facilities, is that designed so as that people will understand that the Garda are centrally involved in this?

Supt E: Oh yes it would be, to identify that there's Garda involvement in it. Because we have we have in fact we have our name up inside as a Garda youth project we have it [club name "COPS"] up on the Emmetstown thing there (Police Superintendent, Regional City).

As in the previous chapter, the police generally had a preference for applying a quantitative target to their actions. They aimed for the maximum number to be exposed to Garda visibility and to the symbolic struggle implicit in that strategy. Underlying this the two objectives for youth projects were (a) to 'divert' young people from crime; and, (b) to improve community relations. When asked if these objectives influenced the format of programmes, the Superintendent indicated that the pipe and drum band at Emmetstown was a 'flag-ship' designed to produce positive role models [Visibility, Supt E, Paras 440 to 444]:

Supt E: You know looking at vision or at the vision. That's what I always say to them like 'what is our goal' like. Our goal is to [traffic noise outside obliterates 5 seconds] divert kids from crime and to provide kids, we provide facilities for them; to prevent crime and those who come in contact with the law, broke the law to simply create a diversion for them. And then Garda, improve Garda / community relations.

MB: And do you bring that to bear looking at what the Project is doing and so on?

Supt E: I do yeah. I do yeah. I keep that in mind and I say I'd say around summertime maybe you know 'where are we going, what's our goal?'. Like it's forty thousand pounds if you were to take an intensive youth scheme it wouldn't go anywhere. If it was to give them training, or counselling or anything like that it wouldn't go very far here with the group of kids there. Whereas we have kind of a *catch-all* group there we do as much as we can for the group there from Emmetstown with the services out there, with these facilities. If anything is to be got out of it with that sort of money well if

anything it's a flag-ship, it's a good, it's a good eh role models. The Band is providing role models for the kids of Emmetstown (Police Superintendent, Regional City). [Emphasis added]

The idea of a flag ship underlines the importance of symbolism linked with cultural capital: a practice is adopted thus because it is a standard bearer or the symbol that contains meaning to be signified. The visibility strategy in Regional City, like Ballynew in Dublin, took the form of the insertion of the presence of the police in the form of symbols embedded in everyday processes. The police, through its mediating role, purchased space to signify its presence on the one hand, and invested in human and cultural capital on the other, through the production of a group of disciplined, uniformed young people to act as 'role models'.

Visibility was a less prominent and residual feature of youth crime and disorder prevention in the Leevale-Campanile Hill area. It is clearly illustrated by the SYS Regional Manager when he pointed out that the Guards get what they want out of it by wanting to be seen and that 'it makes them look good'. Going into an arrangement with them required that the identity of the youth agency was protected and its limits asserted [Contra Visibility SYS 1, paras 226-230,].

MB: ….if you were to do it all again or if you were to transfer to another area?

SYS 1: Yeah. I think that I learned was that the only way, we were lucky in a way with the personalities involved you know. The likes of [Inspector] and them were reasonable enough figures to be dealing with. And I think there's probably something in it for them too, you know it makes them look good or whatever it is. It seems to do well for them you know. They get all these things for the Commissioner to turn up at so as that they are seen so that can't do them any harm, I don't know, in the scheme of things you know. So they seem to be enthusiastic about it in that way and that's fair enough, I don't have a problem with that all. And I would think that what I learned was that you decide what it is you want to do and you stand your ground. If you go into it needing the money, they you are in serious trouble. You are in serious, serious trouble. But if you are in a position to say 'no we won't do that', and stick to it, not be bluffing and say 'no we won't do that', then you can deal with them as an agency very well. And as long as you are reasonable I mean you weren't going to push that down their throat (SYS regional manager).

As outlined in Chapter Six, failures to put structures in place in relation to youth services post-1987, resulted in the formation of a piecemeal youth service under a number of precarious funding arrangements. This meant that many working class areas of cities and towns were devoid of any youth provision. In this context, many of the voluntary organisations that were subsequently contracted by VECs to develop youth services were led by any available funding sources for projects. As pointed out in the data above, where this was the case youth organisations may well have placed themselves in *troublesome* situations in this period. This is because they entered into youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives for financial support in building local youth services to service the specific neighbourhoods in need. The presence of the youth service framework within the municipal boundary in Dublin, may have contributed in some way to a more discursive and communicative practice, relative to green-field sites.

The local police Inspector at LCH presented an account of how the project came into being. This was firstly because Garda management asked him to put one in place; and, secondly because he attended a "promotions course" at which he was informed that it was possible to secure funding for such a project. This does not contradict the argument that a key motivator was *visibility* but it does require a broader approach in which other factors were at play.

The Pinevale GSP was was not driven by the crisis that drove the Ballynew experience. Hence visibility may have been only one concern for the police in this instance. Rather this initiative had been launched in the mid 1990s when the GSPs had become part of organisational culture within the force. They were a way in which a senior officer could improve his / her promotional portfolio. As such, the possibility to create a crime prevention intitiative became part of the reflexive project of individual officers. To deliver greater visibility through a youth project was less a requirement because the police operated an informal neighbourhood watch scheme. Hence there was no compulsion to utilise a youth scheme for the purposes of improving police-community relations [Neighbourhood Watch Success, Insp P, paras 141-143].

MB: [In regard to developing relations with the community and encouraging people to report crimes] are there any activities geared towards that?

Insp P: No we have that already. I mean for example we have a very active neighbourhood watch and representatives from all the groups in the area attend it. And even though we'd be walking up and down to neighbourhood watch meetings (.) we don't strictly have a Neighbourhood Watch. You know that it is difficult enough in places like [this area] to actually start up a neighbourhood watch. But actually recognising that I mean that representatives come down here on a monthly basis and em (.) in formal scenario they can make complaints about things like that. But also in [district] there's lots of groups that we liaise with so I think we cater for that need anyway (Police Inspector, Pinevale Project).

Hence while working class areas in the state generally do not have Neighbourhood Watch schemes (see McKeown and Brosnan, 1998), this innovation by the police in this particular district had the effect of relieving the youth service of this obligation. This freed up energies and resources to concentrate on a specific group of young people who were already at the edge of the justice system and who had been reputed to have been involved in behaviours leading to public order problems. Moreover, from the outset, the SYS were not interested in a generic response but were keen to focus upon this particular group. Hence, it styled itself as an 'interventionist' model. This gave it a different character to schemes elsewhere where visibility was the central feature linked with a response to immediate disorder.

Curriculum and Pedagogy: Reflexive versus Panoptic Governance?

In this section, the practice level in the three areas is explored in greater detail. It is argued that instead of a unified approach across different cases, each area operated from different philosophical bases and institutional contexts. Thus in Emmetstown the emphasis was upon bolstering the moral underpinnings of community life. In Ballynew, practices reflected a desire to encourage individuals to look at the consequences of actions in maintaining their marginality. At the Pinevale Project in LCH, the practice reflected a form of social protection and encouraged young people to develop social capital, through for example expanding their social networks over a wider geographical scale. Some of these variations are considered in turn.

The curriculum in Regional City then was part of this erection of 'moral pillars' as it involved the incorporation of a large body of youth in recreational activities aimed at 'diverting energies'. Thus the curriculum was one constructed around the redirection of energies potentially used for disorder and channelled into action like boxing where physical exertion would render the subject physically incapable of using his or her body for 'destructive' purposes. The stated rationale for this was that it responded to what young people wanted as regards recreation [Curriculum, Insp E, paras 325-327].

[MB recaps on earlier point made in interview]

MB: In terms of trying to divert people from crime what was the reasoning for choosing those activities? Was that to do with trying to channel energies in a particular direction or what?

Insp E: It's what they were interested in. We identified what they might respond [to]. Like they were big into the pool and the snooker and we got it in. And we had the youth club. They love soccer and we started off in the summer with outdoor soccer and everything else. Then the indoor soccer came in, perfect for the winter. Em the boxing, go in there and work it off. I mean if they are burning energies inside the boxing club they are not going to come out and start eh running around the place. Just to drain, another drain off of their excess energy, put it in a positive manner. There were things like, you identified what they wanted maybe and what they might respond to and then try and develop it. There's no point, like there's no point trying to go out there creating a cricket club (..) because you weren't going to get them to play cricket. So you identify what they might respond to, what they might be interested in and what the need was. Like that snooker hall out there now that's going to really take off like. Because they are really big into snooker. They'll come into town to play snooker (....) and I mean (Police Inspector, Regional City).

As such giving them what they want and allowing them to 'work off' energies brings both parties together in a game. This is one way in which the 'field' is constituted: setting up such large scale recreational facilities to institutionalise youth, becomes part of an *illusio* or the 'feel for the game', in Bourdieu's terms (see Chapter One). Thus young people might gain physical capital by training and exercise, while the police gain symbolic capital, just as Hunter (2004) has suggested for the PE class in formal education. In this way the 'doxa' or the commonsense is shared and thus reproduced. The Emmetstown scenario, with its emphasis on 'draining energies' and 'blowing off steam', also has similarities with the 'Muscular Christianity' movement

in the 19th and early 20th centuries that sought to produce a patriotic and religious athleticism (Hall, 1994). Character building also drove the international boy scout movement founded by Baden-Powell (1911) based upon physical fitness, spirituality and character.

This project had become characterised by the Emmetstown Pipe and Drum Band: even the police headquarters in Dublin spoke favourably of the Band and it had achieved a folkloric status in crime prevention circles in the country. The school principal pointed out that it was the response to a 'failing story' and hence it was utilised for its 'positive' spirit. This was necessary because of its incorporation value. That is it seems that if there is 'noise and steam' that it some how 'pockets' other more deviant groups or that the provision of recreational outlets enabled authority figures to gain control of such groups[Curriculum, Prin E paras 155-157].

MB: Yeah and it's you know, it's the, and even if you are talking to Guards, senior Gardai in Dublin and they said 'you should go down to Emmetstown and see what they have there they have a good band', you know. Is there a need perhaps to stop and look beyond that to look at what has been achieved?

Prin E:I would be very much [inaudible phrase] thinking that and as well [Parish Priest] that it's like the school here. If you create, you must create something extremely positive around all the negative work you do. Because if, like that there now we'll say, see all that kind of stuff you know all that kind of negative stuff. We have beautiful grounds out there in the summer and it is very beautiful, it's beautifully presented. We are very much into high standards in that kind of regard. Having said that then the children must see the beauty of it, that the place looks good. And as well the teachers are professional, they do a good job. But there's a whole lot of weakness and failure here every day of the week. Except the Band story below. We are running groups down there that are all the time part of a failing story (..) d'you know. It's all, they come from negative homes, I mean they have a negative address. Some thing must be in all those Projects, those Community Relations Projects, they must all have something unique in them to keep them viable life. Something really positive. That they set up a sports club, or boxing club or a band or a good education project or something, what I don't know. There must be something really vibrant to keep carrying and sustaining the people around it. Do you know what I am saying to you, something really (..) that gives all the group you know, isn't great to see that. But at the same time then forty of the youth club blowing their head off with the noise and the steam driven out of that. You have all that kind of stuff as well. And you have the glue-sniffers and all the others pocketed. But anyway, I am rambling now (School Principal, Regional City).

Here the curriculum was chosen for its social control value over its aesthetic value. It may be the case that the pipe and drum band itself represented an aesthetic of social control by virtue of its utilisation of the symbolism of uniformity, cleanliness, drill formation and discipline. Indeed the need to project 'beauty' as in the garden or the pipe band, over the ugliness of the glue sniffing it might be argued reflects a struggle for a 'hegemony of aesthetics', just as the account of the contestation over painting of the 'red wall' in the Bartley and Saris (2003) study. However, the Band was meant to be a symbol of a 'successful' story; an attempt to build cultural capital, albeit that it had the purpose of providing disciplined role models, as suggested earlier, and to engage in an aesthetic struggle to feed into the idea that Emmetstown was 'decent' despite its external reputation.

The BRATT Project in Ballynew also pursued a primary preventive approach with an added cultural adaptation dimension. This took the form of 'challenging' behaviour as if to achieve a level of integration with changing structural conditions. This was built into the content of programmes (curriculum) and the cultural purpose of the content (pedagogy). While practitioners there focused upon maximising the number of young people involved in youth clubs and other activities it did so in smaller numbers per session. This took place in smaller groups and focused upon attitudes to pillars of authority (the family and the police) [Curriculum, DYS 3, paras 223 to 233].

MB: The other side of the work involves you involved with groups and things like that.
DYS 3: A good lot of group work.
MB: Group work.
DYS 3: And challenging their behaviour. Challenging their attitude.
MB: And there are a variety of different groups aren't there?
DYS 3: Yeah. [interruption] If I am not doing one to one stuff I am doing group work. And in the group work I am challenging behaviour and I am challenging attitude. Not just to the Guards but to the community where they live. Em, to their own family, relationship to their own family em to their area you know. So we are constantly challenging their attitude and behaviour (DYS, BRATT Co-ordinator, Ballynew).

Yet another dimension to the curriculum in Ballynew was the way in which the youth worker employed by the GSP fund went into schools to give lectures or classes on issues such as joyriding and drug use. When questioned further about this the co-

ordinator went on to articulate the relationship here between *curriculum* [qua modes of engagement] and *pedagogy* [qua the implied 'lesson' to be imparted by a legitimised instructor] [Curriculum, DYS 3, paras 235 to 241].

MB: Okay so that's part of the idea that young people take civic responsibility and that sort of thing; and thinking about others, right?

DYS 3: Yeah. Even a simple thing like you know the very first thing we said is when we were starting the programme and that, 'we have got to get the area looking some way decent', you know what I mean. There was graffiti everywhere and all. So we went and we videoed all that. Went into the school, showed the kids and I mean the reaction of the kids was 'jaysus I pass that everyday you know I didn't realise it was so dirty'. They just took things for granted. Like they were passing this one spot everyday where it was manky and and there was writing on the wall and that and em they sort of says 'it's part of life you know'. And when we went in and challenged that we said 'look this is where you live, this is where you bring your friends up'. You know. 'Jaysus you're right you know'. So it is this, to make them aware and then using the same tactics around crime, around drugs around whatever, making them aware and trying to change their attitude and change their behaviour you know. Now we have some success. We also have some failures someone that we are after spending a lot of time working with and they fall back into crime, unfortunately so. And for them the bottom line is prison.

MB: Or is the case [tape damaged, question inaudible]

DYS 3: Yeah, yeah yeah. 'Cause I would have met kids I met kids we say in the last year would have said to me 'you were in our school five years ago, I remember you talking about drugs and I remember talking about stolen cars'. And then I'd say 'and how are you doing?', 'Ah sure I am working along now'. Well I am not saying because we went in em that kids you know stayed on the straight and narrow, that at least we went in and we told him, you know that if you decide to go down the road of stolen cars, this is where you are going to finish up, in prison (.) or if you go the other road you know in a few years time you'll be chatting to me saying you know 'I have a job I have a car, I have this clobber I want', you know so we gave them alternatives (DYS Youth Work Co-ordinator, Ballynew).

In this sequence then a normative orientation (the area should look decent) was decided upon by a group of actors in the abstract. A video was made (conversion of values into curriculum) and taken into schools to show to children who have normalised the idea that the area was *not decent*. This formula then could be applied in the same context to deal with other issues (expansion of curriculum) as 'we do the same with crime'. In this instance then the meaning (pedagogic communication 1) is that 'prison is the bottom line' for choosing a deviant lifestyle. Hence (pedagogic

communication 2) is implied that 'we gave them alternatives' of choosing legitimate means for achieving ends (job, car, clobber).[58]

Ballynew might be characterised as a model that sought to bolster civic responsibility: it sought to persuade young people to make dispositional adaptations based upon informal curricular inputs. The key youth officer here DYS 2 perceived that the need for such a model resulted from the absence of a civics module in schools (as was the case at the time). One of the key functions of this curriculum, according to the local DYS manager (DYS 2) was to 'raise consciousness' about property: in this sense it reveals the emphasis on imparting moral absolutes on social questions. This exposes the monologic character of the DYS curriculum, where the morality of 'property' comes to the dialogue as a fixed, pre-determined set of values and to the social relations attaching to property, private and public [Curriculum, DYS 2, paras 64-73].

MB: You were saying also property and disrespect for....?

DYS 2: Yeah well we have always, one of the problems around the schools around is the vandalism and that you know it seems to be a constant issue. There doesn't seem to be a suitable civics programme in the school and raise issues, raise consciousness with young people around what happens when property gets damaged and why you shouldn't damage property and the concept of public property being the property of the community as opposed to property of somebody way out there you know, and I do think that needs to be done regularly (DYS Youth Work Manager, Ballynew).

There was no clear distinction between the BRATT project [funded by the Department of Justice] and the DYS at Ballynew [funded by the Department of Education]. Thus it blended funding sources so it was allowed to incorporate young people in Justice funded programmes, regardless of risk. There was no difference according to the head of the DYS there. A youth service funded by Justice is responsive to demands from the police for order. In the case of the particular housing estate, offending there resulted in the police receiving 'pressure' from the community to respond. The curriculum could then be mobilised as a response to policing demand [Curriculum, DYS 2, paras 87-90].

MB: You have two objectives?

[58] Clobber: fashionable, well made clothes.

DYS 2: Yeah we have two very clear objectives.

MB: Just in terms of other programmes that you that deal with the target group for BRATT….

DYS 2: Well I'll be perfectly honest and say that some of the programmes that BRATT funds and takes on are no different to the programmes of the youth service is doing. So the group that's in here today, the Face to Face club, the after-schools project, is no different between the after-school project we are running in St. Brigid's funded by BRATT. Absolutely no difference. The reason that BRATT is funding it is that we don't have enough money in the youth services to fund the two. And secondly because the police were under enormous pressure to go in and run something in Ballynew North estate. There was huge pressure where there was a huge amount of offending over in Ballynew North estate [interruption] (DYS Youth Work Manager, Ballynew).

The programmes in the BRATT Project at Ballynew had thus been morphed into one process with a generic emphasis on civility and adaptation. Thus in this context informal education became conflated with both Policing (as it dovetailed with a formal Garda programme of disorder prevention) and policing by virtue of its mobilisation of youth workers to demands for policing solutions to public disorder associated with young people's presence in the public sphere.

The DYS also engaged in a life-skills model by the way in which it got young people to reflect upon the effects of 'vandalism' or stoning buses. The youth worker wanted them to see that it was they as subjects who 'suffer' and that thus they should take ownership over the issue. In this context, they were asked to identify an internal locus of control (rather than seeing vandalism as a problem with an external, structural and or hegemonic masculinity dimension). But the DYS was spread widely and did not discriminate on the basis of risk; and, hence it exposed non-offending young people to responsibilising discourses in this context [curriculum, DYS 2, paras 252-254].

[MB paraphrases terms used by interviewee and by the GSP HQ Circular]

MB: Is there a connection between a lot of this 'self-discovery' type work, 'self awareness' and increasing self esteem? For you and for the people working on the project here, is there a way of linking that with this idea of 'civic responsibility' and kids taking responsibility in the community?

DYS 2: What happens for those particular groups there would be specific sessions around like say we might do six week sessions around the environment. We might bring in [Environmental Group] to do part of it but we would probably do a lot of it ourselves though you know.

> And then also we'll also do a very practical session which might be planting a flower bed or trees or going out and having a clean up of a certain patch you know. But we would be raising issues that and our big issue would be 'who suffers' would be the question'. Like 'who suffers when the phone box gets smashed and you can't make a phone call', to raise their consciousness. 'Who suffers when the buses get stoned and won't come out here after six o'clock'. And again it's getting them to think that actually it's themselves and their families that suffer. So you know they suffer. It's them that can't get on the bus and go see their granny or their friends or they can't get on the bus and go the pictures in Tallaght. And that's how that session, that's how we tend to do that section. With the Guards again it's a question being raised around 'what would we do without the Gardai'? And you know we might do a session for them maybe do a group session around how do the Guards work and if the Guards weren't there what would happen. And 'if you like were in control of the Guards, how do you think they should operate in the area'? [abridged] (DYS Youth Work Manager, Ballynew).

In the response by this informant, the pedagogic action was channelled into two areas: first on the immediate personal and familial consequences of acts of disorder; and second, on the normalisation of the police. A crucial point here is that this was not focused upon actual offenders per se and hence was part of a responsibilising and civilising pedagogy. In addition, the above data draws attention to the control exercised in naming reality in 'who suffers?'; suffering is presented as a consequence of behaviour rather than behaviour being framed as a consequence of suffering. Thus the struggle to name reality is won out here in the power of the practitioner to pose such moral questions, ignoring as they do the proposition that structural conditions might have some connection with working class young people's action repertoires.

The SYS at Pinevale was radically different to both DYS Ballynew and the Regional City Project at Emmetstown. Here the curriculum was based upon a combination of secondary and tertiary prevention. It selected with the police, a smaller group of people who had offended. It prepared them for participation in early school leaver training programmes such as Youthreach or for a return to school. The educational-welfarist approach here was exemplified by the way in which they interpreted the meaning of 'diversion'. When asked, the co-ordinator suggested that he diverted people by getting them to develop their own cultural activity by developing a hobby or interest they already had or progressing from practicing it 'badly'. In addition they sought to enable young people to make connections with the rest of the city and with

other parts of the country by making relationships outside their immediate area [Curriculum, SYS 2, paras 579 to 581].

MB: What specific activities that we've talked about here are intended to be you know that are there to ensure that the kids get diverted?

SYS 2: I mean I suppose it's a collection of different (…) I mean crime diversion could be kids doing Irish dancing you know? You know kids Irish dancing. But it's really at this stage in their lives it's about getting young people interested in things and I mean like hobbies or something like that; or groups or clubs and stuff like that. What has happened is that a lot of these heads aren't in groups and they aren't welcome in groups and they don't have hobbies. They might keep horses or something but they might keep them badly. Or they might be into motorbikes but they'll be robbed motorbikes or whatever you know; they wouldn't be insured or whatever. So it's around moving them towards, I mean this is only a small percentage about what the group is but I think it is about getting them involved in things where eh where they can fit in. I mean for instance, we would have got them involved in inter-club (…) projects North and South, inter-region events and things like that. And I think that they that has helped them in a sense and now a lot of them now go to eh there's a disco in Raheny. They never went to that beforehand; they wouldn't have ventured out of the area for anything. So they all go to this disco called 'Spice' and you know they end up with girlfriends from [other area] and [another area]. They kind of venture out a little bit now. Now that can be, that can have negative effects as well you know but I think that, just in my own experience, you know, being from this area is that it's only when I ventured out and into town and we used to hang around Marino and that or whatever; that's when we started to meet people (.) other people and that you know (SYS Youth Work Co-ordinator, Pinevale Project, Dublin).

Hence, the Pinevale model was based upon a combination of small group activity together with tailored individual goal attainment geared toward educational labour market progression. It rejected the 'one size fits all' model that had been applied elsewhere and chose to adopt a curriculum that responded to both generic and individual need. Indeed the emphasis in the curriculum was to enable young people to achieve mobility across the city, to develop social networks and to enhance their agency. This might be seen as a form of social protection by the way in which it provided the individual with the social and cultural capital together with experience and skills to negotiate urban relationships. The Pinevale project might be said to respond to the late modern condition by enabling young people to develop life projects through enhancing action repertoires.

Pedagogy

As already discussed in Chapter One, Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence is premised upon the idea of pedagogic agency. The first proposition of his thesis is that powerful groups that can impose meaning add the weight of their own force to the meaning communicated by concealing the power relations involved (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 4). *Pedagogic action* (PA) is symbolic violence because of the arbitrary nature of the culture imparted but also that it is bound within an arbitrary system of 'pedagogic communication' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 7), i.e. that it needs the institutional conditions in which it is given effect. Thus symbolic violence serves to persuade other classes of the 'naturalness' or rightness of the existing relations of class domination and power. This is accomplished through the mode of inculcation or *pedagogic work* (PW) and in relations of *pedagogic authority* where the inculcation into habitus of the relations of authority is as much a part of what is inculcated as the actual meanings being communicated.

Much of what Bourdieu elaborates here relates to a critique of school systems but his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977) is set in the civic sphere of exchange relations. In this regard then civil society forms also a domain of exchange relations and a focal point for the living out of domination. Hence pedagogic communication becomes part of the exchange implied in everyday interaction between actors. In this regard, every crime and disorder prevention or community relations action by local actors is connected to a system that undertakes pedagogic work. That is by its action, meaning is communicated through, and hence each element of the curriculum imposes, a cultural arbitrary.

In Emmetstown then much of the 'message' was exemplified in the Band where the values of discipline, order, obedience and thrift were filtered through routines and habits that promote order. But in their accounts, actors reveal that the cultural arbitrary was one based upon accepting personal responsibility without the state. This involved moving subjects from an understanding that the state acted as a problem solver; problems were matters for both subjects and households. Thus at Emmetstown in Regional City the local state and church actors sought to solve

problems; and by that act sought to pass on a responsibilising pedagogy [Pedagogy, Prin E, paras 223-225].

MB: It seems that requires you coming to an agreed philosophy about that, or an agreed vision maybe about, as you say 'it's all the same people'. It's easy to bring a group of people together to agree on a strategy for dealing with problems. But here it seems as if there has been an attempt to work out some core philosophy…..?

Prin E: There is yeah and I think the other thing we have been very conscious of Matt is that as you meet people you try and solve the problem. You don't pass it on down the line to someone else do you know. And we have also tried to move away from this culture 'it's the Guards that are responsible, is the health board responsible', you know. 'Tisn't. It's me. You know if it arrives at your door you take on responsibility for it because don't be waiting for someone else to solve the problems for you. If we can get the parents in behind us, now we haven't done that yet, if we can get the parent's body in behind us [door opens and background noise level from outside increases] on responsibility it's crucial. That can never happen. 'Johnny please take the horse from the front lawn'. 'No I am waiting for the Corporation to come and take him away'. Do you know what I am saying to you. [tape ends] (School Principal, Regional City).

In Ballynew the policing of young people in public attracted the attention of the youth service which operated in the guise of quasi-police. It did this by engaging in pedagogic work, often doing crime prevention work that one might easily associate with the police. Hence the youth service responded and incorporated groups of young people. But it also sent out communications to households with the view to responsibilising parents. Here there is a cultural arbitrary decided in the abstract that children *should be* under the gaze of parents. A printed leaflet went around asking 'do you know where your child is'? This adds to the DYS curriculum and pedagogy, a *panoptic function* whereby it sought to reinforce parental panopticon or where that was absent to act in that capacity itself [Pedagogy, DYS 3, paras 45-63].

MB: Okay, the way in which this is done, if it is kids throwing stones is that the groups are identified?

DYS 3 Yeah, we would actually go out on the street and identify them.

MB: And what then; some space is created for them in the centre here?

DYS 3 Yeah yeah.

MB: Does that eliminate the problem then?

DYS 3 Realistically, realistically it won't.

MB: Right so any group of kids could start doing that couldn't they?

DYS 3 Yeah but what it basically does is that it gives us contact with that group and it gives us a chance to challenge them on their behaviour

> you know. And I mean we have had a similar problem with kids before the bridge was done (..) tearing holes in the fences and playing chicken on the line. Now we got rid of that simply by we done a leaflet up here ourselves and we asked a couple of questions, you know, we sent it round to all the doors. 'Do you know where your child is? Do you know that there is a huge increase in blah blah blah' and now by really sending that leaflet around in Ballynew South and Ballynew West the problem virtually disappeared (DYS Youth Work Co-ordinator).

The goal of connecting young people weakly attached or detached from family, school and work was a process of institutionalisation by virtue of their subsumption under pedagogic relations of some form. Moreover as discussed earlier, the process of facing young people with questions such as 'who suffers when…', structures a cultural arbitrary by virtue of bracketing the 'cause' into a closed linguistic binary between *behaviour* (cause) and *suffering* (effect). Thus in the Ballynew scenario, a cultural arbitrary was imposed by an arbitrary power.

By contrast, the SYS youth worker's account of some of his actions reveals a pedagogy that was less concerned with policing, regulating or disciplining. The practitioner suggested that he valued giving time to young people and that that was what he himself was modelling as pedagogic action. Significant people, he indicated, gave *him* time and so he wanted to model that to others. Hence, the pedagogic action in this context was free of the parental responsibilisation of the Regional City and Ballynew models, and was moreover, the complete opposite. Young people, it was implied, engage with society as agents in their own right independent of their parents. What was valued here was a *qualitative principle* of 'giving time' and that his desire was to emulate that so that the pedagogic action transmitted a meaning whereby young people were valued because of their intrinsic human value. Hence, this practitioner's pedagogic agency was based upon a practice of enabling young people to undergo a social apprenticeship with adults beyond the domestic sphere [Pedagogy, SYS 2, paras 671 to 677].

MB: Is there any one [theory] that sticks out in your mind and guides you everyday in your practice?

SYS 2 : Well the thing is I believe in people you know what I mean. I have a great belief in people and I em (..) I think coming from where I came from people believed in me and that had an impact on me. I think that

> if I can pass that on. And I know that I meet people in the [pub in place] every week and they come up and shake me hand and say 'do you know who I am, do you remember me'? And I says 'yeah'. I remember their names and that's a lot to people. 'Do you remember the time we went to the house in Meath and this happened, and I smashed a window'. And I'm going, 'no I don't remember that'. But the thing is is that if we as adults can give young people time, and I'm not getting into the 'I blame the parents' kind of thought because I don't believe that. I think that parents can have a certain relationship with their young people but it's not or with their children (…) but that adult relationship shouldn't be (..) you know there's no perfect parent-child relationship you know what I mean. And I think that young people you know when they meet teachers, and they meet youth workers and they meet adults in their lives I think that the adult that gives them time and listens and talks and em and communicates (SYS Youth Work Co-ordinator, Pinevale Project, Dublin).

The pedagogic agency in this context resulted from a distinct habitus. Here the youth worker pointed out that his PA was determined by his experience of adults *believing* in him – i.e. that he had intrinsic human value. He became conscious of this and his desire was to pass on the values of 'giving time' to young people. Thus the cultural reproduction in this context was not necessarily reinforcing institutional power. Moreover, this particular practitioner seemed to be encouraging an inter-communicative pedagogy in that it appeared to suggest the idea of a social and cultural apprenticeship. His utilisation of public art as a means of expression and communication also appears to create a 'seen and heard' culture whereby young people were made present in the public sphere and underwent such social apprenticeship by virtue of their dialogue with adults.

The DYS and the Social Panoptic at Ballynew

The DYS practice at Ballynew involved circumventing 'trouble' in the public sphere often stimulated by young people congregating. The DYS responded to demands from residents if such groups of young people came to attention. This was described as 'invaluable' work for the police who identified the same groups of young people but upon whom demands were not made [Panoptic Function, Sgt B paras 101-105].

Sgt B: Like we had at the start, we used to identify a group of people, who are potential troublemakers.

MB: Okay, okay. In terms of the current target group for BRATT like I mean has there been a shift in the target group at all or you know have the target group changed?

Sgt B No. I think that what we can do now is that because the [BRATT co-ordinator] and [DYS local manager] are like they are really invaluable they work down there. A lot of people will go to civilians before they will go to the Guards. We'll identify them in a different way. And [BRATT co-ordinator] and [DYS local manager] are indigenous, [BRATT co-ordinator] lives in the area and he knows everybody and everybody knows him. And [BRATT co-ordinator] would be the first, he would spot them quicker than we would 'cause we don't live in the area. We work in the area, we're in uniform and there's a certain distance between us. But that's not to say that we do [not] identify and we come across them in our own right. But [BRATT co-ordinator] and [DYS local manager] would particularly would identify groups (Police Sergeant, Ballynew).

The identification of 'potential troublemakers' presumably involved a degree of skill to determine and sort them from actual troublemakers. Those who were 'potential' must have been distinct in some way from the actual. Implied in this data also is that the youth workers and the police reach some level of congruity with each other on this matter through their networking. Hence they network to reinforce the panoptic function of youth crime and disorder prevention in Ballynew.

According to the local DYS manager, a young person could consult his colleague, the BRATT co-ordinator if he or she was in trouble. The people for whom this young person was causing trouble could also consult him. It is not clear here what balance was struck between the person in trouble and the complainants. People resorted to the service provided by BRATT if they were having problems associated with young people using the public space, outside the gaze of their parents. The co-ordinator 'has a word' with these young people in which he appeared to persuade them to relocate their activities. A panoptic device existed whereby those witnessing or in view of young people's appropriation of the public space could feedback what they saw to a system that if necessary induced the youths indoors. Thus they were drawn under an adult gaze [Panoptic function, DYS 2, paras 120-126].

MB: In terms of the BRATT project, how does it engage with the local community, is that structured somehow?

DYS 2: Well obviously the representation at the management committee was one thing. Secondly a lot of the community know that if you're in trouble with the Guards if a youngster is in trouble with the Guards,

[BRATT co-ordinator] is a person you could talk to. Or if you are experiencing trouble from a group of youngsters, [BRATT co-ordinator] is the person you could talk to. You might be able to receive help. Now that would probably be stronger down this end than up the top end because people would know more of [BRATT co-ordinator] down this end. So for instance (w)'d four women in last week looking for [BRATT co-ordinator]. They were getting a bit of hassle from youngsters and they were hanging around the corner where they live. So he could approach them, have a chat with them and see what they could do themselves. So [BRATT co-ordinator] is the person who they would link in with.

MB: What would be the typical response be to that?

DYS 2: [BRATT co-ordinator] would probably go over probably try and identify who is in the group and then go and have a word and the word would probably be from the point of view of 'listen lads, okay you want to have a bit of crack or a bit of fun but do you realise that obviously you are rubbing some people up the wrong way and would you not consider doing your drinking a hundred yards further down the road where you'll get no hassle from the community, 'cause if you sit here and there are complaints being booked like, the Guards are going to get 'round eventually (.) and one or two of you is going to get hurt'. So that'd be the starting point (DYS Youth Work Manager, Ballynew).

The mobilisation of the youth workers for reasons of persuasion, placed their modes of instruction within that of the panoptic function of both the DYS and the informal system of network governance under which the crime and disorder initiative came about. Moreover, the DYS was involved in para-policing by the way in which it became part of an extension of the panoptic gaze of the police. They had a greater capacity to be non-intrusive by virtue of their civilian status and they were unapologetic that their goal was to respond to demands from residential groups to defuse social order problems. Indeed, extending the analysis here to the network model presented in Chapter Six, the DYS provided the essential link for a *social panoptic* (Wacquant, 2001). As a youth service networked with an array of criminal justice actors, it effectively acted as the front end of a form of network governance whereby a criminal justice gaze could be cast over young people in its area. In this sense also, youth work had become hybridised and indistinguishable from surveillance, security and social control.

Local Networks in Action

Headmaster, Sergeant, Parish Priest and Curate: The Regional City Node

The police in Regional City were keen networkers; they had and used 'contacts' within and beyond the force. For instance while responding to a quesiton about community relations and improving feelings of safety locally, the Regional City Sergeant digressed to explain about how he promoted the Guards and that he would go to whatever lengths to achieve the desired result. This appears to give an insight into how results were achieved. First the Sergeant provided an account of how he knew that police transport could be taken outside the jurisdiction because he was aware of a precedent: if the Garda sub-aqua club were allowed to use official transport, he could so use it for community relations purposes outside the country. Second, he had access to a network of contacts within the force that could get him the result he wanted. But this also underlines a culture of 'doing' in the police and the drawing upon knowledge and networks to circumvent both hierarchy and bureaucracy to achieve a result [Network Action, Sgt E, paras 210-212].

> Well I always pushed the Garda side of the thing now you know what I mean, Community Relations were probably fed up of talking to me, I you know I continuously kept answering them, I didn't shy away from anything if I thought myself 'twas possible I made sure it was possible afterwards and I I'd go to any whatever angle or whoever I'd have to get at I'd do it you know (.) and em (.) find a way around it (..) regardless of what 't would be. For instance taking the minibus, Garda vehicle out of the country for a start off is a problem like. You know it was like, you could do it and you'd ring up one fella and 'this is not possible, never a hope'. But I'd know, I mean I worked in Dublin and I know everyone around there, fourteen or fifteen years and I knew it was happening and I knew that the boat club would be going across regularly with Garda vehicles, the sub-aqua, you know. I knew what'd be happening and I knew how to get to get around it and I know a lot of people in the job as well and who to talk to. And it's all about that you know to a certain extent. If you want something done (Police Sergeant, Regional City).

In addition to the process of *doing*, the Regional City police Sergeant could, if he met with red tape, get in touch with the ASG in order to speed up procurement of resources by lubricating or short circuiting the usual procedures.[59] And so resources

[59]ASG is the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Justice, interviewed for this research and extensively quoted in the previous chapter.

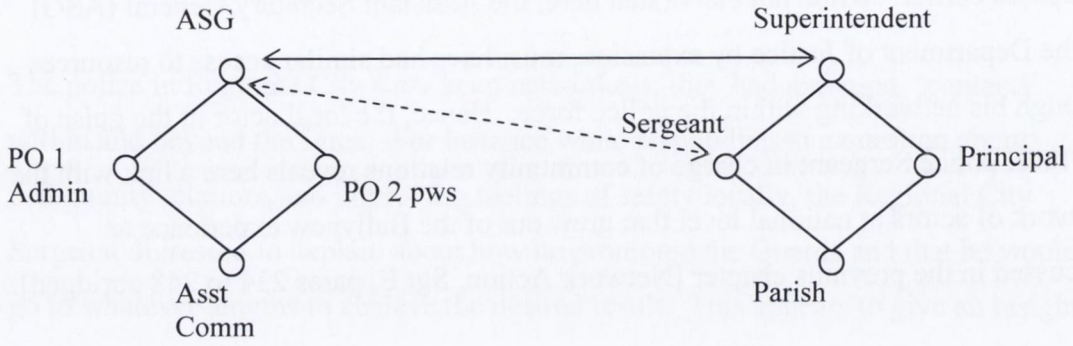
could be found, and if necessary, rigidities in the police institutional hierarchy could be overcome. This was perhaps driven by the urgency of the visibility strategy as discussed earlier. While not elaborated here, the Assistant Secretary General (ASG) of the Department of Justice by extension, must have had similar access to resources through his networking within the police force. Hence, the local actor in the guise of the local police Sergeant in charge of community relations reveals here a link with the network of actors at national level that grew out of the Ballynew experience as discussed in the previous chapter [Network Action, Sgt E, paras 234 to 248 abridged].

[Speaking of ASG]

> He's the kind of guy that you got onto if you got into a bit of red tape you know, you can talk to him and get the thing done you know. Because he in the early stages, now he moved a good few things for me because our Commissioner if you remember, he was our Assistant Commissioner or whatever, he was involved in it like but I think a lot of it was just for his own, you know he comes to this and that but he [background noise obliterates phrase here]. I'd sort of ring ASG, 'I'll get you that', he'd have it straight away. Because he'd just ring him [the Assistant Commissioner]. I got a minibus like that. First minibus (.) just like that [snaps fingers]. And you know.

The initial communication line connected back to ASG, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Justice, as presented in Figure 7.2. While the police superintendent had a connection with him also, it was the Sergeant who communicated with him in order to procure goods. ASG had access to criminal justice actors including contacts in police headquarters. It was the Department that made the initial contact about setting up a project in Regional City in 1994 and so the Sergeant had established a relationship before his superior, the Superintendent, had been posted there. Thus a local node in the network was formed comprised of the Parish Priest, the Primary School Principal and the Garda Sergeant. A staff member from the youth service also became part of this but left soon after. Hence the actors in this local node were middle ranking state and quasi-state officials (police Sergeant, school principal) and clerics (parish priest, curate).

Figure 7.2: *The Emmetstown (Regional City) Network*



They set in train a company limited by guarantee, the Emmetstown Development Company, and the GSP was managed as a division of this company known as Emmetstown Parish Youth Development Group. The company was joined later by the Garda Superintendent and Inspector [Network Action, Sgt E, paras 270-280].

MB: And when you say Justice came to you it was ASG that approached yourself?
Sgt E: Well through the Superintendent.
MB: And was that Supt E at the time?
Sgt E: No it was [another person]. And eh he asked me to get a few people together and I thought who were good together and there was Fr [parish priest] and [school principal] and myself, Fr [the Curate] and [name] of the Regional City Youth Service. Who else was there, wait 'til I see. There was no one else. I don't know what Inspector was involved in it that time.
MB: The committee was formed out of that?
Sgt E: And after that we set up a registered company to bring down the money. We'd a big meeting about it in Justice in Dublin afterwards to finalise all the bits and pieces and that (Police Sergeant, Regional City).

Apart then from the vertical integration, the horizontal linkage at this node extended into the governance of 'projects' and 'boards' such that the network itself spoked outward into other local organisations where the beneficence or the 'doing' of the network could be reproduced [Network Action, Insp E, paras 393-395].

MB: And do agencies achieve co-ordination between them particularly in relation to the Project or are there gaps or changes that need to be made to make it better?
Insp E: I think that what happened outside there in a sense that somebody from the Project, mainly we'll say [name] the community Guard or with [the co-ordinator], now they are all drafted onto different boards of different projects,

you know and they are all or on management of some scale of all the different projects. So that everybody knows what's happening about the other one and there's nobody trying to better than the other. I mean part of our thing is to assist other projects and we can give finance to them. So I mean for the summer school for the school programme for the summer you might finance the busses or pay the insurance or do something like that and somebody else 'd look after that, there's *networking* going on (Police Inspector, Regional City).

But at the level of practice also the network was involved in a quasi-philanthropic beneficence work and utilised personal and institutional contacts to procure goods necessary to equip the curriculum that was organised. Hence these acts of *doing* by this group of local elite male *doers,* reproduced the actions of the network of national 'doers' and 'fixers' as outlined in Chapter Six. In this context they were de facto the Regional City node of that network by virtue of their connection with ASG who assisted them in their procurement and in the by-passing of bureaucratic rules. In that way it displays the same character and behaviour of the national network (*doing* and procuring). Moreover, it was because it was constituted as a 'parish' youth initiative, and by virtue of the prominence of clerics within it, that it seemed to reinforce the authority and place of the Parish: and, signified the power of the local church to define the boundaries for social development and action.

The Local Node at Ballynew

In Ballynew also, procurement was about achieving a result or the business of 'doing' and while the state provided some pay and non-pay budget, the Garda Sergeant pointed out that the police used their network to add value to the non-pay 'programme' budget. This involved mobilising contacts within a culture of beneficence for 'poor' children. This was then also consistent with the culture of gift giving and indeed 'blackguarding' the private sector, as discussed in the previous chapter [Network Action, Sgt B, paras 115-117].

MB: You were feeling your way as you went along kind of thing?
Sgt B: Feeling our way as we went along. We said right, you know first of all we didn't get fifty thousand, we got a smaller amount. We had to pay [the BRATT co-ordinator] and a small amount of programme money. But it is like everything with the Guards, money with the Guards, you get double the value of it, you get great value out of it. We ring people up and say, 'well hang on,

these are for the kids, we are not paying the full price', you know. When we bring kids away, like well first of all the bus is free, we don't pay for the bus and then when we get other things we ring up and say 'listen you know, we want value for money', you know, 'we've got poor children your getting the money from', you know, 'can you help us out'. And they do, so BRATT can go a hell of a lot further, you know than would normally, I find that from when we're doing things (Police Sergeant, Ballynew).

But this culture of 'doing' and getting a 'result' was based upon the need for *fixing* situations or proactively spotting and solving potential policing problems. Similarly, the police quietly paid for the door in a house to be *fixed*, because the BRATT co-ordinator had a personal relationship with the police Inspector and could achieve that *result*. Ill-feeling towards the police was offset by the way in which the door was quietly paid for; other such goods damaged in the course of a raid were also replaced. The DYS youth worker responsible for BRATT had access to the Inspector and could phone him at home if a police-community relations issue arose. He accounted how he used this in one case where a father whose daughter was missing, subsequently heard of the death of a young woman. When he went to the police station to get more information, he was reportedly ill-treated by the officers. The DYS co-ordinator, on hearing this, responded by contacting the Inspector at his residence in the country. The Inspector was on site within an hour despite being off duty. The DYS youth worker was their 'ear to the ground' and provided a service for the police, often by being their conscience and by fixing local problems [Network action, DYS 3, paras 211-221].

MB: In terms of deciding to do that when you started off first is that something that just landed on you the first day or did it…….?

DYS 3 No it was something that happened, something that developed. Something developed like you know. It was just something that developed. Eh it would have developed maybe from maybe mothers coming down here. Like I remember having a situation once where a woman came down to me and she says 'me front door was kicked in. I am after getting a carpenter up here. I now have the bill what am I going to do with it?'. I says 'I'll tell you what we'll do why don't we go up and see the Inspector'. So I went up to the Inspector and I says 'listen the house was raided em, the front door was kicked in the woman is after paying fifty pound to have it repaired and she says she hasn't got it'. You know. Like 'what's going to happen about this'? So it was through situations like that we decided listen there has to be an easier way, there has to be a better way. So we formed this link

> where em I would approach the Guard or they'd approach me and it stops.

This is the stuff of how order is to be maintained; keeping the lid on any situation that arose that could damage the basis of social order. This is the work of police-community relations and involved the mobilisation of civil actors to provide a bridge into civil society, as argued in Chapter Six. The 'fix' here was to apply a gift as a leveller, to ensure that the police were signified as benign and provident. Here the police might have to continue to break down front doors in the early morning but these could be offset by resolving warrants in advance or paying for the clean-up afterwards. The point here is that this was mediated by a youth worker. The police institution did not have to change and both policies and practices, some of which might have to do with the excessive use of state violence such as stop and search or provoking young people in public, did not have to change. The policing institution remained intact and the practice here was not based upon communicative agency but upon instrumental action.

The Pinevale Project: A Network of Local Managers

Pinevale separated the community relations function from the youth disorder prevention functions and it created a professional management structure to govern relationships between the state agencies and other actors involved. It organised a multi-layered structure for managing the programme and included a management committee (senior decision makers) and an advisory body (practitioners and local community representatives) together with a referral management group (youth worker and the Garda Juvenile Liaison Officer).

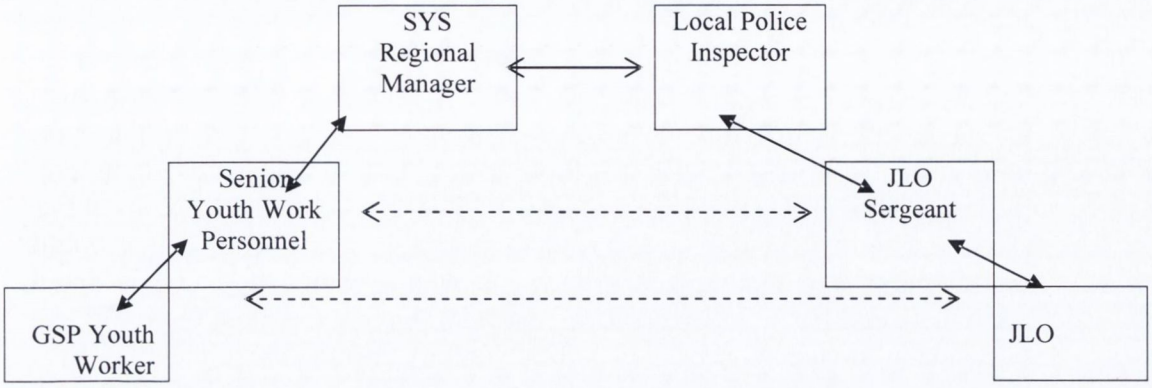
This inter-agency management network came about through the managers' own volition and was not imposed from above. Hence it was a form of meso level governance - an innovation by actors in the hierarchies. The advisory committee was designed into this system by the management network and its role and function conceptualised at the local management level. Hence the network organised its own strata and defined its own domain of governance based upon its own *Weltanschauung* [Network Governance Emerges, Insp P, 72-74].

MB: And at that level like I mean, you see that their responsibility is then around making those types of decisions? But is it also about advising the project in relation to practice and programmes or dealing with issues arising from referrals or what? How do you envisage their role?

Insp P: I kind of see the steering group as a kind of a support group (..) or the advisory committee as a support group. To provide advise and assistance. By their selection (.) for example we'll say schools or community groups and that (..) they are in a position to assist the project (.) em by its advice and assistance. But I think if you merely have sitting down a talking shop (.) and they do not see they have some type or role or some type of authority (.) then that's all it becomes a talking shop. And you are not engaging them in it. And what I would like to see is, I would like to see is how the project would evolve as well is that, we would have (.) okay a management eh group that would meet every two months. That would see how things were working out (..) are there any policy issues that we could be working out at a kind of managerial level. Do you know. Are we satisfied with the course content; are we satisfied with performance of the people involved with the project? You know what I mean? For example, basically are we satisfied that the co-ordinator is doing what he should to be doing? You know, you need something like that. And then that we would then at the advisory committee as time goes on that they'd be in a position the likes of the issue of suspension or that and it would be kind of more a more efficient method of bringing the issues that would we would possibly set the agenda for the advisory committee meeting (..) that there would be proper items on the agenda. And maybe we would have a view on them and then they would ratify them. Its also kind of important because we're interventionist because we deal with three agencies with different people who are at different levels of criminality and also we need to meet regularly and even to thrash out certain things, we'll say 'I'm not happy with the way this was done'(Police Inspector, Pinevale Project area).

The Pinevale Project at LCH network operated on the basis of inter group learning. This was reflected in the Police Inspector's accounts of how he learned from youth workers and how he saw himself involved in a change process within his own organisation. The point of networking was to ensure that personnel had some communication with each other as the basis of influencing the policies and practices of both agencies, albeit at the local level. Hence the basis of a more reflexive governance may have begun here whereby actors managed to create opportunities to learn from each other's predicaments. The Pinevale network form is presented in Figure 7.3 below, where the diagram shows connecting points across the organisations from Regional Manager and Inspector level down.

Figure 7.3: *Pinevale Network*



This network had a different form: it was freed from both the externalities of the visibility strategy and of the beneficence of the other networks discussed. While some officers may have found this disconcerting, it was because the Inspector had been persuaded by a resilient youth service that the focus of engagement should be on the basis of professional management of a programme with actual offenders. It was not a node in a national network. Rather it was cast as being the exception rather than the exemplar and a special description had to be included in the Headquarters Circular. This reflexive, self-organising form of governance could not then be officially replicated elsewhere.

Youth, Policing and Discourse Ethics

Net-widening and Closure

The police liking for primary and secondary preventive actions is a complicating factor to achieving a discursive form of communication between young people and the police. While young people's use of the public sphere created problems of social order in housing estates, the police solution was a commonsense one. This sought to institutionalise young people's autonomous use of the public sphere by taking their congregations "off the streets" as in the case of Ballynew and Regional City. The idea of focusing on a particular group of known offenders appeared to return less capital and institutionalise less young people. In Ballynew the police thought that bringing young people into a drop-in centre at night would enable some discourse

between police and young people to take place [Discursive communication, Sgt B, para 105].

> And so the projects are different. We kind of cast our net out to try and take in all. Now some people might say, maybe it's too big a job to try and bring in all the like all the different clubs that we have that I think they're brilliant you know. That late night drop-in was brought out because the Guards go out on the beat and the first ones they'd meet would be a group of kids, youths at the shops. Straight away there's confrontation, straight away. The Guards would be coming over to them and doing their job and the youths they'd be putting it up to them and sure. So we decided, instead of having them out there we bring them into the centre, out of the way and try and challenge their behaviour. And then try and basically try and get Guards to look upon them as a different light and then they'd look a the Guards as a different light and then they'd look at the Guards in a different light, you know contact. So that's how the late night drop-ins were kind of initiated. But em yeah (…). (Police Sergeant, Ballynew).

But this never materialised in practice as the police were not allowed into the youth centre because on a previous occasion they had decided to serve a warrant on a young man while they were supposed to be attending a meeting set up for the purposes of dialogue. Subsequently the DYS decided that it could not have police officers on the premises.

The predominant means of achieving order in Ballynew was to manage the level of ill-feeling towards the police. This often emerged arising from the way the police handled situations such as raids in particular. The BRATT Project was innovative in the way it selected community representatives from a mandated organisation unlike any other such initiative at the time. A story related by one such representative tells how a policing issue, where a situation appeared to be handled unsatisfactorily, was raised at a committee meeting. The police Inspector, she said, disliked the issue being raised, partly because there were visitors in the room [Discursive comm, Comm B, paras 137-142].

MB: And the response was?
Comm B: Oh well he did in fairness. I don't think he was too happy that I brought it and I was thinking afterwards maybe it was because other people were there but neither did I feel that we were there to make it out that everything that was nicey, nicey, nicey at times, because its

not you know (BRATT Community Association Representative, Ballynew).

Police attitudes to the public in Ballynew were very negative generally. This might have been a consequence of the crisis of police morale that pervaded, as discussed in the previous chapter. At the BRATT Committee, a community representative challenged this issue; the logical extension of this was that the police needed to change their attitudes towards the public. Moreover, the desired orientation of the police was that adopted by those officers assigned to neighbourhood policing duties or community policing. No channel existed for transferring these issues and concerns into a policy making arena within the institutions and the discussion locally went no further than local fixes. The community representative was asked if she thought it was possible to pursue police policy and procedural issues that had a wider import beyond the local situation. The following reveals this institutional lacuna.

MB: Is there something there about all the processes that are going on but does it mean that BRATT provides a forum to influence the procedures and the policies of the Guards?

Comm B: I think it could be. I don't think it is happening you know. I think you know if projects like these are the bringing together of all the organisations well one of things that they should be able to do because they are unique and they are made up of Guards and residents and youth service and the probation service, all the providers in the area, then maybe they need to look at 'well look maybe what are people saying to us in these areas' in relation to em you know things that could be changed if policy going up started to you know (BRATT Community Association Representative, Ballynew).

This is a general rather than a comparative point, because the principal mode of organisation here was through networks. Upward policy communication terminated usually at Inspector level within the police force and so matters to do with general policing could not be transferred into any policy making arena. Any insights gained by local police managers from their operations in the arena of community policing, did not aggregate into general matters of institutional policy. This representative also recounted a story of how a parent of a teenager who needed a form signed (relating to accessing a third level college) by a police officer [Communic Act Poss, Comm B, para 165]:

> I don't know what it was but her son was going to college and a Guard turned 'round and said to her 'there is no point in me signing this sure it's [housing estate], he lives in [housing estate], you know. He says 'sure he'll not go to college'. And the boy has gone to college and has done well. Well if he said that to me I would be absolutely flaming. I'd want him. I'd have him. I mean I just think someone like that shouldn't even be working in Ballynew Garda Station if that's his attitude you know. I could say that I could say 'look that was really wrong' you know and [Inspector] could acknowledge it but it's not, but does it go any further from us though [?] (BRATT Community Association Representative, Ballynew).

Hence face-to-face orientations, attitudes or discriminatory practices of the police towards citizens or any issue for that matter, could not be impacted more widely because the local inputs had no policy basis within the institution. So as a general point, these initiatives represented a form of governance through local power networks comprised of local elites (Emmetstown) or local institutional interests (Ballynew). Essentially, the citizens of the peripheral housing estates, more particularly, the young people, had to do all the changing, not the policing organisation or its practices.

Combined Secondary and Tertiary Prevention and Discourse Ethics: Laying the Basis of Inter-Institutional Dialogue

The Pinevale project promoters, the SYS, were determined that their involvement with the police was going to be in favour of both secondary and tertiary preventive actions. This was the case given that they were already involved in primary prevention through their mainstream youth services. In this regard they argued with the police that the area in which they could work together was in relation to specific individuals who were not benefiting from the youth service because of the challenges posed by their offending. In this context then the approach emerged that recruited offenders known to the police - i.e. they were distinguishable by virtue of their participation in the Juvenile Diversion Programme, in that they received a caution for an offence they had admitted to.

The situation was nuanced in Leevale-Campanile Hill because the question of visibility was not as pronounced. The police were not directly involved in the content of the curriculum. The Garda Inspector was asked in his interview, about how the

community was engaged. In his response he said that the Halloween parade and the Saint Patrick's Day Parade provided a focus on the young people who were asked to participate. These particular young people would ordinarily have been perceived as 'thugs' by the community. However, the content of the curriculum was contentious by the way in which it gave voice to the young people's side of the 'control of horses' debate at the time.[60] The police Inspector appeared to have been accommodative of this 'play acting' by appearing to have an appreciation of the curriculum and the pedagogic components of the pageant. In this regard it appears that there was some learning by the police officer but he remained uncertain as to whether his institution had the same reflexive capacity [Discursive Communication, Insp P paras 129-139]:

> [The Halloween Pageant] was important in the sense that it gave legitimacy to the project. And when you see people in the local community that see five fellas, five young lads that they would think are thugs (..) involved in it. That's how we kind of engaged them. And how we engaged them as well was too was say for example the Saint Paddy's Day Parade. But you have to break them in (.) in gently. You use scenarios like that. And what we did with the Saint Patrick's or with the Halloween parade in particular (..) police in general have a difficulty with Halloween (..) I mean by its nature it's a very disorderly fashion. So what we decided to do was (.) em (.) through [Pinevale youth worker] and that, organise something. Now the co-ordinator got involved and also through the Pinevale Parish Committee, it's important that the various group involved in Wallford, Campanile Hill area. [abridged here] We actually won the Lord Mayor's Award (..) got a trophy for the for the pageant and it was done, that was a good one because it was actually done about the horses [laughs] which was [laughs] we in the police had caught the horses and I'd visions of Garda management saying 'well why are we sponsoring this'? Talking about looking for more horses. And what happen was they gave it to a community art (.) em community art director (…) but they with the youngsters designed the costumes and you had [a fictitious fairy type character]. And you had [this character] trying to chase all of the area and you had Dublin Corporation seizing all the horses (.) and the young lads going around on horses that were unicorns, like the horses of old [abridged here]. (Police Inspector, Pinevale Project).

The police had a limited understanding of the youth work process according to the youth work manager at Pinevale. There was some misunderstanding that the police could apply a mandatory participation requirement as a condition of the police caution. This conflicted with the voluntary nature of youth work process. Thus the

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[60] This is in reference to public discourse in relation to the Control of Horses Act 1996, brought in as a measure to licence horses in urban areas, where the animals posed a threat to, inter alia, traffic flow and public safety.

expectations of the police had to be managed and demands had to be resisted, the SYS manager suggested. A complication of this situation was that he thought the senior police wanted it to be successful and hence were in favour of selecting less well known offenders. But visibility was always in the background and the police had to be managed in relation to this, the SYS manager suggested. He implied that they resisted by being 'tough' and by inventing devices that ensured that the arrangements could not be changed at the whim of the police. Change could only come about through discussion between the parties periodically so that the police did not have an immediate veto. The field of communication between parties was thus set by the youth service as an active resistance to the expectations and demands of the police. This delimitation is a form of resistance on the one hand but a device that could have been utilised for dealing with other institutions such as the Church. However, it does appear that this level of resistance was a prerequisite for the creation of a discursive loop, whereby inter-communication and understanding between institutional agents would eventually deliver outcomes for young people locally [Discursive Communication, SYS 1 paras 88 to 100]:

> Like from our point of view we were kind of trying to be very tough about how we dealt with things (…) saying look they were the customers ah and yes but they only had an opportunity to change things every so often. They couldn't be kind of walking in and changing things on a daily basis. We did have a contract with them and I'll give you a copy of that. But we did have a copy of that. You know I felt personally that people like the Inspector and people like the JLO Sergeant understood all of that but we have a problem staff to staff. Because people go of and do their own thing without saying what they agreed they would. But I think that's something that can be resolved over time. You know I didn't see that as a huge problem in fact of when you think of people naturally people say naturally why they become Guards or why they become youth workers they're coming perhaps coming from very different ethoses [sic] anyway so it was always going to. I mean we would have the same difficulty when you come to clergy who are involved in youth work. There is a whole series of different difficulties there. Do you know what I mean. And when we are about how people are about going about their business and what they are trying to achieve you know (SYS Youth Work Manager, Pinevale Project area).

In this scenario the police had the opportunity to be reflexive because they could learn from the youth service about the nature of voluntary participation and ultimately to develop an appreciation of the position of young people in society. The youth service could have benefited because it was perceived that working closer with the police

would give professional youth workers access to the police and put youth workers in a position to advocate on a young person's behalf if required [Communic Act Poss, SYS 1 , paras 234-242]. But the police were happy with what they achieved in normalising themselves with young people through the demand that had been created by the SYS for the programme, and moreover, that young people were prepared to accept the legitimacy of the project by naming it the "JLO Club"! [communic act poss, SYS 2, paras 175-196]

MB: Now in terms of it being a crime prevention thing? Now I know you specifically state that you are not about "crime prevention" and that you don't engage in specific crime prevention activities but that can people make a link between what you are doing and [crime prevention].

SYS 2: Yeah. I think (.) the club is know, or the project is known in the area as the "JLO club" (.) that's what they call it. They don't call it the "Pinevale Programme" or they call it "The Pinevale".

MB: "The JLO Club"?

SYS 2: "The JLO Club", that's what it's called. 'Can I join "The JLO Club" mister'?

MB: The kids know it as that, would their parents know it as that as well?

SYS 2: The parents know it as that as well and the teachers know it as that. So there's that link. But I mean I think the amount of people that would know that it's an SYS administered programme, funded by the Guards, this kind of thing, no.

MB: That's not what they are talking about yeah.

SYS 2 : But the thing is that people would know it in the area I mean.

MB: But being known as the JLO club is somehow to connect back to the Gardai?

SYS2: It does yeah.

MB: That's what I'm asking.

SYS 2: It does yeah.

Given that it has been argued here that at Ballynew, the DYS operated a form of panoptic network governance with the police, and similarly in Emmetstown, the only possibility for discursive communication in the settings studied, appeared to present itself at Pinevale.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the nature of the variations in the three local youth crime and disorder initiatives studied. The Regional City project was characterised by its primary preventive / net-widening as part of its efforts to institutionalise young people. It adopted a recreational and character building curriculum and was organised by a local elite network that was connected as a node to a wider network of national and regional actors. Similarly, Ballynew, was connected to this network as discussed in the previous chapter. It too sought to institutionalise young people within its pedagogic agency and by virtue of its performance of quasi-policing functions; it has been described here, along with Regional City, as extending a regulating, panoptic gaze across its operational area. Both Regional City and Ballynew demonstrate a similarity by virtue of their position as purveyors of symbolic power for the police. In these two settings, the youth crime and disorder prevention projects acted as intermediaries for the transfer of social and cultural capital to the police. In addition, young people were incorporated in their wide 'nets', placing them both within a social panoptic and under a set of pedagogic relations that enabled youth providers to define the reality. These characteristics have been summarised in Figure 7.3 below.

The exception to this the Pinevale project which while co-operating and cohering with the police on a number of issues, stood firm on its own identity. Moreover, it eschewed the net-widening tendency of the police visibility strategy by its resistance. Instead it opted for a pedagogy based upon a form of social apprenticeship with young people; this was based upon a qualitative principle of 'giving time' to young people and a firm belief in their intrinsic value and their right to expression in the public sphere. It provided the potential for a model of communicative agency but it was marginal within the community relations policies of the Irish police force.

As both Ballynew and Emmetstown were integrated with the Garda community relations strategy of promoting police visibility, they were involved, as argued in Chapter Six, in the production of symbolic capital for the police. Thus they became part of reproducing relations of power and domination by controlling and determining the rules of the game and in the defining of reality. The game in Ballynew was constituted in this sense by a form of symbolic violence implicit in the way in which

language and descriptions of the situation were closed into binaries predetermined as cause and effect. The framing of reality then was not discursive but pre-ordained and fixed. In Emmetstown, the game played was to uphold the moral pillars of community and to incorporate young people into a panoptic gaze in the form of large scale and muscular activities under the joint banner of the Parish and the Police.

Figure 7.3: *Thematic Summary of Three Sites*

		Emmetstown	***Ballynew***	***Pinevale***
Motivations	*(a)Police*	Visibility and neutralising youth congregations	Visibility, offsetting disorder and maintaining order	Increase referral options for clients; Personal ambitions of Inspector
	(b)Youth Service / other civil society partner	Building 'moral pillars' of the community; Strengthening the moral authority of the Parish	Community building; hegemony on development; increase own resources	Secondary and tertiary prevention with excluded and marginal youth
Curriculum		Physical, large scale recreational and youth clubs "draining energies"	Large scale Recreational and small group activities; proliferation of youth clubs	Small groups, life projects and community wide participation in arts and culture
Pedagogy		Moralisation Incorporation ["pocketing"]; Aesthetic struggle	Moralisation; attitudinal adaptation; self-control – "behaviour" vs. "suffering" binary	Social protection; social citizenship; 'Giving Time' to young people
Network Form		Procurement and Gifting;	Procurement and Gifting; 'Doing and Fixing'	Reflexive Professional
Possibility for Discursive or Reflexive Modes of Governance?		No: Social-Panoptic	No: Social-Panoptic	Yes: Some capacity to create dialogue

In these two instances, networks were firmly connected with national actors within the justice system who acted to act as procurement agents for a practice of gift giving. Thus the urban periphery was denied an institutionalised youth service qua education and welfare, and was instead incorporated into a system of gift relations, mediated

through networks. In this sense, the analysis presented in this chapter strengthens the argument that youth services, community interests and the state were involved in the mutual flow of capital between them in order to accrue sufficient cultural capital for the police and hence to enhance their legitimate power.

This chapter also strengthens the analysis presented in relation to the institutional habitus of the organisations involved at the local level. The habitus is revealed in what it is that the agent seeks to impart in the form of both curriculum and pedagogy. As noted in Chapter Six, the police and the state most preferred the DYS model operated at Ballynew: its habitus, its orientations and actions were those defining the field. Data presented here has further explored this issue by revealing the habitus guiding policy and practice in three locales.

The DYS model reveals its moral character given its pedagogical focus on confronting young people in relation to how the area appears to outsiders in a moralising and responsibilising manner. This is disguised in the term 'raising consciousness' which for the DYS means the provision of a moral framework. Similarly, the emphasis at Emmetstown was the moral pillarisation of the community: taken together with its bio-politics of 'draining the energies' of young people, its habitus is revealed as one stressing conformity and adherence to moral guidance of the local parish. Both the DYS and the GYDP at Emmetstown appear to promote the authority of the church by the way in which they operate within diocesan and parish structures. Furthermore they both are shown to be integrated into the wider practice of procurement, brokerage and gifting as outlined in Chapter Six.

The SYS habitus can be shown to operate at three levels. At an institutional level, the emphasis upon civic participation skills is consistent with the organisation's history of practical and social skills development under the auspices of the local educational organisation and the municipal institution of which it is part. At a meso level, its regional management at LCH were seen to be setting out a set of institutional boundaries on co-operation with the police based upon its own identity: principally this surrounds its desire to focus strictly within its emphasis on relationship building with young people based upon qualitative over quantitative principles. Finally at micro level, it is revealed that practice is both consistent with these principles and

runs together with the individual habitus of practitioners. Thus the institutional emphasis upon participative skills integrates with the GYDP co-ordinator's individual habitus that structures a practice based upon 'giving time' to young people in a form of *social apprenticeship*.

Such a concept remains elusive and would need to be more fully researched to bring its promise for youth crime prevention curriculum. For the present, this practice appears to be based upon preparing young people for a role in civic and social life by enhancing participation skills, including the broadening of social networks and the fostering of associational principles through community arts and media together with the fostering and supporting of locally practiced hobbies (e.g. fishing, soccer). In addition it builds both 'bonding social capital' (see Coleman, 1988) through encouraging attachments to relationships in the neighbourhood but also through building 'bridging social capital' by encouraging the developments of social networks beyond the local context.

Chapter Eight Power and Governance in Fairgreen South

Introduction

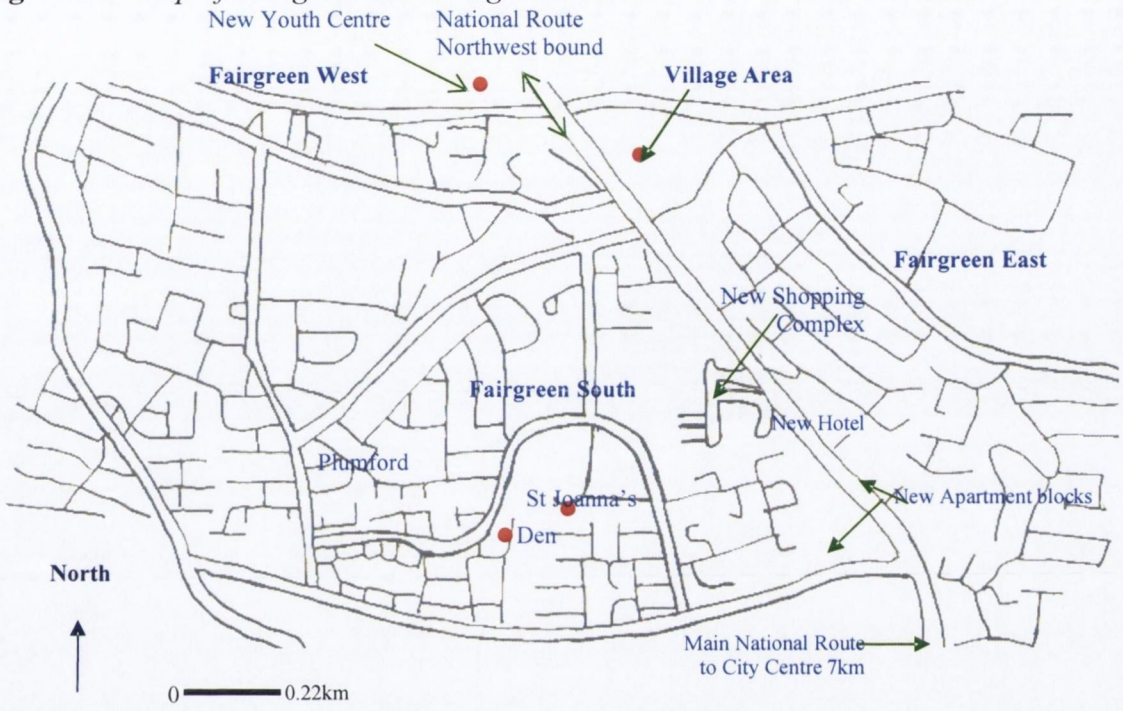
This chapter presents a case study based upon participant observation fieldwork at a Garda Youth Diversion Project (GYDP) at Fairgreen South. The study sought to observe the interactions between frontline youth workers deployed in GSPs / GYDPs and young people who participate in them. The purpose of the study therefore was to get close to the delivery of curriculum and to observe the pedagogic relations involved. The case study presented here and that presented in Chapter Nine, examine in some detail the micro level relations in youth crime and disorder prevention. In this sense the participant observation studies provide a vantage point from which to develop an understanding of the flow of social and cultural capital and how the relational field is constituted at this level.

Overview of Fairgreen South

Fairgreen is situated within Dublin city municipal boundary bordering with the Fingal area of County Dublin. It is a divided area physically and socially; Fairgreen East is comprised of predominately older housing stock and has a high concentration of skilled manual workers. Fairgreen West is similar in profile to 'the East' except it is physically cut off from it by a dual carriageway national route, a major transportation corridor to the growing commuting suburbs and to the north west region of the country. Fairgreen South is the most recently built with most of the housing stock dating from the 1970s and 1980s. Over time, much of the housing in 'the South' has been purchased by tenants and in the 2002, only 17% of housing stock was enumerated as local authority rented (CSO, 2003). Fairgreen East blends into the wealthier inner middle class suburbs and shares many local amenities such as shops and schools with middle class areas. Fairgreen South is connected to the shopping and other facilities in 'The Village' by two main routes. In many respects, it is cut off from such amenities by the dual carriageway that divides Fairgreen (see Figure 8.1).

Housing in 'the West' was constructed mostly in the 1950s and 1960s and has since matured substantially in contrast with 'the South'.

Figure 8.1: *Map of Fairgreen and Fairgreen South*

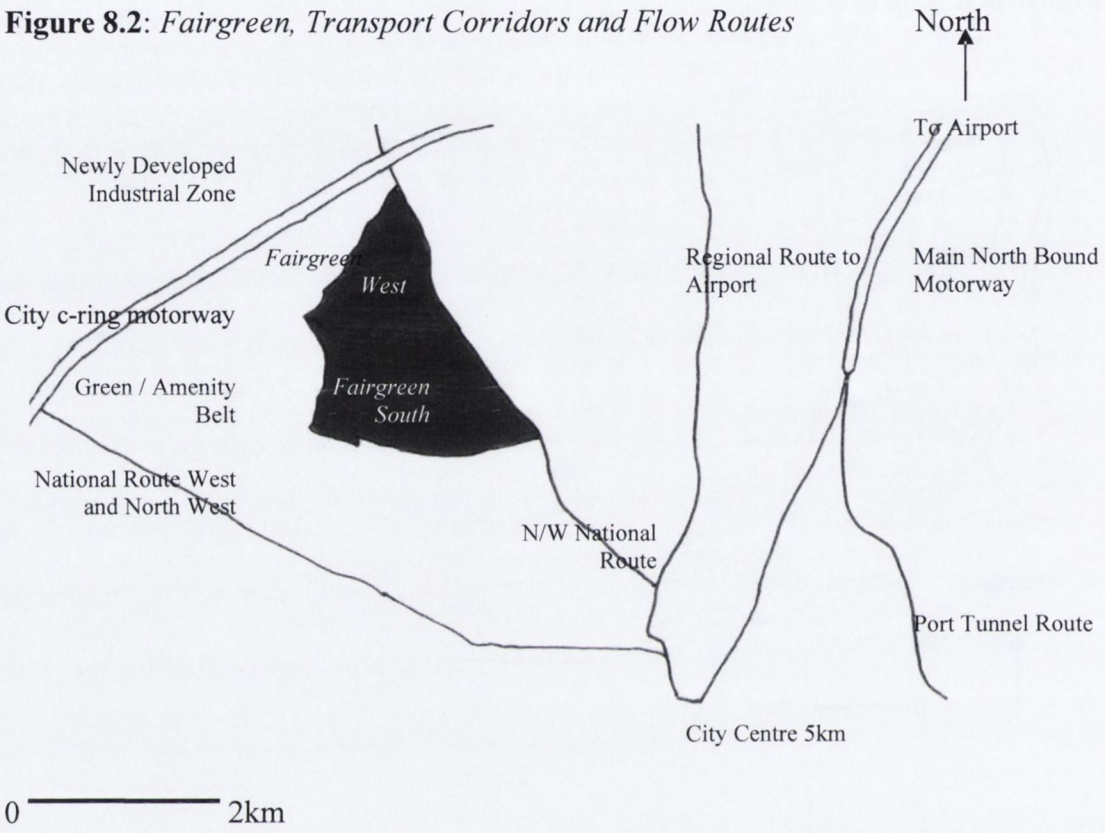


Fairgreen South had a population of 11,000 persons in the 2006 Census, however this is not contiguous with what is commonly known as 'the South' which constitutes the newer and poorer housing estates at the southern edge of Fairgreen. 'The South' had a population of 7,000 persons in 2006. In 2002, approximately 22% of households were headed by a lone parent; enumerated unemployment at 8.5% was twice the national average; and, 40% of the population of 'the South' had left school by age 15 (Central Statistics Office, 2003, 2007).

Like most Dublin suburbs, Fairgreen was built upon land once used for pastoral agriculture that supplied the local pre-mechanised dairy industry. The area was once dotted with small local dairies and from the 1960s to the mid 1990s had a concentration of industry based upon both milk processing and baking. Most of these industries have since been restructured or closed completely. A large supermarket and retail centre has been built on the site of a clothing factory that closed in the early 1980s and the place renamed. The dairy which was once one of the largest employers of semi-skilled labour has been cleared and a new apartment complex built in its

stead. St Joanna's Resource Centre, now a community facility in Fairgreen South, was once the family home of one of the most active dairies in North Dublin.

Figure 8.2: *Fairgreen, Transport Corridors and Flow Routes*



The West and South are bound by national-arterial or regional-circular road routes. In the last two years, the national road route through Fairgreen has been transformed by new property developments that now front onto it. This road is an access route to the airport and a new hotel and restaurant was opened in 2005. The hotel and new apartments along the route turn their backs to Fairgreen South and they now front onto one of the main north bound corridors (see Figure 8.2). The new apartments that were under construction in mid 2005 had adopted a place name coined with reference to a nearby middle class suburb thus suggesting a process of place-remaking involving the manufacture of middle-class prestige. To the west and north of Fairgreen lie the new industrial estates that house major ICT and pharmaceutical companies that form part of and are interconnected with the global economy. A short drive down the c-ring motor way brings you the largest regional retail and leisure complex in Ireland. In one way or another, Fairgreen South (in particular) is bound

by flows to the extent that it is peripheral to both the informational economy and to commuting flows of skilled and professional labour that feed Irish capital.

Images of Fairgreen



New apartment blocks buttress Fairgreen South, screening it from view of passing traffic on the National Route (right) between Dublin and the northwest region of the country.



A walkway near Plumford estate with housing in the background.



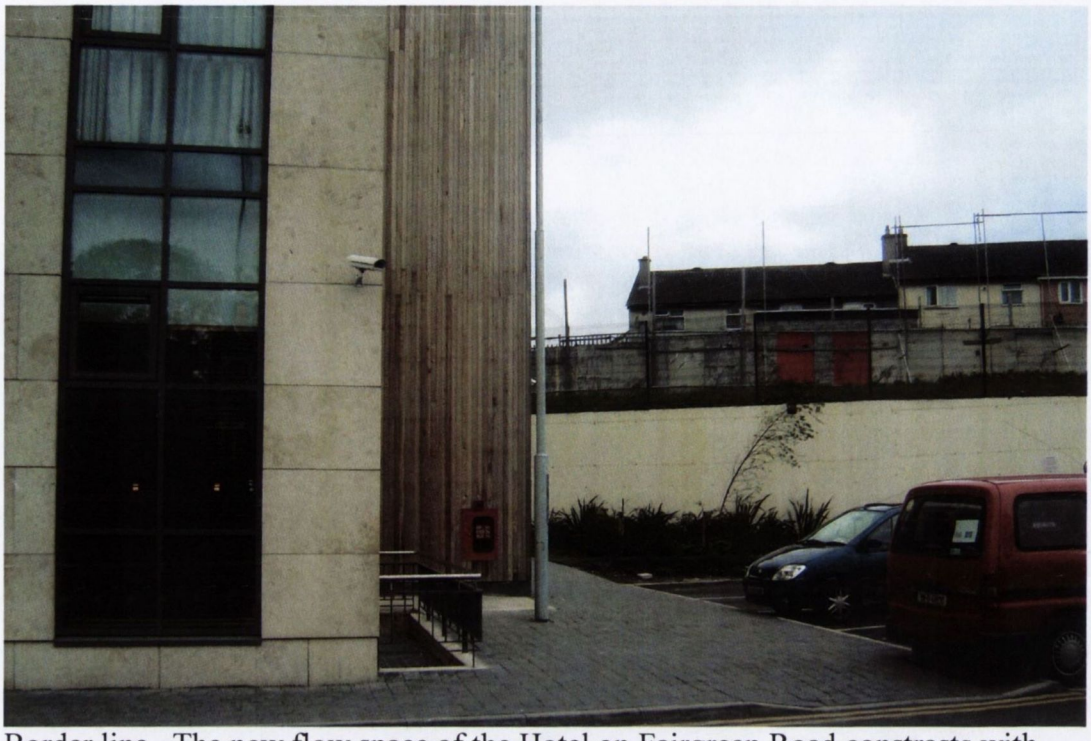
A contrasting walkway, through the new apartments at Fairgreen Road.



The 'Den', a deserted scouting den at Fairgreen South. The fencing in the foreground was installed to keep horses from grazing on the green areas.



The front of the New Youth Centre which is incorporated into a sports complex and swimming pool, and municipal offices.



Border line. The new flow space of the Hotel on Fairgreen Road constrasts with Fairgreen South behind a perimeter wall and fencing in the background.

Entry to Fairgreen and the Fairgreen South Garda Youth Diversion Project (FSGYDP)

Fairgreen has been the subject of much media coverage, both print and broadcast, in relation to crime and disorder over two decades. It was the subject of an RTE Today Tonight documentary in the early 1980s and has more recently been the focus for attention over some high profile homicides.

The Fairgreen South Garda Youth Diversion Project began in 1998 as the fourteenth such initiative to be developed upon the BRATT model at Ballynew. Chapter Six deals with the conflict over its establishment. This was related to an inter-institutional conflict between a diocesan / regional institution (DYS) and a municipal / secular body confined to the Dublin city boundary (SYS). The allocation of a GSP / GYDP in 1998 threw a lifeline to the DYS as it had earlier lost a contract to operate a regional youth service (Fairgreen Youth Service), for which the main sponsor was the SYS. The GYDP funding from the Department of Justice via An Garda Síochána enabled the DYS to maintain a presence in Fairgreen South.

The FSGYDP has two youth workers employed by the DYS. Ultimately they are accountable to the head of youth work services at the DYS head office. The two youth workers are Geoff, originally local from Fairgreen West who now lives outside Dublin and commutes daily to Fairgreen; and, Anna who is also local but now also commutes from an adjacent county, northwest of Fairgreen (see Figure 8.3 below).

Figure 8.3: *Key Informants at Fairgreen South*

Informant	
Geoff	Youth worker with the DYS assigned to the Fairgreen South Garda Youth Divesion Project.
Anna	Geoff's co-worker.
Alice	A co-worker who provided cover as all staff had to work in mixed gender pairs as part of the DYS's child protection policy.
Agnes	Geoff and Anna's acting line manager. The permanent line manager was on extended sick leave during the fieldwork.

My initial contact with Fairgreen was enabled through discussions with the DYS through their main office in Dublin City Centre. It was then open for me to contact the staff at Fairgreen South. There was a long period (eight months) leading to the subsequent entry to the field. Initially both staff were on leave; Anna for maternity leave and Geoff for study. The period negotiating and leading up to entry was protracted owing in part to a funding crisis experienced by the host organisation. This resulted from a four percent budget cut; consequently the initiative did not resume normal programmes for a period of six months.[61] The staggered nature of the field scenario meant that subsequent entry was divided into two modules.

Module 1 provided initial access to scope out the scene and to meet with some key actors including some young people. In this period (May-June 2004), initial familiarity with the FSGYDP was achieved, primarily by becoming acquainted with the two youth diversion workers, Geoff and Anna. In this period, I also encountered Ron, a young person to whom the frontline workers gave considerable attention. After a period of time they lost contact with him and the group to which he was attached was suspended. Consequently, the process of entry became frustrated after which it took six months to return fully. In the interregnum, fieldwork at Pinevale

[61] The four percent budget cut was a direct result of a number of savings required of the Department of Justice in order to fund a number of policing and security operations during 2004. The first of these was for the funding of police overtime for an intense policing drive which targeted 'criminal gangs' operating in working class peripheral suburbs in Dublin. The second was the Dublin Summit held at Farmleigh in the summer of 2004. The third was the operation mounted for the visit to Ireland of President George W. Bush. This was confirmed to me in an informal communication with a senior official in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform on 16th December 2004. The intense policing drive subsequently transmogrified into 'Operation Anvil', which was focused upon using armed plain-clothes to support uniformed mobile and foot patrols in the city, and under which some areas were marked out for 'additional attention' (http://www.garda.ie/angarda/press/2005/p17may2005.html)

proceeded while I maintained some contact with Anna and Geoff at Fairgreen South, meeting them on occasion for coffee and having telephone conversations. During this time we agreed a number of start dates that were subsequently aborted because the funding and the building did not materialise. My return to Fairgreen on any regular basis recommenced in January 2005 when my point of access was filtered through a group of 16 and 17 year old young men known to the FSGYDP as 'the Plumford Boys'. So *Module 2* provided a different vantage point that continued until June 2005.

Success, Failure and Discipline: The Story of Harry and Ron (Module 1).

Harry and Ron are brothers. At the time, Harry had just passed eighteen and Ron was twelve. I never met Harry but Geoff spoke about him quite a lot. I did meet Ron on my first day in Fairgreen. Harry was always referred to as 'a success':

> Earlier as we had walked toward the building Geoff had remarked: "we were just talking to one of our successes. We worked with him for four years". Anna said "he has just got into the army and he is delighted". She went on: "one of the lads coming this evening is his brother who is only 12 and he will take the same length of time" [Harry's Success, FSGYDP 01 para 15].[62]

The image had been painted of Ron that he was now as Harry had been at aged 12 but that Harry had grown up and joined the Army. Harry's name and the narrative about him would recur in conversation between Geoff and myself: Geoff always spoke about how Harry became the model case history. In this sense he was constructed as a representation of *the product*. This seemed to suggest that the definition of success was that which ended in an institutional result; where an individual had matured to the point whereby they could enter the institutionalised adult world. If not the labour market, then the army was an acceptable alternative as a legitimate end product or as a signifier for successful mediated or assisted entry to adulthood. But it was this experience as *product* that became converted into a benchmark or template against which all future transitions would be measured.

Geoff's plan for Ron, Harry's brother, was to do the same as he had done with Harry. So too for every other young person, the choice of curriculum was based upon the

[62] NVivo data addresses included for all fieldnote data in this and the following chapter.

path set out by Harry. For instance, while I was accompanying Geoff with some participants on a camping trip, he suggested , that the whole idea was based upon a similar exercise he had done with Harry and he was now replicating this with the Plumford Boys. They were, registered to undertake the trip just like Harry, as part of the President's Award Scheme where they had to achieve targets in order to receive bronze, silver or gold medals. Harry received a bronze medal: he was the only recipient from the area and from the Garda Youth Diversion Project but a ceremony was held to honour his achievement that was attended by an official from the President's Award Scheme and by senior police officers. In this context an exaggerated sense of celebration was created by Geoff for Harry as if to elevate his status to that of a symbol of passage from which others would make their mark. Harry was in Geoff's understanding, the template for all further action and the touchstone for achievement, *process* and *product*. He was the veritable *zeitgeist* of the FSGYDP; the one who gave meaning and value to whatever Geoff and Anna did and gave them a reason to pursue their work. But his story is one of conformity and integration, of success and not failure. This veneration of Harry and the glorification of the route taken by him became significant as the field encounters proceeded.

The Plumford Boys (Module 2)

On completion of the fieldwork at the Pinevale Project at LCH (see Chapter Nine) a second module at Fairgreen South commenced by being assigned to assist Geoff with a group he had had contact with for a year. While the Project staff referred to them as 'the Plumford Boys', the boys themselves never used this title to describe themselves. Arguably they were patronised by this title given that they were all well on their way to being young men.[63] The Plumford Boys group was comprised of a core of six members, all of whom were aged either 17 or 18 years as described in Figure 8.4.

[63] I have adopted this name for descriptive and practical purposes, and might well be accused of infantilising them myself. I use the name discursively here (with some caution) to reflect the relations in the field.

Figure 8.4: *The Plumford Boys*

Steve	Steve was, by far the leader of the group. Geoff went to Steve if he wanted to effect change in the group or to persuade the group to shift in any direction. Steve wanted to work as a blacksmith and was a keen soccer player.
Jimbo	Jimbo was an apprentice plumber. He was by far the most challenging and complex member of the Plumford Boys. He was an only child and lived alone with his mother.
Sonnie	The most academic and pro-social member of the group. Sonnie was still at school and was studying for the Leaving Certificate during the fieldwork. He had his sights set on a career in information technology.
Wally	Geoff described Wally as being short tempered and the most deviant member of the group. His influence on the core of the group was weak.
Tom	Tom was still at school at the time of the fieldwork. He was quieter than most except when he was part of the audience for Jimbo. He was close to Sonnie and came with Sonnie, Geoff and myself on a camping trip.
Treanor	Treanor was less interactive than some of the others but was linked to a wider group of peripheral members of the Plumford Boys.
Others	Micko, Fuzzy, Perry and Willie were peripheral members.

My first encounter with the Plumford Boys was when they visited the New Youth Centre (NYC) in Fairgreen Village in January 2005. Plumford is a housing estate in Fairgreen South and to get there the boys had to make a 15 minute walk. The NYC is located adjacent to Fairgreen village. There is no youth centre in Plumford estate itself; Geoff was trying to open the abandoned Scouts' Den ('the Den') as a way of providing a more proximate location to organise activities for young people in Fairgreen South.

Encounters with the Plumford Boys proceeded on most times that Geoff met them as a group, over a period of four months. He could only meet them sporadically because he had no physical base. While my intention was to spend an intensive period of four to six weeks there, the funding crisis that the project experienced made it impossible to work that way. Hence the fieldwork was staggered and sporadic in nature as I responded to phone calls from Geoff for assistance.

Continuity, Institutional Lineage and Territorial Conflict

A risk borne in undertaking this particular research was always that the interview data gathered in 1998 and 1999 would not be historically contiguous with participant observation carried out in 2004 and 2005. However, from the very outset of entry to

the field in Fairgreen, it became clear that the lines of continuity were linked in a number of ways. The first of these was through individual actors who occupied institutional roles in the DYS both on a regional level and at Ballynew at the end of the 1990s, and who were still in the same or related roles several years later. The main DYS manager responsible for youth services in Fairgreen in 2004-5 was the same person responsible in Ballynew in 1991 and 1998/9. This manager (DYS 1) was interviewed in 1998 and was part of the informal network of actors as outlined in the Chapter Six.[64]

Geoff drew this line of continuity when he pointed out that he wanted to model his practice on those youth workers who worked for the DYS at Ballynew. But he also noted that this practice was based upon the power of information that DYS local manager at Ballynew had accrued over several years as a youth worker at Ballynew. This very information formed the basis of the institutional power of the DYS in Ballynew and was the basis of their domination of the public sphere in that context [continuity of actors 91-05, FSGYDP 01,para 35]. Hence, the DYS at Fairgreen South were involved in a struggle to establish their position in the range of community institutions at Fairgreen.

Another key Ballynew actor, the co-ordinator of the BRATT Project, was also noted for continuity and certainty. Anna later said that he had spent so long working there that 'he will be carried out in a box'. Another key actor was the external mentor designated by the DYS to support both Geoff and Anna. This external facilitator once worked in at Ballynew; he too provided a temporal and spatial link between Ballynew and Fairgreen. Geoff had been encouraged by these actors to undertake a particular course in Social Care and he held them in high regard for having done that [continuity of actors, FSGYDP 10, paras 50-53].

The actors were connected historically through their institutional lineage. In this way, the research is based upon data that joins the contemporary field of youth crime and disorder prevention across time and space through the continuity of actors. For the purposes of this research, Geoff in particular embodied that link. His own biography

[64] She also gave me permission to consult local staff in relation to access in any area that DYS had activities.

intertwined with that of the DYS and with actors who had their institutional biographies connected to the organisation. This institutional connection was made clear to me in a conversation with Geoff coming to the end of the fieldwork. Geoff revealed that he had had a personal tragedy and that the DYS manager, the local manager and his co-worker at Ballynew were supportive of him. They facilitated him to come back to the country by encouraging him to apply for a staff vacancy in the DYS for which he applied and was duly appointed:

[Geoff] We hadn't dealt well with the death of our daughter and we realised that we shouldn't have gone away. We were back at the Christmas and I went to [a colleague's father's] funeral and [DYS Manager] and [DYS Ballynew staff] were there and they said to me 'look, there's a job coming up in the Project in Fairgreen; we think we should go for it'. The job was basically mine and I got it and started. They were very good to me you know and they looked after me. And since then they have encouraged me to do my course and move onwards".

[Matt] "Geoff, I didn't know about that. It must have been a bit tough for you".

[Geoff] "It was and I have them to thank. We have two girls now and they are great" [Geoff's institutional biography, FSGYDP 10, paras 61 to 69, and TN at para 103].

The second way in which there was continuity across both time and space was the ongoing institutional conflict between the DYS and the SYS. In interviews (see Chapter Six) this revealed itself in relation to the setting up of the project that Geoff and Anna were now working for. In this context, they became part of a historic conflict over urban governance between the DYS and the SYS. Utterances by Geoff, Anna and their manager Agnes gave contemporary meaning to this conflict.

The first sense of this emerged when I accompanied Geoff and the Plumford Boys to their first outing to the New Youth Centre. The NYC was essentially set up as an independent entity by the SYS in an attempt to rationalise youth services in the area. The SYS merged *its* youth project in Fairgreen South with this new independent entity which acted as a sort of central hub for services in the entire Fairgreen area. A reaction to this by the DYS was to develop their own physical base in 'the South' using 'the Den'. Anna was concerned that this might discourage the Plumford Boys and others from utilising services outside the area. When Geoff and I met that evening at the NYC, his first comment to me ended in a jibe at the NYC: [Matt]

"Some place this what". [Geoff] "Some amount of money gone in here. Too much" [DYS digs at NYC, FSGYDP 04, para 14]. There then followed a noticeable series of jibes came from Geoff at other times during the same evening, like when we were on our way to another part of the building:

> We moved out and upstairs. On the way up the stairs Geoff and I spoke. [Matt] "Some place what. There are a lot of doors". [Geoff] "But the room they should have open, the plant room, they don't let people into it". [DYS digs at NYC, FSGYDP 04, para. 14].

This pattern of jibing at the NYC continued throughout my time at Fairgreen South. It became clear that this was not just Geoff's frustrations with the NYC but that of his organisations ongoing conflict with the SYS. As I arrived for the football match between the Plumford Boys and the police, it became clear that others in the organisation similarly poked jibes at the New Youth Centre Development:

[Anna]	You got here anyway. Matt this is Agnes my boss. [Agnes and I shook hands] This is the fella I was telling you about that Geoff and myself went to meet for when we were doing our research".
[Agnes]	"Oh I see".
[Matt]	"I had trouble getting parking there's loads of cars about. This place seems very busy any evening that I have come here".
[Agnes]	"It must be the City Council offices there that has the place so busy with cars because there's no one in the New Youth Centre".
[Matt]	"A few nights I have been here and it seems as if there are a lot of football teams arriving for training".
[Agnes]	"That must be it so" [DYS digs at NYC, FSGYDP 04, paras 6-13].

Agnes had made up her mind that the lack of parking available must have been for another reason other than people attending or visiting the NYC. The swell of cars seemed to me to be the result of lots of soccer teams arriving for training at the Fairgreen Leisure Centre. Equally, most of the young people using the NYC would not normally be of driving age so they would not be car owners. Hence the jibe was based upon a strongly held opinion, prejudicially reinforced by her comments.

The DYS in Fairgreen has styled itself as the 'Fairgreen Youth Service'. This goes back to a period where the SYS as a body with a statutory function, contracted out services to other organisations such as the DYS. But the SYS shifted from this policy in the mid 1990s. The DYS kept its office in Fairgreen and the title of 'Fairgreen

Youth Service' despite an absence of any statutory provision for it to act as a territorial governing body. Taken together the series of jibes revealed an institutional will for the NYC to fail. Should the NYC be a success it would undermine the institutional power of the DYS. As already discussed, there was an ongoing struggle between the DYS and the SYS. This manifested itself over spatial boundary issues: what was and remained at stake here had to do with the question of urban governance, as previously discussed in Chapter Six. In this context, Fairgreen was a critical strategic site for the DYS; a veritable last stand.

Curriculum Driven or Dialogue Driven?

The purpose of undertaking participant observation fieldwork was to explore the nature of the youth crime and disorder prevention curriculum. The starting assumption here was that if states mobilise crime prevention to moralise, regulate and govern, then some systematic investigation of whether these processes exist was necessary. Some writers, most specifically, those of the neo-Foucauldian school (Rose and Miller 1992; Rose 1999; 2001) assume that governing involves the mobilisation of subtle processes of self-regulation and hence are part of an 'etho-politics'. Thus, at some point, values and beliefs held by governors must exchange at some point with the governed. Thinking about this another way, the relations of power between actors might well be explained as relationships of subordination and domination by virtue of the pedagogic action of mediators for the dominant class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The 'reproduction theory' implied in this research follows a similar path to that set by Paul Willis's (1977) classic study of working class kids and how they get working class jobs. He pointed out that the process of self-induction into the labour process 'constitutes an aspect of the regeneration of working class culture in general and an important example of how this culture is related in complex ways to regulative state institutions'. Such institutions, he suggested reproduced social relations but also reproduced 'the social conditions for a certain kind of production' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:3).

This research works from the assumption that some process of 'conversion' must take place as thoughts, messages and ideas are decoded and transmitted by actors in 'state regulative institutions' or civil society organisations driving a persuasion or

inducement process. My intention therefore was to examine the nature of such a process, if indeed one existed.

While identifying the nature of curriculum, the research also sought to identify the basis of dialogue between actors. Presumably, the mobilisation of youth workers to deal with crime and disorder prevention have some level of interaction that itself can be observed. Moreover, it was assumed that if there is some form of persuasion or inducement then there would be a verbalised exchange between the actors whereby the young people's exposure to a discourse might be revealed. Two key sensitising concepts then were used to aid this exploration: *curriculum* (as concrete activities or physical programme) and *conversation* (as dialogue and the sharing of meaning and understanding) (See Smith and Jeffs 1999; Smith, 1994). In the following section, these two related concepts are explored utilising the fieldnote data.

Curriculum and Conversation in Fairgreen

At an early point in the fieldwork, Geoff asked me to join him and his assistant Alice at St Joanna's Resource Centre. He was intent on discussing future programme with them and he said he was going to show a film. I found Geoff in a room at St Joannas Resource Centre. After a brief introduction to some of the Plumford Boys that I had not met before, the interaction went as follows:

> [Geoff] "So Wally, I'm meeting you during the week about that. Will you call down to me and we'll sort it out. Now we are all going camping in March. I'll be in touch with you all about that. I think we can't go to Delphi because it's too far down at this time of year. Maybe we'll think about that again but I'll be in touch about the camping. Anyway, do you all know what you are doing"? [various] "Yeah".
> At this point I became aware that there was a woman, aged about 25 years behind me, adjusting a television set and connecting a DVD player to it. I introduced myself to her and she said her name was Alice. [Alice] "Right, this is about to start. Here you get your feet down off that pouffe. Look at the fucking dirt of it. I'll have to clean it now". The two boys checked their sneakers for mud and took their feet down. [Wally] "Here I saw this before lads. It's fucking deadly". Alice put the DVD into the machine and got up the blue screen. [Alice] "Right Geoff, this is ready when you want to". Geoff was talking with the group. He stood up and took four bottles of minerals out of a bag and two variety 12 packs of crisps. These were offered around. Some polystyrene cups were produced from the bag and Geoff poured drinks for people who wanted them. After about five minutes of sharing out crisps

> and minerals the film was started. The lights were switched off and the entire film was watched in the dark for about 1.5 hours [FSGYDP Activ not Conv, FSGYDP 05, paras 11-13].

In the time spent at Fairgreen, there was hardly any group communication observed, as reflected in the data above. Geoff typically made a few bilateral arrangements and gave a quick update on what his plans were. Hence, in Smith and Jeff's (1999) framework, while there was a strong emphasis upon promoting practical activity (curriculum) this did not proceed with dialogue.

From this point forward it became clear Geoff organised activities where there was minimum opportunity to converse (see Figure 8.5 below). On another occasion he organised a football session for the Plumford Boys but didn't play himself. Geoff, Alice and I stood outside the perimeter fence and watched. At half-time Geoff used the break to issue a monologue about a fire extinguisher, allegedly let off by two of the Plumford Boys at St Joanna's centre. Thus, what became noticeable as a distinct pattern from early on was the low conversation / high curriculum mix of the Fairgreen Garda Project's work with the Plumford Boys. That is not to say that Geoff did not have conversations with individuals outside of the group activities. He reported that he had conversations with Steve and Jimbo individually and to which I did not have access. The point here is that while in public and in a group situation, Geoff appeared to be shying away from conversation. Asked about this later he said that he was "not a good group worker".

Monologue and Dialogue

Typically, communication in the FSGYDP was monologic. Actions were decided upon by Geoff unilaterally or bilaterally by himself and Anna or with workers in other agencies, and subsequently announced to the participants. Individual instances to be dealt with did not utilise opportunities to develop two-way communication (see Figure 8.5)

Figure 8.5: *Activity and Opportunities for Dialogue in FSGYDP*

Curriculum	Conversation
Visit to New Youth Centre	Geoff harassed by Steve over getting him a job; Jimbo's behaviour goes practically unchallenged by Geoff leaving others to take lead; Geoff sought to defer public discussion of issue by seeking to take it up with Jimbo himself.
Soccer Game	Half time – Geoff rebuked the group for interfering with a fire extinguisher at St Joanna's Centre
Video	Five minute's at start of video where Geoff explained that a camping trip was being planned and that no drink was allowed. Video lasted 1.5hours
Soccer Match against the Police	Little direct conversation – persuasion, cajoling and violence prevention. Organising and marshalling of the 'team' for the game and the receipt of medals later.
Cinema	Geoff updates the group about the camping trip while in the mini-bus on the way to cinema. Two hours in cinema dispersed to available seats.
Computer Game Session	Computers fail and Steve tells Geoff he is not coming back. Jimbo said: "Geoff, this club is in meltdown".

On one occasion, Geoff did have the opportunity to engage in a dialogue over what happened after a fire-extinguisher had been let off at St Joanna's Resource Centre. This took place as the Plumford Boys were playing a soccer match with each other, in preparation for a game the following week against the police officers at Fairgreen Station. He stood outside with myself and Alice and rehearsed his approach. From the outset, Geoff was determined to engage in a sort of forensic strategy to find out who was responsible. He had suspects in mind (Steve and Perry):

> [Geoff] "There's a lot of trouble going on over Monday night. They got hold of two fire extinguishers when they were in St Joanna's and let them off. Prionnsias [facility manager] got onto me yesterday and ate the head off me. I am going to have to bring it up now this evening. We'll just wait until they are finished and I will say it to them. It had to be them. There was another group in the centre at the time but they didn't do it. Now two of them, Steve and Perry did disappear off and were messing upstairs so I think they might have had a hand in it" [FSGYDP Geoff's Monologue and Rehearsal, FSGYDP 06, para 11 to 13].

He wanted to make the point to them that their behaviour was unacceptable. Prionnsias 'ate the head off' him because of it, so he was relaying Prionnsias's anger to the Plumford Boys. He went onto the pitch at half-time:

[Geoff] "Okay lads come in here for a minute. I want a word and this is important". The group slowly gathered around one of the goals where Geoff and Alice stood. I located myself to the right side of Geoff and left a gap between himself and Alice. Not all of the group congregated. Steve and Jimbo stayed away and Alice had to call them in again. Jimbo came in, and Steve ignored repeated calls from both Geoff and Alice. Cigarettes were lit and smoked, some passed around and shared.
[Geoff] "I have something to say. The other night one of you took two fire extinguishers and were acting the bollix with them".
[Sonnie] That wasn't us. We weren't the only ones using the centre that night".
[Wally] "Yeah, here it wasn't me. I wasn't even there".
[Geoff] "Right I know you weren't there Wally so keep out of this. It couldn't have been any other group. The only other group there had four leaders with them and anytime they left the room a youth leader went with them. I had a phone call from Prionnsias and he ate the head off me and he is sending me an invoice for two hundred euro to pay for the damage. And it has to be paid for. Here, Steve, you should be in here listening to this".
[Alice] "Here get in and listen. Here shut up you and listen to what is being said to you".
[Micko] "Here it wasn't us. We weren't the only ones there that night. It wasn't fucking me anyway".
[Geoff] "Well I just want the group to take some responsibility for it and if you would just own up whoever did it. That's all I want is for someone to take responsibility for it because there will be no backlash on anyone about it".
[Sonnie] "Ah for fuck sake we can't have this going on, acting the bollix with fire extinguishers. Just own up and let's get fucking on with the game. What are you going to do about it Geoff"?
[Geoff] "What do you think I should do about it? Anyway go on ahead and finish your game and we'll talk about it more after the game". [FSGYDP Geoff's Monologue and Rehearsal, FSGYDP 06, paras 27 to 37].

Geoff wanted someone to take responsibility. His attempt to face the group with it was rebutted. Alice reinforced the idea that this was a monologue by telling the Plumford Boys that they should *listen to what they were being told.* Geoff's intervention was based on the potential loss of St Joanna's as a resource and he attempted to get the group to see that. However they resisted and nobody owned up at that point. After the match however, a second opportunity emerged as we moved inside the Fairgreen Leisure Centre. Geoff persisted with his strategy to have the culprit to own up until eventually someone did.

At this point Perry produced a key ring with two pins of the type one pulls from a fire extinguisher.
[Perry] "Look, I did it Geoff, here's the rings".

> [Geoff] "Right, so we have some admission. Now I think what you need to do now is to go and apologise to Prionnsias".
> [Jimbo] "Jaysus Geoff will you stop giving us all counselling man".
> [Perry] "I just picked it up and did this with it. But I'll get him a new one".
> [Geoff] "I'll get the invoice and we'll have to pay for it. You can decide how you are going to get the money for him but it could cost two hundred euro".
> [Perry] "Fuck sake, what's the big deal, I'll just get him one or two".
> [Geoff] "No, I'll get the invoice, it's not as simple as that. Right so, at least we have someone taking responsibility for it. Let's go and I'll see you on Tuesday night for the match" [FSGYDP Geoff's Monologue and Rehearsal, FSGYDP 06, para 59 to 79].

Perry wanted to settle the issue by procuring two fire extinguishers for Prionnsias while Geoff tried to emphasise that there would have to be a settlement of the invoice. However the matter was not finally resolved as the exchange took place in public. Geoff appeared to be anxious initially to spread the responsibility across the group because he had made the point that the money spent replacing the extinguishers could otherwise be spent on programme. But in the end he appeared to want to individualise the cost to Perry by telling him that the invoice will be paid but that Perry would have to 'come up with the money' himself also, presumably to reimburse Geoff. The opportunity to get a group dialogue underway as to the norms associated with group participation was lost and Geoff opted instead for reinforcing individual responsibility and restitution by way of establishing culpability.

Banter and Character Building Activities

Geoff's resort to monologue and the Plumfords' resistances to him did not augur well for developing trust and affinity. Much of his communication remained at the level of banter. He coached the Plumford Boys to be good upstanding citizens but did not appear to want to get to know them other than at this superficial level. This dovetailed with the way the activities were chosen. All of these, as outlined in figure 8.4 above, were part of a series of activities that were stand alone - i.e. they were not part of a process of accumulating competence or experience in a particular area nor moving towards a final goal. Rather, each was set apart so that the camping trip at the end was preceded by a series of activities that bore little or no relation to camping or hiking - i.e. the trip to the cinema, the soccer game, the computer games, the football match against the police. The purpose was not to develop a collective identity but

appeared to be oriented towards building a competitive spirit as a means of developing character.

An example of this was the way in which Geoff and Manus (an associate working for the City Council) decided that if the group should go camping, which they had wanted to do with Geoff, that they had to do a 26 mile walk as part of the President's Awards Scheme. Moreover, Geoff and Manus decided to split the group up into two competing sub-groups. This was announced to me in a phone conversation I had with Geoff:

> [Geoff] "We have decided to bring them to the pictures but we are doing it tomorrow if you are around".
> [Matt] "That would be great for me".
> [Geoff] "I'll tell you what, I'll give you a ring in the morning because I don't actually know what time it is on at. And we are going to be putting it to them…..do you remember the way we were talking about taking them camping. Well they want to go camping but the only way we are going to get them going is to get them to do a 26 mile walk as part of the President's Awards. They'll do the walk from Enniskerry to Glendalough but you camp out overnight as part of it. I asked Manus about it and he said 'no, the only way you are going to get them to do it is to do the walk'. Remember what I told you about the last time they went camping they brought drink and I don't want that happening again. I'll tell you Matt, you should do it, it'll get you fit".
> [Matt] "It'd be no problem to me. Can I ask you are you going to be putting this to them tomorrow night"?
> [Geoff] "Yes. Now you can imagine what they are going to say when I tell them".
> [Matt] "Indeed".
> [Geoff] "And I am going to split the group up in two and have it as a race. I am going to get it into a race".
> [Matt] "Right so, I'll hear from you in the morning".
> [Geoff] "Yeah, talk to you then".
> [Matt] "Right, bye" [Character Building, FSGYDP 08, paras 10-19].

The Plumford Boys were to have the camping trip *announced* to them at the cinema or as part of that event. Moreover Geoff and Manus abstractly decided to make it a race without reference to the Plumford group. On the way back from the cinema Geoff appeared to attempt to enthuse the group:

> [ON] In the van there was more talk of the camping trip.
> [Geoff] "You are all going to do it for the President's Awards and if we have it in two groups it will be timed to add a little bit of excitement to it. We can then see if group one went faster than group two. We'll see who the slow coaches are. I've done it before and it's brilliant" [Character Building, FSGYDP 08, paras 96 to 98].

Turning the camping trip into a race underlines the character building nature of the model. The reason it was a race was for the sporting pleasure of Geoff and Manus. The trip was then announced as a *fait accompli*. So at the FSGYDP activities were chosen that were not part of a learning continuum. Thus they appeared to be part of an unconnected curriculum based upon the channelling of energies and emphasising, as in other settings (see Chapter Seven), the occupation of a group of males who might otherwise be in the estates causing trouble. The Fairgreen Project represents the model of diversion preferred by the police force, as discussed earlier. This entails - the re-routing of energies away from dangerous or anti-social activities and it dovetails with the community policing strategy of visibility. Character building works on the assumption that excess energies lead inevitably to savagery reflecting Stanley Hall's (1909) ecological theory of adolescence where youth is a hybrid stage between the 'savagery' of childhood and the 'civility' of adulthood. Without a binding force to the social order, the natural tendency was for the adolescent to 'recapitulate' towards savagery (see Cohen, 1997 for a discussion of this).

The emphasis on 'doing' appears also to be working against a conversational or interactive-dialogic approach that arguably may avoid dealing with complexities, gender issues and the search for subjectivity. In this sense there seemed to be little possibility for a reflexive practice at Fairgreen South. This was evident in the way in which conversation and dialogue over Jimbo's behaviour at the New Youth Centre was avoided.

Masculinity, Resistance and Subjectivity: A Culture of Evasion?

Both *bantering* and *doing* intertwined in the FSGYDP. On occasion the situation called for a deeper level of communication which was often found wanting, like when I met with them on a visit to the Fairgreen New Youth Centre (NYC). Most of the

evening there was taken up playing games - cards, pool and table soccer. During the card game, Jimbo, one of the Plumfords, whom I had only met an hour earlier, started a heated conversation with Kev, a youth worker in the NYC. However, it was only when his female co-worker Tina offered us a tour of the building that the evening took an eventful turn.

The two NYC staff myself, Geoff and the Plumford boys were taken on a tour moving from the lobby to a theatre area. While the group proceed beyond the theatre, Jimbo stayed behind an put his arms around Tina, a member of NYC staff, saying 'Alright love, you are lovely, do you know that'. Tom shouted back at him saying 'give her a lick'. Tina pushed Jimbo away from her gently. At the end of the tour we reached a room with a large table surrounded by chairs, like a boardroom. Jimbo immediately mounted the boardroom table as we piled into the room.

> [Observational Note] Jimbo then jumped onto the table and lay face down. He gyrated his pelvis for a few seconds. He said something like. "Ride it baby, sex, oh yeah". [Kev] "Ok Jimbo I think you better take a look at that sort of behaviour. I think you need to sort that out". [Jimbo] "What's the story man I am only having a bit of a mess". [Kev] "Well we don't allow that type of thing to go on in here". [Tina] "Yeah we run this place and we don't allow that". [Jimbo to Tina] "But I love you, you know that. How is that supposed to make me feel". [Kev] "Well would you like to hear about how I feel about you Jimbo". [Jimbo] "Well what are you getting heavy with me for I was only having a bit of a laugh with the lads". The other two young men laughed at Jimbo throughout. [Kev] "Well I feel very annoyed with you Jimbo that's being honest". [Jimbo] "Why what did I do. I thought yous were supposed to down at our level and look at you are standing up there talking down at me like".
>
> At this point Tina and Kev and myself had sat down. Geoff was last to sit down. The young men were already seated before any of the adults. [Kev] "You did something really inappropriate to Tina and we can't have that. We would like you to come here next week or anytime but we can't have inappropriate sexual behaviour towards the staff". [Jimbo] "What. What are you accusing me of. I was only having a bit of a laugh". [Tina] "Well what you did to me earlier was inappropriate. I am a worker here and I am not some girl you can go and pick up. I am not even your own age". [Jimbo] "So". [Tina] "Well this is my work and I don't have to accept that from anyone". [Geoff] "I told you about this before. We can't come here if you are doing that sort of stuff Jimbo". [Jimbo] "Jazus Geoff what is this. I didn't come here for counselling. What is this. Let's all have a go at Jimbo night"? [Kev] "No it's not and you are welcome to come here but you better take it that it's on some of our terms. Other than that you are welcome to come". [Jimbo] "But you know Geoff I only have the craic". [Geoff] "But

you are going to have to deal with this one". [Jimbo] "I didn't come here for counselling. Jazus I used to get all this stuff at school and now look the youth workers are at me. Even there's Matt over there and he knows the story already and I only met him tonight". [Matt] "Look Jimbo, you don't need to bring me into this". [Geoff] "We are not going to agree, maybe we'll just leave it there". [Kev] "Well as I say, you are welcome back anytime but take on board what we have said" [FSGYDP 04, para 39-41].

Geoff's non-intervention seemed to place the responsibility back to Kev and Tina to confront the issue. The opportunity appeared to present itself to convert it into a general issue to be dealt with by the group and the NYC staff appeared to be conscious of this. Geoff on the other hand appeared to evade the matter, preferring to have it deferred.

After the group had gone home, I offered Geoff a lift into town to connect with his bus home. We had a conversation going over the evening. Geoff was adamant that it was Tina and Kev who had acted inappropriately towards Jimbo and the group.

[Geoff] "Well that was interesting anyway. I think that that was too heavy for tonight for the first time that they were meeting the lads. They should have gone in a bit easier. Sure there is an issue but I think they could have waited. Those lads won't go back there again, certainly there's no chance of getting them back there next week. What did you think of it?

[Matt] "I think it was unavoidable once we went into that meeting room because I could see that Kev was shaping up to respond in some way and I could sense that Tina was very unhappy indeed. But if we hadn't have gone into that room I think they might have dealt with it at another time, as you said".

[Geoff] "Yeah, you see he's like that all the time. He lives on his own with his mother and he has no father figure at all in the house. Now don't get me wrong but his mother is a taxi driver and she is a fine bit of stuff and so he gets a lot of teasing over his mother. Maybe he feels he has to perform in front of the lads. But I think that's one of the problems with that centre there. If the staff are going to just get all confrontational like that I think people won't go there".

[Matt] "I understand what you are saying. What was your intention in bringing the group there? Was it to get them to use it more"?

[Geoff] "Basically it was to set up a link with the new centre. Do you remember we were talking about why they won't go outside the area. Well this is an example of it. They don't want to leave Fairgreen South and coming up here is a major step. If they get that kind of confrontation then it means they won't ever leave. That's why we are thinking of getting the Den open because it will be a half way between these services and the South". [FSGYDP 04, paras 48 to 56].

The resources at Geoff's disposal might contribute in some way to the level of capacity to deal with the complexity that Jimbo's behaviour throws up. In the above extract he referred to a previous conversation with Anna and myself where they both agreed that there was a tendency amongst the young people not to want to leave Fairgreen South; that it was a protective cocoon for them. They had both disagreed about the solution then: Geoff saw renovating the abandoned scout den as a way of creating a half-way solution between the NYC and Fairgreen South; Anna thought that this ran the risk of discouraging them further from moving out of the area and connecting with the wider city around them. Geoff was determined to see the Den as the solution whereby all the complexities could be resolved by housing the needs and issues of the Plumford Boys and their contemporaries. Within the Fairgreen GYDP thus there was a tension between staff as to the appropriate course of response to the reluctance of young people to connect with the city. The trip to the NYC was an attempt to try Anna's solution; it only served to reinforce Geoff's position and gave him greater resolve to resort to building a base in Fairgreen. By doing this, it seemed as if he could fulfil his desire to model himself on his idols in Ballynew and satisfy his organisation's desire to stake a territorial claim in Fairgreen South. But the opportunity created to link the Plumford Boys to the NYC, and hence to widen their spatial and cultural reference, was lost.

[Geoff] "These lads are barred out of everywhere else. We need to work with them that's why [this Project] exists. But I know they won't want to go back there if they are going to set down rules like that for them. And in spite of the fact that there is a lot of money gone into it, it's a nice place now but I thought the equipment they expected the young people to use was very poor. The pool table and the foozball I mean they are surely things you should have good equipment. The lads thought it was a load of crap".

[Matt] "Yeah, I agree with you there it was poor quality alright".

[Geoff] "Anyway I'll have to think of something to do with them but it's the end of that centre now for the moment. I'll try to get them to go to that new play about Roy Keane and Mick McCarthy. They'll relate to that" [FSGYDP, 04, paras 58-72].

This was my first introduction to the Plumford Boys. It was one of series of occasions where Jimbo's sexual behaviour was of prominent feature of the interaction. The operation of the Fairgreen project appeared very early on to skirt

around complex issues that required converting troubling matters into substantive issues for further dialogue and consideration. The preference instead, appeared to be towards the construction of a local institution that might serve as a means of colonising the Fairgreen South area, in a similar way in which the 'Settlement House' dominated Cornerville in Whyte's (1955) study. Furthermore, there did not appear to be a vocabulary present to deal with the issue as one of masculinity. Indeed at the end of the above fieldnote, Geoff wanted to return to the security of the same old curriculum of football and plays about footballers (the Keane and McCarthy play he referred to). Indeed, Geoff may well share in a culture of evasion with the Plumford Boys as an element of their shared masculinity and class position. The same pattern repeated itself in the data in relation to the health of individual members and their drug use.

Success and Failure

The Plumford Boys appeared to upset the template laid down by Geoff's relationship with Harry. They were failing on all fronts. At one point in my time there it appeared as if there was nothing that Geoff could do to satisfy them. The complexity and challenges of some of the individuals seemed to make it difficult for them to settle anywhere. Steve was very demanding of Geoff and at times it appeared that he was undermining him; Jimbo created challenges for everyone (including myself) because of his overtly sexual behaviour. This seemed to be saying something about their search for subjectivity; a way of expressing their working class identity in a social and cultural landscape that was not accommodative of them. For McDonald (1999), following Touraine, the segregated and excluded working class young people in a peripheral area of Westview in Melbourne were similarly distanced from participation in wider society such that they were

> ...involved in a struggle for a coherent personal and social identity in a world where social logics increasingly diverge and where they, more than others confront the social and cultural costs of the end of industrial society. They struggle for subjectivity, to affirm the dignity of the person. But there is a profound crisis in their ability to produce a social expression of this dignity; they cannot link their anger to horizons of possibility. They are experiencing

> social and cultural decomposition, the end of industrial society and the model of social creativity which sustained the working-class experience (McDonald, 1999: 115).

Geoff did not appear to have the tools in his repertoire to deal with this and so much of what he mobilised was rejected. They presented as street savvy, style conscious young men with an acute awareness of their place in their world and yet the curriculum mobilised by the Fairgreen project appeared to infantilise them. This was no more was this acute than in the session at St Joanna's Centre where the interaction appeared to hit a low point. The Plumford Boys were asked to come to a session at St. Joanna's to play computer games. About half an hour into the session it became apparent that the aging computers were unable to cope with the computer games that were being loaded. The boys grew frustrated with Jimbo saying 'Geoff get a new fucking computer, this one is fucked'. Geoff tried to load each game but even when he did the computers could not cope and hence they were very slow. Into the scene walked Steve who sat in an armchair watching the proceedings.

Steve then appeared to reach the end of his tolerance and wanted to go to the kitchen. After the incident with the fire extinguisher, Geoff appeared to want to ensure that none of the Plumford Boys were allowed to walk around St Joanna's unaccompanied and so he asked Alice to chaperone them. Meanwhile Tom was very frustrated that the computer didn't enable him to play the game:

> I sat beside Tom as he tried to get his game to work. He did not seem to have the capacity to steer the plane on the game so he just tapped at the keyboard until he found the right keys. He appeared to get some functions in place but when he tried to steer the plane he just crashed. [Tom] "Jaysus, this is really shite man. I can't get this thing to work. All I keep doing is dying"[FSGYDP meltdown, FSGYDP 09, para 55].

Tom's morbid comment summed up the frustration of the Plumford Boys' sense of failure more generally. The boy's were having failure reflected back to them, despite Geoff's best efforts to bring them in line with his scheme:

> Alice, Jimbo and Steve returned. Geoff took a seat away from the computers and produced a pen and paper.

[Geoff] "Right, what do we want to do. I am looking for ideas of things to do so let me know. Now don't all say go-carting because you know we can't do that because we can't get insurance".
[Steve] Here Geoff, this is shit right. This is my last night in this club. I just don't want to go to the pictures and go fishing. That's crap man".
[Geoff] "Well Steve, each time I ask you what you want to do you don't have ideas so give me ideas now".
[Jimbo] "This club is in meltdown Geoff".
[Alice] "What about swimming"?
[Tom] "I can't swim".
[Jimbo] "Neither can I".
[Steve] "You said right we are going to Delphi. And that was fucking six months ago. And now we are not going to Delphi. You said you were going to get the Den open, that was last summer and you haven't got it. So what's the fucking story man. I am finished with it".
[Geoff] "The Den is out of my hands, you know that and we are working on it".
[Steve] "Yeah and we were supposed to be going camping and now we haven't heard even when we are going".
[Geoff] "I told you we are going when I get a date from Manus. I can't just turn around and just say 'right lets go camping'. I need to have the staff to do it. So it's when Manus is available".
[Jimbo] "What about Matt there, he knows what he is doing".
[Geoff] "Matt's not staff and he's a student working with us for a while".
[Steve] "I don't know, get us some football or something. Come on I am going, let's go lads".
[Geoff] "Right we'll talk about it next week [FSGYDP meltdown, FSGYDP 09, para 59-74].

This interaction brought the Plumford boys into a binary of success and failure. A contest then took place between Steve and Geoff whose attempt to get their ideas for activities failed. Straight away, Steve showed his cards by saying that the other activities like fishing and cinema trips that they had been on were 'crap'. Geoff's retort was to expose Steve's failure for not coming up with ideas before when he was asked. But cleverly, Steve responded by listing all of Geoff's failings including his failure to deliver the Den, the trip to Delphi (an adventure sports centre in County Mayo) and the camping trip. Steve then suggested that he had lost his patience by threatening to retire. Geoff appeared to take a defensive line by identifying external causes such as Manus's failure to give him a date for the trip and that the Den was beyond his control. It seemed as if Geoff was already on the ropes from the sucker punch from Jimbo who said that the 'club' was 'in meltdown'. Geoff knew however that Steve was a pivotal character in the group and he commanded a high degree of respect from the others. When Steve suggested leaving they all did. And even though

Geoff suggested meeting to talk about it the following week, there was no session to talk about it. The next time I met with Geoff and the Plumford Boys was when only Sonnie and Tom came on the camping trip. Steve pulled out on health grounds and Jimbo decided not to go at the last minute. Geoff had already excluded a number of others on grounds that they were too preoccupied with smoking cannabis and so the club did appear to be in meltdown.

Jimbo's comment highlights the extent to which Geoff, and indeed his organisation, was out of kilter with the search for subjectivity and meaning by the Plumford Boys. Steve in particular displayed an acute cultural awareness of his own predicament on a number of occasions (see also his coolness at the football match against the Guards below) but Geoff did not appear to have the repertoire to reach him. And so, Geoff appeared to reach for the diagnosis of failure - Steve could only fail because he was not Harry and he did not fit the good practice case study. Moreover he resisted the infantilising curriculum implicit in the DYS's repertoire and appeared to be ungrateful for the gifts that he was being given. Steve refused to accept the deal that Harry had and so Geoff saw him as being difficult. Yet Geoff respected Steve's power and he knew that to keep the Plumford Boys together he would need to retain Steve as much as possible. But it seems as if Steve did not need Geoff. The contestation between the protagonists here reflects the operation of a linguistic binary around the imposition of a cultural arbitrary. The 'Boys' were unhappy with having *failure* modelled back to them; the failure of the Den and its isolation arguably reinforced the Plumfords' own identity as failures. Hence a form of distinction was at play in which the Boys were being reminded of their place.

But this points to a wider inability of the DYS to understand and deal with the complexity of the lives of these young men. It danced its way around Jimbo's issues and avoided conflict. It shunned the NYC for daring to network or link young people from the estates to a central hub; and it sought to rebuild its previously held position by developing its own base in the Fairgreen South area. It appeared very isolated in doing this by replacing itself back in the neighbourhood when other organisations were backing the NYC. Indeed, Anna, Geoff's co-worker, feared that by refurbishing the Den, that they were restricting the young people of Fairgreen South, including the Plumford Boys, from making contact with the rest of the City. When I completed my

time at Fairgreen South, Geoff and Anna were struggling to make themselves and their curriculum relevant.

Gift Giving and the Social Panoptic in Fairgreen South

As discussed in Chapter One, Bourdieu (1977) has suggested that the gift exchange is a form of symbolic violence by virtue of the way in which the social relations of power are implied in the act. Hence those who are free to be provident have the capacity to command reciprocation. Accepting the gift thus implies that the receiver conforms to the social relations: it is the actor's acquiescence to these relations that then translates into legitimate power. In this research, it is argued that the network of criminal justice actors at national level, that procured funds and resources to urban locales stressed with disorder have mobilised a gift-giving apparatus. This amounts to a set of mechanisms for procuring and dispersing gifts: visibility flows from this giving together with the transmission of symbols that source the gift to the police, to the state, and where relevant, to private or public companies. This giving then manifests itself at a front-end that engages the sources of disorder and transmits beneficence of the actors networked together.

A culture of gift-giving in Fairgreen South also appears to be consistent with the history of the wider network of 'doers' as described in Chapter Six and the local networks in Chapter Seven. The practices of Geoff in particular appear to be acutely *providential*. During the field study this appeared in a variety of settings and was particularly evident at a showing of a DVD in St Joanna's one night. Geoff and his assistant Alice, provided drinks from large bottles of fizzy drinks which they distributed to seventeen year old young men in polystyrene cups and gave out packets of crisps. Moreover, Geoff and Alice cleaned the room afterwards, picking up the crisps that had spilled on the carpet by hand [FSGYDP as Providential, FSGYDP 05, para 18]. Similarly, other activities were organised where the boys were fully equipped without making their own contribution.

Crucially, the giving of such gifts serves to reinforce social relations where the act of exchange involves a giver and a receiver. The giver is the conduit of symbolic violence in this regard because they communicate a misrecognised code of social

obligation and reciprocity. No act of exchange is power-neutral as the receiver is being asked to accept the social relations of the exchange. In this regard the money to buy the gifts is sourced from a power system and the act of providence meant to communicate the existence of a direct line of power between the 'goodies' and the source of the money (i.e. from the police and ultimately from the Government). The FSGYDP was an intermediary in a gift-giving arrangement between actors of unequal power and status and who are brought together in this mediated setting. Indeed the 'prize-giving' at the end of the football match too serves to reinforce these unequal relations (see my separate account of this below). Gift-giving and providentialism in this local setting appears to act as a mask. It places the idea of *gift* into the pedagogic communication rather than the idea of *right* and hence it is intended to connote the beneficence of not only the mediator but those who placed the mediator there. Indeed, Geoff's own job resulted from his organisation's patronage of him, thus binding him to the culture of gifting.

In addition to the gifting arrangements, the FSGYDP was unknowingly integrated with late modern surveillance though an extended crime preventionist gaze. In everyday practice, this was evident in the way in which the Plumford Boys were chaperoned to and from the City.

> We arrived at the cinema and Geoff explained to the bus driver that they would have to be picked up again at about 8.30. The driver agreed and gave Geoff his mobile phone number to check his location when we got back out. We all crossed the road, the group walking across themselves and I accompanied Geoff and Anna [FSGYDP, City Boundaries and Chaperoning, FSGYDP 03, para 60].

During the trip to the cinema in the city centre, it became highly noticeable that the Plumford Boys were under the gaze of the workers but that our movements to and from the cinema were controlled as were our movements within the cinema. We started out at St Joanna's, where on entering the building one had to sign-in with the security personnel and while there, one's movements inside and outside the building were monitored by CCTV. From there we transferred to a private mini-bus hired for the occasion and this took us to the city centre. The boys were followed around the cinema shop, the clothes and demeanour making them stand out from the smart casual dress of the cinema goers; they could be seen to be watched on CCTV by security

personnel and when the film ended, they were whisked back to Fairgreen South by private bus. The whole event appeared to take place in a sealed capsule.

Thus in this instance late modern security gaze was omnipresent: at no point on the trip to the city centre, did the Plumford Boys leave its reach. Their relationship to the city thus was mediated by a panoptic and their actions locally surveyed. The youth workers themselves had morphed into crime preventionists, and thus became part of the social panoptic rather than protecting the young people from it.

Body Power and Symbolic Power: The Football Match

New community police officers had been appointed to Fairgreen police station. The Sergeant and the Inspector wanted to get them out to introduce them around and so they asked Geoff to organise a football match between some Gardai and the Plumford Boys. On the night, Geoff had a personal matter to attend to and so he sent Alice and Anna instead. From the outset it became clear that the two teams were mis-matched physically. Most of the Plumford Boys were in their mid to late teens, whereas the average age for the Garda team was about 25. As we waited for their arrival, Agnes (DYS line manager at Fairgreen) was always expecting larger men. On seeing the physical shape of the team they were set to play, Sonnie of the Plumford Boys recoiled in apprehension:

> [Matt] "Yes I thought they should be here by now". [Agnes] "This looks like it could be them now". A group of men walked towards us but as they got closer Agnes said that they were not the team we were waiting for .
> [Agnes] "I should have known it wasn't them because they are too small. Oh I think this is who we are waiting for".
> A group of men had rounded the corner wearing striped red and black soccer kit with white shorts. At least two of the five men who had appeared were taller than any other man who had come in the five minutes we stood there and they were also of heavier build. Agnes greeted one of the men who recognised her.
> I walked into the building. Anna was not there so I proceeded to the pitch followed by Agnes and the Garda team. I walked to the pitch and went up to the group.
> [Sonnie] "Jaysus man look at the size of these. We are going to be slaughtered Matt".

> At the end of this exchange, I was asked to take the part of referee but I declined and it was settled that there would be no referee. A Garda who was wearing a green tracksuit, coached the Garda team right throughout the match and he encouraged his team to 'use your size'. He was favourable about not having a referee. He said: "Don't worry anyway. Our lads are well able to take care of themselves" [FSGYDP, Physical Mis-match, FSGYDP 07, para 54].

The Plumford Boys remained outside the cordon while five of their friends took to the pitch. The Guards started with only four players while reinforcements were on their way from the station by police van. The Inspector and Sergeant had arrived in plain clothes together with two women Gardai. Initially the Plumford Boys had an edge as they had five players who were lighter and faster. But when the rest of the Garda squad arrived the game became more even and by half time the Garda team had pulled ahead to 6-5. As the second half resumed, the Plumfords' energy was wearing down and I was asked to come on for a few minutes to give Treanor a break. Shortly afterwards there was an incident involving Jimbo:

> With ten minutes to go in the game, a Guard collided with Jimbo and appeared to have elbowed him in the nose. Jimbo went down on the ground holding his face in his hands. Outside there was an angry reaction from some of the Plumford Boys, as the Garda spectators tried to placate the situation.
> [Wally] "Here you fucking bastard. He did that on purpose. I'm going in there and I'm going to bash that fucker".
> [Woman Guard] "That was an accident what are you talking about. It's part of the game. He walked into him".
> [Sergeant] "Ah that was a pure accident".
> [Anna] "Calm down".
> [Treanor] "He's only seventeen and that big pig gave him a fucking dig".
> [Alice] "You shut up Treanor".
> Jimbo came off holding his nose. He shouted a few times and he walked away from the entrance gate. He got half way towards the dressing rooms and he sat down on the ground. Alice stood with him and Anna was there too. He had a nose bleed and some blood had got onto his white sneakers. The Guard he had collided with came out off the pitch and went over. I looked back at the scene and I could see the Guard touch him on the head [as if to apologise]. Alice got him to his feet and they headed towards the reception area [FSGYDP, Physical Mis-match, FSGYDP 07, paras 102 to 111].

There was a clear physical advantage to the police but when an incident did occur it was explained away as being "part of the game". While it was a competitive match, there was always a sense among the Plumford Boys both on and off the pitch, that the Guards were too physically fit to compete with evenly. This seemed to become even

clearer with the Jimbo incident. The game continued and the police team scored five goals in the last ten minutes. The Plumford Boys gave up playing towards the end as if they knew they were beaten.

Again, the Plumford Boys were drawn into a success-failure binary. The event reflected a social construction of reality in which bodies were physically pitched on a field of engagement upon which there were victors and vanquished. The young men left with a sense of frustration and defeat. The unevenness of the game was analogous to the social relations between the two groups and that of the competitive field on which the contestation over social and cultural capital was taking place.

Physicality, Symbolic Violence and Doxic Knowledge

After the game, there was a tense atmosphere. Some of the Plumford Boys stood outside the Fairgreen Leisure Centre and discussed amongst each other whether or not they would go to the reception that was being held. The Guards had sponsored tea and sandwiches in the NYC.

> The whole entourage moved towards the dressing area / reception. When we got there I could see Alice in the office with Jimbo. A coach or attendant was putting an ice pack on his nose. Anna handed the ball back to the reception area. The rest went outside. Agnes went with the Guards who walked around the corner to the New Youth Centre to the reception. Outside the lads congregated. The community Garda Sergeant came over to me.
> [Sgt] "Are you coming for tea and sandwiches? We are just around the corner beside the gate and you'll find us".
> [Matt] "We are just waiting for Anna and Alice. I'll go and get them and we'll follow on".
> [Wally] "Me shite tea and sandwiches. I'm not having any tea with them fuckers".
> [Steve] "Shut up you. Just go for a fucking cup of tea. You don't have to talk to them".
> Two of the Guards came out of the dressing rooms and spoke with the lads.
> [Guard 1] "How are ye lads. You played a good match".
> [Wally] "Yeah but you are dirty swines".
> [Guard 1] "Ah well it was a tough game".
> [Treanor] "Here do remember me. Do you remember you got me down in the park do you. You roughed me up so you did".
> [Guard 2] "Ah but that had to be done".

> [Wally] "Me shite it did. Yous are like that all the time. The way yous played tonight is what you are like all the time".
> [Guard 2] "We'll see you inside at the tea". [Wally coughs]. You'd want to give them cigarettes up. They'll be the death of you" [Physical Mismatch, FSGYDP 07, paras 115 to 129].

Wally made the analogical connection here: the way the Guards played reflected how they always played the game, on an off the pitch. Being roughed up was part of everyday routine of the young male in Plumford. The physical contestation of the match he related to the symbolic and physical power of the police and their everyday use of that power. Steve again showed his coolness by appearing to want to actively resist by turning up and he encouraged the others to have the tea but that they can still choose to do so in silence. His capacity to sit back and evaluate the action by placing the interaction into a cognitive map of the situation is reminiscent of the role played by Joey in Willis's (1977) study: Joey had a map of the entire school year and could place himself and anyone else into it. Conformist 'ere 'oles' did not have such a map (Willis, 1977: 16). Steve had a aerial view of the Plumford Boys and the situations they got into. Thus he could sit back and watch the action, shaping it when he needed to. As soon as the Plumford Boys had the conversation with the two Guards, it became clear that the physical play had a deeper meaning for Wally.

So rather than bolstering community relations the match served to reinforce the pre-existing antipathy that the Plumford Boys had for the police. This is held at a much deeper level and cannot be easily erased with a football match and a cup of tea. Thus there was an underlying sense of injustice in the habitus which was impervious to the visibility strategy in the context of Fairgreen. No dialogue was brokered by having the match: the reception that followed reinforced the feelings of powerlessness and injustice. At the end of the interaction, it was clear that there was no new dialogue opening up which was best exemplified by the police officer saying in a didactic and patronising way, that Wally *should give up the cigarettes*.

In this context then the visibility strategy was placed into a dialectic between coercive power and pedagogy such that it became even more distant from the notion of any sort of communicative engagement. The assumption that increased public and police contact enhances flows of information by 'breaking barriers' does not appear to work

in this context. The data reveals that the opposite is the case in that classifications of 'us' and 'them' were reinforced by bringing the habitus level injustices to the fore. The habitus of the young people had been reinforced by the stock of negative experiences of being 'roughed up'.

Tea and Sandwich Policing

Most of the young men eventually joined the reception at the NYC. When we arrived, Steve was the only one that had gone inside. He did so independently of the rest of the group. It was immediately noticeable that the police officers had taken up position at the coffee bar, surrounding access to it and remaining there for the rest of the event. I went over and I was served a cup of tea from one of the two women Guards that had been at the match. There were sandwiches in plastic wrapping laid across one of the tables. The Plumford boys sat separately from the police officers, not mingling at any stage. The Garda Sergeant appeared to be the only officer who was attempting to mingle with others. He attempted to gain an opening with Steve, but he did not reciprocate:

> [Sgt] (to Steve) "Well you were really great out there tonight. That was a great game".
> [Steve] "huhhhhh".
> [Sgt] "Ah I think our lads just got the better of ye in the end. We'll have to have a rematch. You had some great footballers on your team. What did you think yourself (addressing me)".
> [Matt] "It was certainly very fast starting off but I think the energy drained off after a while. It was good to see that they played the match without a ref".
> [Sgt] "Yes, I suppose it was".
> At this point Steve moved off and went to sit with the rest of the group who were on the sofa. Willie and Perry played a game of pool. The sergeant continued a conversation with me [FSGYDP, Comm Gda attempt at conv, FSGYDP 07, paras 153-161).

The separation to different parts of the space by the Plumford Boys and the Gardai continued for another five minutes. Then a series of movements began.

Movement 1: The Sergeant's Biscuit Tin

> I asked [the Sgt] to be excused because I could see Anna calling me to her. As I walked towards her I noticed that there was a biscuit tin on the table with a note posted on it that read: "MEDALS FOR THE MATCH".
> I went over to Anna but she got distracted by one of the group and I continued on towards the bar to return my cup. I put the cup in a bin and walked back. I was met by the Sergeant. He wanted medals to be given out and I directed him to the staff, Anna and Alice. [FSGYDP Symbolic Power and the Medals, FSGYDP 07, paras 184 to 195].

Movement 2: Two Styles of Resistance

The scene changed quickly as the Plumford Boys were called to attention. I joined them on the long L-shaped sofa at the end wall while the Sergeant, Anna and Alice took speaking positions opposite us. The Garda officers meanwhile remained at the coffee bar and had turned their attention to the scene:

> Anna went and got Alice. The Sgt took the biscuit tin and put it on a table. Most of the [Plumford] lads were sitting on the sofa and I sat on a free space on the corner of it. Wally and Treanor were playing Foozball.
> [Alice] "Right quiet".
> [Anna] "Now lads there's some medals to be given out".
> Steve was called first and he got up slowly and went to collect his medal. A few clapped and the Guards standing at the bar watched on and clapped for Steve. He sat down and showed the medal off to some of the others. Wally was the next called.
> [Alice] "Wally".
> [Wally] "I don't want any medal, are you joking me".
> [Alice] "Wally, come on and get the medal and stop messing".
> [Wally] "No I told you I don't want the medal".
> Alice took the medal herself and put into the pocket of her jeans.
> [Alice] "Right I'll hold it for you and give it to you later".
> Most of the rest of the group accepted their medals. I was called and took my medal. There was a cheer. I took it and sat down. I looked at the medal. It is gold textured and pressed in the official logo of An Garda Síochána and was presented in a plastic wallet (see Figure 8.6 below).
> Back on the sofa the group were talking about their medals when I sat down.
> [Fuzzy] "Jaysus these medals are fucking naff man".
> [Treanor] "If I showed this to anyone down in Fairgreen South I'd have me head blown off".
> [Steve] "The fucking state of them man" [FSGYDP Symbolic Power and the Medals, FSGYDP 07, paras 200 to 220].

Wally put up a sustained and candid resistance to the medals. He could not bring himself to leave the foozball table as if approaching a police officer, even to receive a medal, was beyond what he could accept. On the surface Steve appeared to conform but by accepting the medal and then verbally defacing and belittling it as 'naff', he resisted in different way.

The awarding of medals the losing side in a competitive game is an unusual turn. Medal ceremonies are usually reserved for winners and runners-up. In this case only the runners-up received an award. Accepting the gift as 'losers' appeared to elevate the status 'loser' to a notable position and drew attention to and underlined the fact that the Plumford Boys had been defeated. In classic Boudieuian sense here, the exchange of the gift represented by this presentation of medals to losers, carried with it the symbolic violence of the exchange itself but it also delivered the message of physical and institutional superiority. This again seemed to reinforce the failures of the Plumford Boys. Thus the pedagogic communication facilitated the classification or stratification of winners of losers and thus defining the social place of both.

Movement 3: Refusing the Gift - The Return of the Sandwich

The Plumford Boys left the NYC shortly after the medals. None of them ate any of the sandwiches but some of them took them with them as they left. The Guards who had sat at the bar also left promptly as did Alice. The remainder of the group including Anna and Agnes, the Garda Sergeant and the Inspector took seats around a table and began to have an impromptu meeting. A discussion began about petty cash and the Sergeant agreed to write a cheque for €100 made out to cash. As they talked, a knock came on the glass door:

> One of the Gardai who had played came to the door and I went and let him in. The Sgt greeted him.
> [Sgt] "Right Barry, are you alright"?
> [Garda Barry] "I suppose. I just got meself pelted out of it with sandwiches but I'll survive".
> [Insp] "That was a great match Barry".

Figure 8.6: *Photograph of Medal Presented*



> [Garda Barry] "It was. They were fast and fit at the beginning but we caught up with them in the end".
> [Insp] "I suppose. That young lad was great. What's his name Anna?".
> [Anna] "Oh that's Steve".
> [Insp] "Steve yeah" [FSGYDP, Tea, Sandwiches and Resistance, paras 235 to 243].

Even though the police and the DYS had organised a community relations football match, the sandwiches were still used as ammunition to throw at the police officer. All of this happened while inside the police and the youth service were engaged in sorting out routine business matters to do with the FSGYDP. Thus the visibility strategy was both advanced and resisted in this series of movements whereby neither the police, the youth service nor the young people appeared to move from their variously held positions.

Conclusion

The Fairgreen research presented here demonstrates the extent of continuity or the spatial and temporal fit between the developments at Ballynew (as in Chapter Six) and the existence of a culture of beneficence amongst key national and regional actors. Thus the micro and macro levels of governance were connected through relationships – these same relationships represent the grain of urban process or the doing of urban order maintenance. The tendency towards gift-giving in Fairgreen was also consistent with the procurement culture of the police, a key element in the visibility strategy, as discussed in earlier chapters.

The culture of 'doing' in this context seems to work in a counter logic to dialogue: actors opt instead for the multiplication of physical or tangible activity. In this context, dialogue was eschewed in favour of monologic communication; the complexities of the here-and-now condition of young people went unnamed. Success appeared to be defined in terms of conformity to prescribed notions of transition based upon masculinity, labour and institutionalisation. The search for meaning and understanding among the Plumford Boys was compounded by their sense of insecurity in the world outside of Fairgreen South. Their desire to navigate the post-industrial landscape of late-modern Ireland complicated by the living out of life in a local universe that has been physically and culturally divided off from global flows. Their capacity for mobility and communication with others was heavily dependent upon mediators but those same mediators appear to be caught in a historical struggle over territory and power.

The curriculum appeared to be unable to provide any answer to the issues faced by the Plumford Boys and they did not simply accept either the pedagogy implicit in the FSGYDP, nor the visibility strategy of the police. Their capacity to resist was exemplified in the hurtling the sandwiches at the police officer; they also refused it appears to be drawn into any dialogue that had any sense of being phoney.

Dialogue appeared also to be rendered impossible by virtue of the way in which FSGYDP facilitate the playing out of rituals that enable the power of institutions to be delivered as pedagogic communication to young people. The football match ended in a greater sense of distance than that it was supposedly aimed to bridge. The mismatching of the teams and the presentation of medals to losers served to underline the social status of the Plumford Boys and to remind them of the legitimacy of the police's coercive monopoly.

This chapter reveals also how Geoff is connected with the institutional habitus of the DYS. Geoff modelled his practice on the DYS staff at Ballynew and he is connected through personal and institutional relationships to key actors in the DYS. Furthermore, his personal biography and trajectory into his role is linked clearly with prominent personnel within the DYS. These same actors came to Geoff's aid after a personal loss and steered him toward the job at Fairgreen. Geoff's own dispositions on the DYS-SYS conflict reflects clearly the standpoint of the DYS: he has effectively absorbed the DYS habitus evident in his negative utterances about the SYS. What Geoff does therefore is to reproduce the DYS habitus in his own actions; he works from the Ballynew template, its culture of beneficence and is deployment of a social panoptic in working class areas and in this way he reproduces this model across time and space.

Chapter Nine Dialogue or Surveillance: Competing Strategies in Leevale-Campanile Hill

Introduction

This chapter presents the second case study based upon participant observation at a Garda Youth Diversion Project at Leevale-Campanile Hill (LCH). As in the previous chapter, the focus of the study was to observe the nature of interactions between young people and youth workers assigned to youth crime and disorder prevention. This chapter is a further examination of the nature of curriculum and the pedagogic relations in an urban peripheral setting.

Like the previous chapter, this chapter is concerned with the nature of youth work practice once it has entered into a hybrid mode under crime and disorder prevention. Youth work operates under a variety of practice models, each reflecting a distinct worldview and political ideology. Hurley and Treacy (1993) identified four such models. These range from 'character building', which is concerned with reproducing the social order through protecting young people from their own innate incivility through diverting energies, to 'radical' models of youth work that are oriented toward revolutionary transformation (such as communist youth movements or radical Islam). Between these two poles rests liberal 'life skills' models that seek to prepare young people for adaptation to the social order and 'critical social education' which seeks to enable young people to democratically transform institutions through their effective engagement in the public sphere. The Pinevale Project operates out of a critical social education model and as such the chapter examines its practice given its incorporation as a Garda Youth Diversion Project.

Overview of Leevale-Campanile Hill

Leevale and Campanile Hill are two local authority housing estates built in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They represent the main catchment for the Leevale-Campanile Hill Youth Project (L-CHYP). The two housing estates had a population of approximately 6,000 persons distributed across 1,751 households, according to the 2006 census (CSO, 2006). More than half of these households were rented local authority housing, and one quarter were in owner-occupation. Less than 12% of households were purchasing their dwelling from the local authority in 2006. LCH retains a relatively youthful population overall given that 60% of the population are aged under 25. Despite the level of immigration in Ireland, the area remains relatively homogenous with 95% enumerated as being of Irish nationality, and 90% enumerated as ethnically Irish (CSO, 2007)

Figure 9.1: *Map of Leevale-Campanile Hill and Environs*

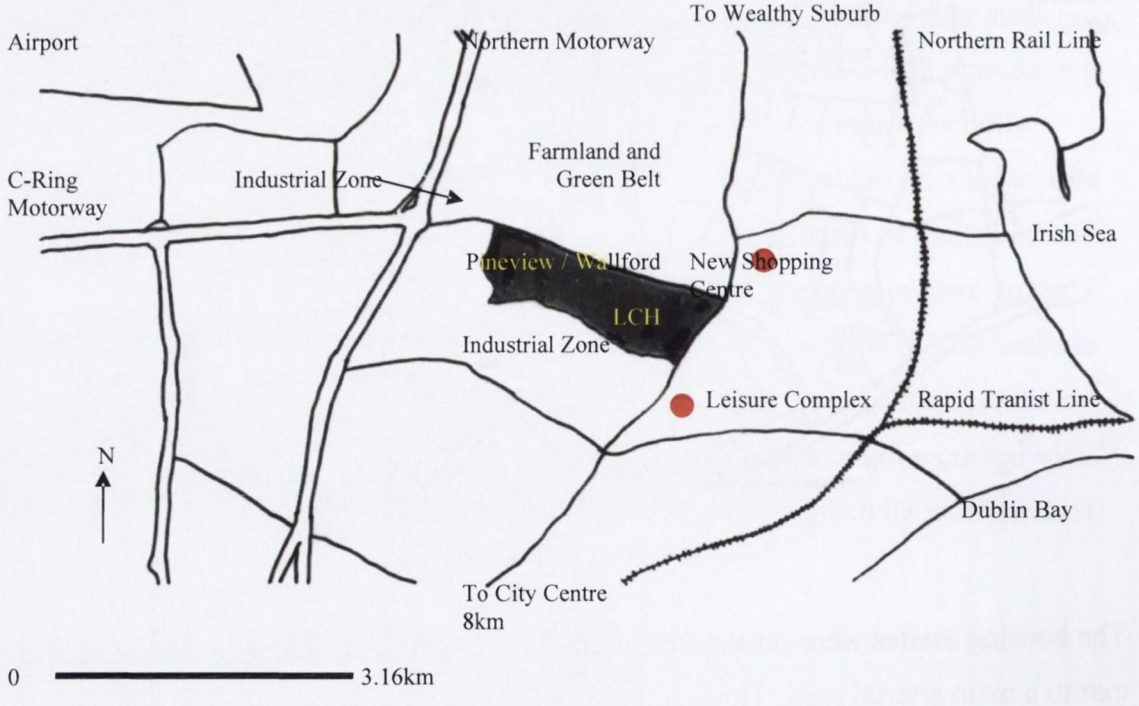


The housing estates were constructed as cul-de-sacs with only one point of access and exit to a main arterial road. Housing units in Leevale were built around courtyards: a major structural improvement programme was carried out in the early and mid 1990s whereby the fronts of houses were re-oriented so as houses faced in towards each other in an effort to create more 'defensible space'. Despite this, parts of the area

remain run-down most particularly the open areas. While there, it was noticeable that these areas had become strewn with litter and often had one or two burned out cars. The L-CHYP was once based in premises in a partly derelict shopping precinct ("the old shops") (see Figure 9.4 below) that was then due for demolition: the unit they occupied was adorned with a steel railing erected by the previous occupant and referred to by young people as 'the cage'.

The main arterial route through LCH connects to a dual carriageway (see figure 9.1 above) which is the principal route between the City Centre (8 Kms to the south) and a wealthy coastal suburb (10 Kms to the North East). LCH was built on open land and was not part of the extension of an existing village, as was the case of Fairgreen South. Hence shopping facilities were located at purpose built shopping centres: the first, two kilometres to the west constructed in the 1970s and a new centre to the east, built and opened in the last three years. A regional civic centre was also opened in recent years by the City Council, adjacent to the old shopping centre. In addition, the Council had opened offices at a newly built 'village centre' at LCH itself.

Figure 9.2: *LCH, Flow Routes and Transport Corridors*



The area is close to the airport and so is approximate to the various supply industries connected with air transport and air cargo. In addition, a number of industrial estates surround the area (see figure 9.2). A major trans-national computer manufacturer that employed up to 2000 staff had its Irish operations stationed in a nearby industrial park until August 2001 but a number of TNC sites still remain in the nearby area. A newly constructed international chain hotel has recently been completed. In addition, several longer term Irish owned industries in confectionary, snacks and jam-making have operated in the vicinity for the last 30 years or more but have gone into decline at time of writing. Two major local employers, a potato crisp manufacturer and a chocolate factory have closed or made lay offs since the fieldwork was carried out.

The area is adjacent to the city's radial motorway route and to the main Dublin-Belfast road corridor. LCH is bound on its northern perimeter by a link road to these routes and further north beyond this route, lies mostly farmland that stretches towards the wealthy suburban area on the coast.

Images of Leevale-Campanile Hill



Housing in cul-de-sac at Leevale with blocking concrete wall in the foreground.



The pedestrian walkway through Leevale, with site of demolished 'old shops' left foreground.



Boulders and bollards blocking through traffic.



Housing redesign programme in the 1990s gave residents 'defensible space' in front.



Leevale Campanile Hill gapes through the shelter-belt planting when viewed from the main route to and from the wealthy coastal suburb to north east.



The potato crisp factory in the older industrial area, now 'to let' as warehousing space.

Entry to the Field

Entry to the Pinevale Project was assured through direct contact with the Director of the SYS who referred me to the regional manager in order to gain local consent. I met with him and his colleague Morag at the L-CHYP and we discussed the terms of my entry. A proposal outlining the purpose and scope of the research was submitted and discussed at this meeting. Both informed me of the changing situation in LCH given the emergence of the cocaine trade and the potentially violent sub-culture attaching to it. This had changed the nature of the work of the Project in recent months which entailed that all staff had to be accompanied by another worker or other suitable person. In this context, my entry was lubricated by the fact that they needed additional personnel to accompany staff.

Morag acted as my main contact initially until Rick returned from sick leave. I had less contact with two others: Carla, Rick's co-worker who introduced me to the physical layout of the area; and, PJ who worked in another area but who both Rick and I helped with a group of young men aged 14 to 16 years who met once per week in Pineview. My main point of entry was through Rick. In this sense my

observational vantage point was focused upon the interactions and encounters that Rick entered into.

Figure 9.3: *Key Informants at LCH*

Informant	
Rick	Main youth worker with the Pinevale Project, attached to the Leevale-Campanile Hill Youth Project (L-CHYP). Aged about 45 Rick worked at a variety of blue collar jobs before training as a youth worker at a third level college.
Morag	Rick's boss, Morag was the senior youth worker for the SYS and responsible to a regional manager for the various programmes and activities of L-CHYP.
Carla	Rick's co-worker.
PJ	Youth worker in Pineview, a housing estate adjacent to LCH, he teamed up with Rick to organise 'the Tuesday Group' with whom I had contact for eight weeks.

Change and Continuity in the Pinevale Garda Youth Diversion Project

Since 1999, there had been a complete turnover of SYS staff and of senior police officers. The Pinevale Project co-ordinator had moved to another part of the City; the regional manager had also moved. The new police Superintendent had been a community Garda Sergeant in the District at the time of the original data collection in 1999. He had not been interviewed then as he had little involvement with the Pinevale Project directly. A new structure had also emerged in the SYS with the senior youth worker and two staff reporting to a new regional management team. While the personnel comprising the local network of key actors had changed, so to had the context in which the Pinevale Project did its crime and disorder prevention work, largely as a result of the increased sense of danger associated with the supply of cocaine.

Cocaine, Guns and the Sense of Danger in the Pinevale Project

On my first day at the Pinevale Project, it emerged that there was a sense of fear and danger running through the SYS staff there. Young people had stopped coming to its new base. They had temporarily closed the building until the SYS senior staff decided what the appropriate level of response should be. A meeting had been arranged for the following day with senior managers and the director of the SYS. Morag pointed out:

> "We took a decision that we would work in twos and so you being here is going to be a help to us. We had to close last week because we didn't want to hear any more about 'this person is holding a piece for that person' or 'that young girl is holding a piece for the other'. We don't know who is at the top of it: whether it is just other young people or whether it is higher up than that. The other workers in the area want it to go away. Maybe we are taking it too seriously but I think we have to do something. We can't ignore it" [Security Context, PV 01, para 17].

At the heart of this fear was the claim made by staff that young people were being incorporated into a newly emerging cocaine trade. As part of this, Morag informed me, the young people were asked to hold guns and cash for those more likely to come to the attention of the police. The staff were looking for guidance from head office. The organisation appeared to be taking the issue seriously and not shying away from it: they sent an entourage of senior personnel to meet with Morag and her staff. (I tried to gain access to the meeting but was asked not to attend by the SYS Regional Manager).

Tension on the Streets of Leevale-Campanile Hill

When I got to work outside on the streets with Rick, the level of tension became apparent quite fast. Indeed, many of Rick's encounters were intersecting with a level of tension that existed on the streets amongst groups of young men in particular.

> We moved around to the other side of the building towards 'the cage'. To the side of it a group of young men, two of whom were wearing white zip up bomber jackets, were standing. When we came upon them Rick said "Alright". One of the young men (aged about 20) started walking fast as if leaving the setting altogether. Rick immediately said: "Relax he's a youth worker. It's me Rick. "Oh, jazus I thought you were the law. I have warrants and that man", said the young man.[65] Rick asked, "were you at that funeral this morning"? "I was. Jazus I never thought I'd see the day. We were great mates. I used to hang around with him". "I have a photograph of the two of you together do you remember" said Rick. "Oh yeah that's right". Anyway this is Matt, he's working with me for a while. You may get to know his face from being around. I said "alright fellas" [PV 07, Cocaine and Guns, para 14].

[65] He had warrants issued for his arrest, thus he was suspicious of anyone resembling a police officer, knowing that he would be likely to be arrested.

> this is Matt, he's working with me for a while. You may get to know his face from being around. I said "alright fellas" [PV 07, Cocaine and Guns, para 14].

The young man who fled was called by his nickname, *Loco*. He had turned and ran when he saw me, a strange face, even though I was with Rick. The situation was calmed only by the way in which Rick was able to bring the focus into the here-and-now.

What emerged from this and other interactions was two interconnected issues: the first that there existed a palpable level of paranoia and fear on the streets of the housing estates; the second, that *conversation* appeared to be mobilised as the primary means of engagement. Hence the conversations existed despite the paranoia and tension and it existed precisely because of it. The need to be 'in' through conversations and the need to work through the paranoia seemed to complement one another. The conversations legitimated Rick's presence and while present he could observe and achieve a vantage point which he likened to the craft of training horses:

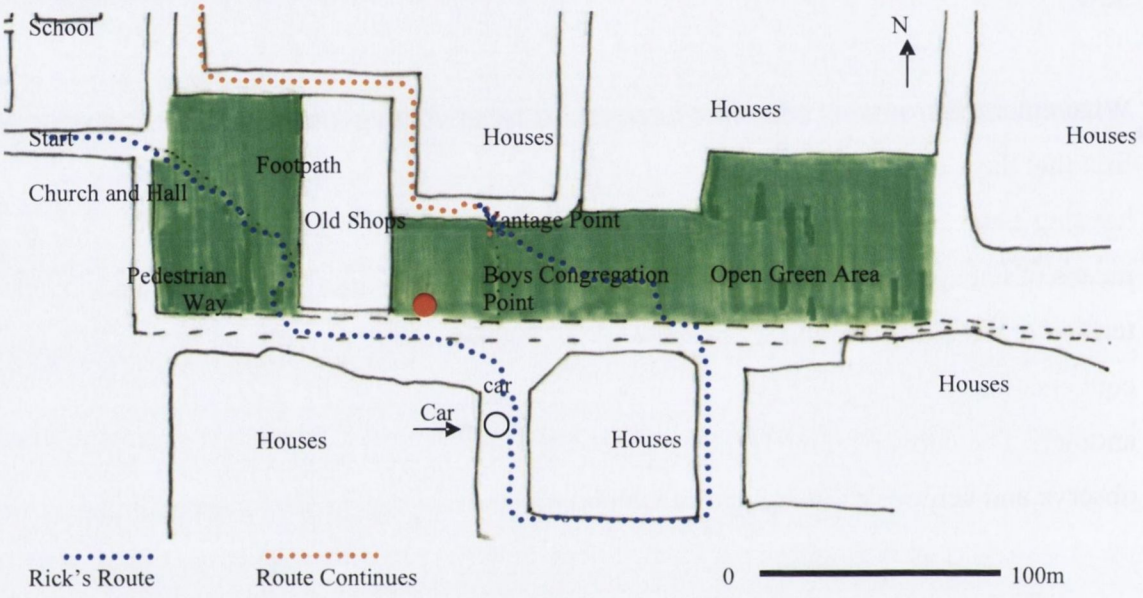
> Rick and I proceeded down a side street into the housing estate and away from the walkway. He said: "I want to go this way because there's something going on". I asked how did he know and he said "I could see behind you a bloke hanging around waiting for us to move off before he moved in. That's unusual, Loco usually doesn't carry himself, he must be carrying today". I asked: "What do you mean, gear [drugs] or equipment [guns]"? "Gear", said Rick, "but you wouldn't know what else". We walked around the block and eventually were heading back to a point further along the walkway. As we got nearer a young man about 20 came from where the group of young men were standing and got into a black Fiat Punto car. Rick and I walked past him and across a green area to finish up at the back of the shops on the alternate side from where the young men had congregated. As we crossed the green area Rick said: "This streetwork is like the Horse Whisperer. When I saw that I realised what this was about. It's a gesture here, a bit of eye contact there and you are in" [Cocaine and Guns, PV 7, para 18]. (see Figure 9.4 below)

This 'horse whisperer' analogy sums up Rick's style, where he uses non-verbal communication and by making his presence known.[66] In interactions with young people he would seek to temper the tension with either humour or reason, aimed at maintaining a level of trust. But it also involved being deft of foot to move away

[66] Rick's reference here is to a film of the same name starring Robert Redford. 'Horse Whispering' refers to a non-force based horse training technique developed by Monty Roberts. Robert's system is based upon using non-verbal communication with the horse that he calls Join Up. This has been adapted and used in a variety of human training applications. (See http://www.montyroberts.com)

from the scene and to gain an unobtrusive vantage point (see Figure 9.4). This style was in part necessitated by the changed security context arising from the emergence of the cocaine trade. The situation as it had existed in 1999, when I last spent time to conduct interviews in Pinevale, had therefore changed substantially.

Figure 9.4: *Rick's Route to Vantage Point*



The Garda Agenda

In 1999, the Pinevale Project had departed from the standard Garda Community Relations practice of promoting high visibility activities and instead had instituted a reflexive form of network governance (see Chapter Seven). While both the youth service and the police had difficulties with some of the details of its operation, as parties to the arrangement both were satisfied that their individual institutional mandates were fulfilled. However, this appeared to have crumbled by the time this fieldwork was carried out in late 2004. When I arrived at Leevale on one particular evening I met with Morag and Rick outside the building. They reported to me that they had had an intense meeting with the police officers who had visited them from the Garda Audit Section. I did not know the meeting was taking place and to my disappointment, both Morag and Rick both said that they would have liked me to have been there as a 'fly on the wall'. Alas, an opportunity was missed for some observation of power transactions between the two agencies. However, Rick and

Morag's account of the meeting provided some level of insight into the Garda agenda as they perceived it. The following are my fieldnotes of the encounter.

> I arrived at 6.15pm and as I rounded the corner of the building to the youth service, I met Morag and Rick standing outside smoking. I asked 'how are you?' and both of them chuckled.
>
> [Rick] "Oh don't talk to us Matt after the day we had. What a day we had".
> [Morag] "You should have been here".
> [Rick] "I just said to meself today 'if only Matt was here'. I would have loved you to be here as a fly on the wall, I really would".
> [Matt] "Why what happened"?
> [Morag] "We had a visit from two Guards from the Internal Audit section who came with [the Superintendent]. They were terrible. The only thing I am happy about is that [SYS manager] was here. I rang him and he said he'd come out to the meeting. I am so glad he did because he was able to explain things to them that I hadn't a clue about". [67]
> [Matt] "And what did they say to you"?
> [Rick] "They hadn't a clue but they had obviously been speaking to [the Superintendent] because he had them briefed. He met them beforehand. They were two sergeants. They thumped the table and said 'THIS IS OUR PROJECT'. And they said 'WE WANT GUARDS INVOLVED IN THIS PROJECT, THIS IS OUR PROJECT'. We said 'well [the Juvenile Liaison Officer] is involved'. And they said 'NO! WE MEAN REAL GUARDS AND COMMUNITY GUARDS!' You know, it was like this. Bullying, you know. We didn't know where to look. I said 'well it's not as simple as that'. But you might as well have been talking to the wall".
> [Morag] "They were very insulting. They didn't want to know so much about money and funding as what were we doing".
> [Rick] "[the Superintendent] said nothing but it was clear they had met him beforehand because they said things like 'how did you get into this mess'. And I was going, 'Well what mess exactly'? And they were asking why aren't the Guards involved and Morag had to remind them that I work for the youth service and not the Guards". [Morag] "All I can say is I am glad that [SYS manager] was there".
> [Matt] "I am sorry I wasn't there".
> [Morag] "Well I don't think [SYS Manager] would have wanted that Matt, he's too careful, you know". [Garda Agenda, PV 06, para 4].

The assertion that 'this is our Project' was a demand for greater input from police officers (not just the Juvenile Liaison Officer) but 'real' officers, and that the prevailing situation they perceived to be 'a mess'. This 'mess' had to do with the lack of police visibility in relation to the Pinevale Project. The contestation here appeared to reflect the re-assertion of the visibility strategy to which the police appeared

[67] As I understand it, he was able to remind them of their contractual obligations, referring to a history of service agreements made between the two parties.

ideologically committed. Thus, whatever semblance of communication had been established by 1999 had certainly unwound itself by the end of 2004 and may in part reflect the fact that most of the key actors had moved on from Leevale-Campanile Hill. In this context then, whatever semblance of a reflexive, self-organising network had been established with the police had all but dissolved and the SYS had dispersed its networking to other domains. Individuals do appear to matter to networks; their absence thus exposing the dominance of the police *visibility* ideal.

Conversation, Dialogue, Curriculum

A clear identifying feature in the practice of youth work and the youth crime prevention work at Pinevale was dialogue. The key means through which this was achieved was through conversations. In this section, the nature of this *conversation* is analysed in some detail. This is necessary as it provides a focused examination of the nature of encounters and may establish the extent to which the Pinevale Project worked against the police visibility agenda. The point of this analysis is to demonstrate that the value of *communication*, *dialogue* and relationship formation were central to the pedagogic agency (PA) of practitioners at Pinevale. If this was to be the case, then it was clearly contrary to any semblance of a 'morally cleansing discourse' (see Young, 1999 on moralising geographies; Rose, 2001 on 'ethopolitics'). First however, to explore the nature of 'conversation' as interaction, the contribution of Goffman (1961) is discussed briefly.

Goffman on Encounters

The lexicon provided by Goffman (1961) in his 'Encounters' essay is useful here for analysing and contextualising both face-to-face meetings between actors and the conversational exchanges they have. Goffman distinguished between *unfocused* (without a verbal exchange) and *focused* encounters as gatherings where there is an *a priori* willingness to verbal interchange. Encounters are aided and buttressed by 'rules of irrelevance' that act as a 'barricade' or a 'metaphorical membrane' that protect the encounter from becoming overwhelmed by information and relationships outside or beyond the immediacy of the encounter (Goffman, 1961: 59).

Encounters require a high degree of mutuality and reciprocity in order that they sustain a 'euphoria function' (Goffman, 1961: 40). The absence of such a function brings about tension or *dysphoria* which occurs where one actor in an exchange becomes uneasy because the exchange clashes with other 'worlds' where the actor is 'obliged to dwell'; and, where distinct rules of exchange apply. In this sense 'he can find himself strongly drawn to matters officially excluded…; or he can find himself strongly repelled by the official focus of attention, as when issues are realised that he has suppressed, causing him to feel self-conscious, overinvolved, and acutely uncomfortable' (Goffman, 1961: 39). The ordering of an encounter also rests upon the 'transformation rules' that are both inhibitory and facilitative of the exchange. The euphoria function of the encounter is optimised 'when persons can spontaneously maintain the authorised transformation rules' (Goffman, 1961: 59). Dysphoria can be reduced by the actors by 'integrating' it through acts such as 'charm, tact, or presence of mind'. In summary, Goffman (1961: 72) pointed out that sustaining a *definition of the situation* meant being comfortable with the rules. Wrong moves, verbally or physically could 'poke through the thin sleeve of immediate reality'.

Rick's dubbing of himself as the 'horse-whisperer' sums up neatly the essence of his craft – that of using the subtleties of charm and wit to sustain conversations. Once conversation existed then, dialogue was open, and moreover, dialogue in this case was often a prelude to further action. Indeed, even without dialogue, Rick insisted upon his horse-whispering non-verbal mode of communication, using the subtlety of his presence to signify his own visibility. This was especially so when the situation warranted that he remain detached and say nothing.

Conversation at the Heart of Pinevale Practice

One of the first indications I had of the centrality of conversation was a meeting I had with Rick to review the encounters we had had the night before. At this same meeting, Rick rebuked me for entering into his conversations uninvited. This came about in encounter with Rory, the father of a young man known to Rick. Rick and Rory were talking about Rory's return to 'the tools'. While work and welfare constituted much of the basis of Rick's conversations, only he was able to do this as if it was the very basis of his craft:

> "Well Rory, are you working again", asked Rick. "Yeah, I'm back on the tools" replied Rory. "You'd want to be careful. You think you can do loads when you're back but it hurts for a while", offered Rick. "It does alright. Ah I was fed up not working so I just said one day, jazus I'd better get out and start earning a few bob. I was browned off Rick. I used to love working in the B and B. Seven years I was there. It was the best job I ever had. The longest I ever stayed in one place". I asked where the B and B was and he mentioned a street in the city centre. "Some foreign crowd took it over and started giving out about this and that. I lost a lot of things I used to get taxi fare because of the unsocial hours and so they stopped that and a whole load of other things. The next thing I know is 'we are letting you go'. Well, I was glad then because it had gone bad and I needed to get out". [Conversation and Welfare, PV 08, para 34].

My error here was to assume that I had the same level of license as Rick and that I had the permission to enter the conversation on the same terms as him. When we sat down to review our encounters, he drew attention to this:

> "Another thing, came up there Matt that we have to be careful about. When you asked Rory about where he worked, be careful. He could have been on the labour and doing that job and he might have thought 'oh, now who is he, what should I say to him'. It's a trust thing and I have put a lot of time into working with that young person and his father". I said: "Okay, fair enough. I will take my lead from you on these issues. Maybe it's about keeping my mouth shut at the right time".
> Rick said: "I have to be careful about who I am in these situations. I have to remember that I am a youth worker and not a Guard and not a social worker. I have to constantly keep asking myself that question and saying it to myself" [Conversation and Welfare, PV 09, paras 10-12].

I had breached the rules of the encounter: it was one thing to be allowed to accompany Rick into the space but another to assume that I could enter the dialogue on the same terms. Thus, Rick cautioned me about entering his encounters where trust was key for him. This was *his* relationship in which he had invested over a period of time. Part of his craft it appeared, was to maintain an equilibrium level of trust; one misplaced question could indeed jeopardise the flow of communication and damage the relationship. This was a good observational vantage point to be in by virtue of the inductive properties of this researcher-informant relationship. Rick here too suggested that he was involved in his own internal dialogue as to his professional identity. He compared himself to two other professions that have coercive or authoritative state power in their official capacity (social worker, police officer).

What distinguishes him from these two is precisely his willingness and capacity to engage in conversation without an external legislative function. This was not the same as saying that there was no institutional basis to the conversation, but that it was not based upon either a Policing or policing function.

"Small Steps" Towards a Communicative Pedagogy

Rick had brought together a group of boys aged 14 to 15 years with PJ, a youth worker in an adjacent project. They met on Tuesdays and were referred to simply as the 'Tuesday Group'. Rick said that this was a temporary name until the group could form enough that it would then give it its own name. The group met in an annex to the Pineview Outreach Centre which was equipped with a pool table, an 'air hockey' table, a table tennis table and it had a kitchen and seating areas. I asked Rick at the outset, what the format for the Tuesday Group was:

> I asked: "What is the format for the group tonight, what will you do when they arrive. Will it be structured or will you just play by ear"? Rick said: "We will get them to play a few games and then we might put up a flip chart sheet and try and get them to say what it is they want to call the group and what it is they want to get out of it. They can make suggestions and we will write them all down and then later we can take off what is not possible. The first thing will be 'well we can't do that because of insurance'. The next thing will be us adding what we want". "So you can just add what you want as well" I said. "Yes, we are members of the group too so you can put up what you want. The whole thing is about getting people to see that you can do things in small steps if you break it down for them". Rick then joked about how this term 'small steps' had become his catch phrase and that people jibed him over it which he liked [Conversation in Curriculum, PV 07, para 59].

Here, the activity curriculum was part of a continuum: a group, as in the Tuesday Group, might have begun with a high level of practical leisure activities but that the group had a life course of its own. The first goal was to make a shift from the practicality of doing, to talking about doing and from there to identify goals that might be achieved in sufficiently workable pieces so as to enable some form of dialogic evaluation of the process of achieving the 'small steps', as Rick put it. The movement from one to the other then proceeded in gentle nudges towards a communicative pedagogy, in which the boys' readiness set the pace. Immediately this was observed in action where Rick could be seen to push the boundaries of the

curriculum only to retreat when he realised they weren't ready for either negotiation about curriculum or greater conversation.

The use of restraint involved the drawing back from the role of formal educator and could be seen in other situations, especially on the street. On one occasion Rick and I met with a group of boys, some of whom were in the Tuesday group, and they appeared to be smoking cannabis at a laneway in Campanile Hill. They made no attempt to disguise the reefers that they were passing around. He restrained himself from revealing his own values or that of either his organisation or those of the police. However, he was able to make a serious point about risk and health through an indirect route by talking to and about a small black dog the boys had with them:

> Meanwhile another boy about 14 years arrived on a yellow bicycle. The dog continued barking. The boy on the yellow bike asked if he could bring the dog with him. Rick joked with the boys: "He needs to come because we might be having a sex education session and he needs it. I saw him around the corner with other dogs and I hear that he has about forty children. He doesn't even know what a condom looks like so we'll have to get him and his mates into a sex education class before some other unfortunate gets pregnant". Some of the boys sniggered at this but did not laugh. I sniggered myself [Conversation and Welfare, PV 07, para 44].

Rick's humour was enough to register with the boys who just sniggered. They didn't laugh out loud so they may have thought it was more serious than funny, as of to get the point. Indeed, several hours later as we ended the session with the Tuesday group, the same black dog made an appearance and Rick continued the same line of humour:

> At 7.45 the young people left the building saying they would be back next week. Before they left the dog that Rick had joked about earlier had come back in and Rick said: "Oh he must have heard the sex education was on tonight so that's why he's here. He got the wrong week" [Conversation in Curriculum, PV 07, para 69].

Rick eschewed monologic communication by the way in which he restrained himself from moral discourse; he carefully projected ideas by personifying the dog and spoke about his risk-taking and the consequences of that risk without having to look directly at the boys or refer directly to their activity in the situation. Thus the curriculum derived mostly from encounters with young people in LCH and not from an

institutional agenda. Activities sometimes developed out of previous activities where conversations spurned or led to a subsequent development of the curriculum.

Rick was acutely aware of his limits and when he did not receive a receptive signal from a young person he backed off dutifully. He understood that the Tuesday Group boys were not ready and so he was prepared to wait, true to his sense of himself as 'horse whisperer'. Similarly in cold, 'unfocused encounters' (Goffman, 1961: 59) that did not become solidified through conversation, or where Rick could not establish a wedge, was enough to signal to him to back off and try later.

> The boys left via the gate and myself, Rick and Dougal headed towards Dougal's car. He offered us a lift to Leevale. As we did Rick said: "These boys are not ready for a group yet. This is just really about waiting for them to come around. They have yet to say what ideas they have for the group but I think it might be just a matter of time before that happens" [Conversation and Rick's Limits, PV 09, para 30].

Achieving an 'In'

Rick used a series of devices for gaining entry to or creating moments for conversations. In situations he avoided addressing the immediate basis of the activity and would instead use irony or humour to appease the tension. This was not necessarily a denial of causes of the tension or dysphoria in the encounter but a deliberate and strategic use of the situation in order to create the conversation. At the scene at the back of the old shops where the 'leader' did all of the talking, Rick referred to the fact that two of the boys were wielding golf clubs. While this resulted in no exchange about the golf clubs there was a sufficient presence made so that Rick could at least engage with the interaction even if he was not the *definer of the situation.* Loco, the leader who did the talking was in charge of defining and Rick played along with it to gain some foothold and then to close out and move off. For him this appeared to be sufficient for that point in time.

> Five young men were in the group. The two with white jackets were standing. One of them did all the talking. Three younger boys aged about 16 were sitting down on the remains of low concrete bollards to the side of one of the shop units. Two of them were holding golf clubs. Rick said to them: "doing

> a spot of golf lads, what"? A monosyllabic grunt came back from the young man in the middle of the three. The young man in the white jacket then did most of the talking. He said: "C'mere Rick, I see the chipper is not allowed to sell fish in the new shop. Imagine that, a chipper that is not allowed to sell fish". All the other boys laughed. I asked: "where is the chipper going to"? "It's going into the village centre" the young man said". "Anyway, we'll move on lads, good luck" said Rick as we began to walk away [In as conv + rel wedge, PV 07, para 16].

In his essay on the concept of role, Goffman (1961) pointed out that an actor has a multiplicity of selves to draw upon so as that the actor can orient themselves to the action that is in motion. There is, he pointed out, a 'definition of the situation in-charge' with which actors decide to cohere but in which they do not become fully enveloped:

> Thus the person who mutters, jokes, or responds with sarcasm to what is happening in the situation is nevertheless going along with the prevailing definition of the situation – with whatever bad spirit (Goffman, 1961: 118).

Hence Rick's craft was to move with whatever definition of the situation that was in train: sometimes acting as a primary definer himself and at others relaxing into whatever definition was in-charge, as it was in any case involving characters like Loco who commanded a degree of power on the streets of LCH. There could be no contra flow of dialogue from the other young men when he was around and Rick could only talk through him.

Talk was not just a by-product of curriculum but the very basis of action itself. It was for this reason that talk was valorised as it provided the *payoff* for whatever input was required to achieve it. Yet, conversation was also the raw material for producing other conversations. Hence, any matter that required there to be some face-to-face encounter between Rick and a young person or their parents, such as delivering 'forms' or notices to houses, was seized as an opportunity to gain an entrée to conversation.

Two key ways in which Rick gained an 'in' was through talking about fishing and conversing with people about work. Both of these provided the opening and closing of interaction. Rick was known locally as a fishing aficionado and was part of a local

inter-generational male network of fishing enthusiasts. Fishing was part of everyday talk between Rick and other males in particular. He often used this network as a means of communicating widely with people across Leevale-Campanile Hill. A European Union urban redevelopment initiative funded the development of a local park. As part of the consultative inputs from local interests, Rick was a key proponent of the development of a fishing pond as part of this project. Hence he achieved his status in the fishing network as the person who had the fishing lake constructed. By virtue of this status, he gained access to male domains to which few others of his occupation or other professionals had the capacity to achieve. Talk about fishing then became the means through which conversations could be had in such a way that a feature of the landscape provided the sustenance for conversation which in turn was also about fishing.

> [Young Man] "Anyway Rick do you know what I want to ask you, why is the water in the pond got so low. It's right down"?
> [Rick] "It's because after heavy rain…you know it's fed by a well and so after heavy rain it needs to be switched off because of the water pressure on the pump. They need to clean it out anyway".
> The young man nodded attentively as Rick explained. He smiled revealing that he had missing teeth and some of those remaining were stained.
> [Rick] "I have a bit of good news anyway. There is a hundred carp going in there tomorrow and I might be getting some trout".
> [Young Man] "Ah that's great Rick, fair play to you. Would you not get the job of turning on and off the pump, it would be a great little earner for you while your on the youth work"?
> [Rick] "No, that's some fella's job in the Parks Department".
>
> The young man said he had to go and that he'd talk to Rick again. At 4.15pm we crossed the road from the village centre and headed in the direction of Campanile Hill. I remarked that the young man seemed pleased about the Carp and Rick said: "That's my *in* for the week now" [Conversation and Fishing, PV 07, paras 26-30].

News about fishing, provided the store of raw material for a period and in the next time period, whatever emerging news could then be relayed as another week emerged, so the process could be reproduced as fishing stories provided the safe space within which Rick could establish a 'relationship wedge':

> …that is, once an individual has extended to another enough consideration to hear him out for a moment, some kind of bond of mutual obligation is

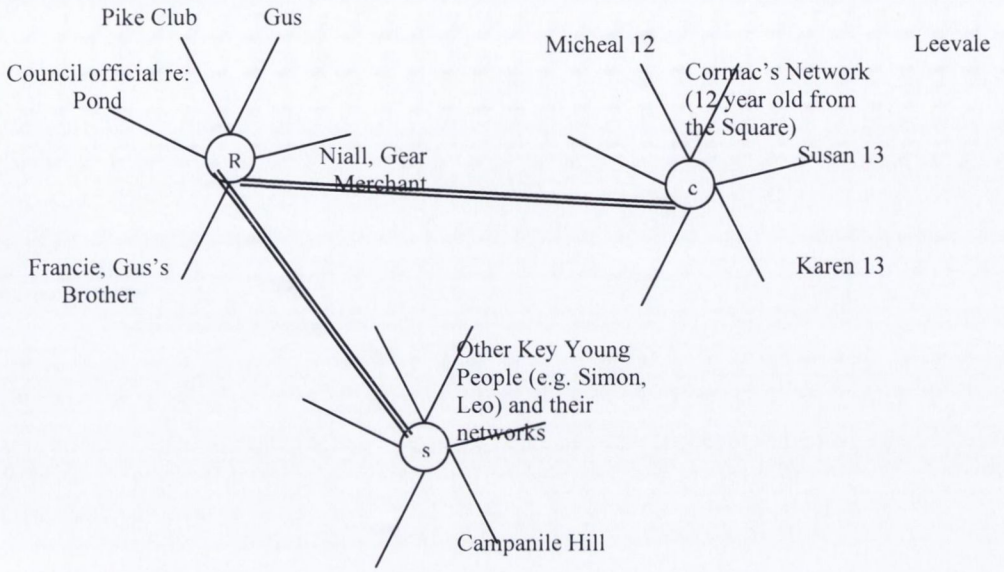
> established, which the initiator can use in turn as a basis for still further claims; once his new extended bond is granted, grudgingly or willingly, still further claims for social or material indulgence can be made. (Goffman, 1963: 105).

In this sense also, while Rick utilised encounters as a way of exercising his role as youth worker in a youth crime and disorder prevention initiative, he carried stories about fishing out to a wider public and he then was told other stories in return. These stories ranged from problems with the pump to the cormorant that arrived one day and ate so much fish from the pond that he crashed into a lamppost as he tried to clear the Travellers' halting site. Talk about fishing and the technicalities of it were interwoven into the fabric of conversations.

The fishing talk reflected also an area wide network through which Rick communicated; a sort of local grapevine. News spread through the grapevine in such a way that either Rick or his friend Gus would hear about various activities through those they were connected through fishing. This did not have to contain news about fishing, but could be about any issue and especially those involving young people. But it also served as a means of communicating the sense of dangerousness of particular situations that were brewing and on which Rick might have to act. Indeed, on several occasions he and his fishing friend Gus (a youth worker in the Inner City and LCH resident) discussed a situation at Campanile Hill involving Doovey, a young man who threatened to attack the family of another young man. As such the network became an effective informal mechanism of crime management, acting in a similar way perhaps to the 'grapevine' in nationalist areas of Belfast as argued by Brewer, Rodgers and Lockhart (1998).

Rick then acted as a key broker between his own network and other networks such that it was a way of linking remotely disconnected people across space (both Leevale and Campanile Hill) and between generations. Moreover, as in Figure 9.5 below, Rick connected himself through key young people and hence was linked with their networks. The illustration merely indicative: Rick involved himself in a multiplicity of relationships and was therefore connected to a wider variety of networks.

Figure 9.5: *Rick's 'Fishing' Network and Connections through Networks*



Fishing was a way of bringing people, mostly males, together from a wider area that were connected through Rick but also a way of drawing otherwise retreatist or insecure young men into the public arena, thus acting as a form of social protection:

> We walked across the green. Felix passed us on his bike. Rick glanced up to the window of the corner house at the end of the cul-de-sac. There was a young man, aged about 17 in the window. Rick waved up at him and the young man acknowledged him. He left the window quickly as Rick and I started to walk towards the house. "He stays there every day, he doesn't come out. As soon as he gets out of the workshop that's where he goes. He doesn't want to come out and get into trouble so this is his way of avoiding it". The young man appeared at the front door. Rick introduced me to him and vice versa. "Did you get your tooth done Leo?", asked Rick. The young man smiled revealing a missing front tooth. "No, I am getting it done. I tried to get a medical card and I have been trying now for six months but I have been refused. I am going to get it done but it's going to cost me three hundred", said Leo. "I have organised a fishing trip if you're interested. It's on the 14th and it's pike fishing. If you have a rod bring it", said Rick. "Yeah, alright" said Leo [Conversation and Fishing, PV 09, para 36].



The Fishing Pond at Leevale Park (above) with numbered fishing spots (below).



The second way in which Rick opened conversations was through talk about work. If the topic was not directly about work, it bore some relation to it, like school or training. In many instances these were the opening to a conversation or were the entire content of a passing encounter where the point was to just register that person and acknowledge them. In this context, these brief or passing meetings might have acted as a prelude to a more structured conversation later. However, the use of 'work' as a opener appeared to be an acceptable basis for conversation of either a sustained or passing variety. Those that transformed into more sustained conversations were

those where there appeared to be a mutual acceptance to take the dialogue elsewhere into other topics - often Rick was in a rush to get somewhere so he would not engage and he appeared to take cues from others that they too were distracted and unable to engage further. A typical one of these openers:

> A man and a woman approached us out of one of the cul-de-sacs and Rick said to the man: "Alright, you working or what"? "No, just a bit here and there", said the young man [Conversation and Work, PV 05, para 27].

Conversation, Danger and Subterfuge

If the focus of local crime prevention was to rest upon some form of 'moral cleansing' (Young, 1999) or a 'politics of self regulation' or a new 'moral reformation' (Rose, 2001), then it was not present in the initiative at Leevale-Campanile Hill. It is because of the dialogic nature of encounters that by definition eschewed any moralising agenda or 'ethopolitics'. If moral certitude were at the heart of it, then it would be impossible to legitimate conversations with those actors who were known as cocaine dealers or young criminals.

Smith and Jeffs (1999: 80) suggest that the type of informal educational practice that Rick was involved with, is a form of 'moral craft'. Such a craft involves the practitioner entering into a dialogue with others using the core values of respect for human welfare and wellbeing; a recognition of 'truth' in so far as they eschew what is known to be 'false'; and an appreciation of the principles of democratic participation in the public sphere.

While Rick and his colleagues were of this 'high moral tone' (Smith and Jeffs, 1999: 84), this did not translate into any form of moralising pedagogic relationship inside or outside of the building. Thus in conversations, where Rick either knew or suspected that the other person in the encounter was involved in dealing or illegal activities, he placed primacy on the conversation. There were many such encounters at my time at Leevale-Campanile Hill but the best example of this was the encounter with Vernie. This had initially appeared to me to be one of Rick's everyday conversations about work, but it turned out to have a hidden meaning:

> Rick said: "What's the story with you? Are doing anything, working or what"? Vernie replied: "I just took on a tiling job there for a woman up the road and they all want their kitchens and bathrooms done up for Christmas, d'you know". He was aged about 22 with sandy blond hair. His face was reddened and his eyes appeared to be watery. He was wearing two rings one of silver or platinum, the other of gold with a green inset with the letters IRA in gold coloured lettering against the green background. [Rick told me later his nick name was Vernie]. Rick introduced me to him saying Matt is working with us for a while [Conversation and subterfuge, PV 07, para 32, abridged].

Like many of Rick's conversations, this opened with an exchange about work. It appeared to be a perfectly plausible focused encounter where there was a mutuality revolving around work. This later shifted to a secondary safe zone, (fishing) and then moved into a more risky domain (guns).

> "Come here Rick, now why is there so little water in the lake over there. I was there the other day and I said to meself jazus it's very low", said Vernie. "I was just saying to someone else a minute ago that the water is low because of the pump. The Parks Department have to turn it off every now and again in order to keep the pressure off the pump. It's fed from a well and the pump gets overwhelmed after heavy rain", explained Rick. Vernie continued, "It's great that Pond I was even over there meself during he summer and it was deadly. I see that [name of politician]'s estate is all gone now it has a big fence around it. You can't go in there anymore because I heard some big Arab millionaire came in and bought the place up and has security all around it. I heard as well that someone got shot at up there. Jazus I learned to fish in [politician]'s estate. I'll tell you another thing Rick this [housing] scheme is gone to the dogs I'm not joking you. There's young fellas in here fifteen and sixteen with shot guns and stuff and they haven't a clue how to use them. One young fella was running after me there the other day saying 'will you get us a few rounds, will you get us a few rounds'. A few rounds, get away from me I said and go home. Jazus when I was fifteen I wouldn't have done that. But they haven't a clue how to use the things I'm not joking you. There was a young fella came out here the other night with one and it was all rusted to bits". I asked where the young people were getting the guns. "You see the IRA is now standing off with the ceasefire and so there's just loads of them around. Some of them are real rust buckets. They can get them for nothing now. I was told the other night by a young fella that I'd be alright if I needed a piece for anything. It's gone crazy. Someone would want to do something about it. I tell you I wouldn't mind getting stuck in over there with yous Rick doing a bit of voluntary work. Someone needs to do something. It's that fucking cocaine Rick. I had problems meself with the Heroin but I sorted that. You can get your methadone and your sorted. That's what happened me, I am now on me methadone and it's the worse thing I ever did. I should have just come off everything meself and now I can't get off the methadone.

> Rick acknowledged this: "I know but at least you have your head together". "Yeah but these kids on the cocaine they haven't a clue. They are all on it and they are banging it into themselves and it's not good Rick [Conversation and subterfuge, PV 07, paras 34-36].

On the surface this appeared again to be an account of what was taking place in the area and that Vernie, like most people, was concerned about it even to the point of wanting to do some 'voluntary work'. However, with his amassed local knowledge, derived in the most part from other conversations, Rick understood that Vernie's talk was a subterfuge. Afterwards, it was revealed that much of the conversation was a mask: the more the focus was on work, fishing and indignation about other people's guns, the less likely that the concealment would be outed:

> Behind us, a young man and a young woman had gathered in a front garden and were looking in our direction. Vernie excused himself and went to talk to them. Rick said he would see him again. We moved off through the estate. Rick said: "He sounds as if he's knows what he is talking about and he comes across well but he is working for guy who is the biggest dealer in Fairyhill and that's the story there. You wouldn't think it, but he is. Some of the young people are working for him as well". I asked about the ring with the IRA on it and he said: "Nearly everybody around here thinks he's in the IRA but there is a lot of shit talk about it. I said it to [a Sinn Fein councillor] this morning and he said 'they shouldn't be doing that and if you have names of any of these people we could sort them out'", said Rick [Conversation and subterfuge, PV 07, para 38].

Here Rick implied that he had conversations with others that revealed that Vernie was working for a cocaine dealer himself. Hence the entirety of Vernie's talk concealed that. However, this did not deter Rick from engaging in a conversation with him which continued despite his prior knowledge and suspicions of Vernie's intentions. In this regard, Rick desisted from any condemnation or avoidance of Vernie, rather he engaged in a game encounter where dysphoria was avoided; each actor only engaged on the basis of the avoidance of tension. To reveal the mask would have been to terminate conversation and no wedge would have been gained.

The ability to work with subterfuge eschews a 'moral cleansing' agenda by definition as it requires an openness to working in an open system of communication. Merton's (1968) distinction between manifest and latent functions is useful here. Manifest functions are those where there is an awareness of the intention of action. Latent

functions are unintended or 'a type of unanticipated consequence, one that is functional for a designated system' (Ritzer, 1992: 255). Both Rick and Vernie share the manifest function that talking about the danger of guns contributes to keeping the area safe. However, the latent function for Vernie might well be to enable him to maintain his drug dealing activities and hence reproduce system of cocaine trading. For Rick, the consequence is that his presence in the territory is marked out as equally as that of Vernie. As such an informal social control mechanism is in operation here that complicates Rose's (1999, 2001) 'ethopolitics' thesis. While it might be inferred that a latent panoptic is in place, it also indicates the practice of a form of 'etho-craft'. This craft does not simply moralise in the way in which Rose suggests but rather is a matter of skilful practice to determine when either morality or ethics are appropriate in the setting. The craft at the face-to-face level is reinforced by an advocacy role at the meso policy level as considered in the next section.

Youth Voice and Power Networks

At the institutional level, the SYS through its decentralised structure desired to advocate on behalf of young people in various development structures like the Cityside Partnership and in the Cityside Drugs Task Force. In addition, it worked in such a way as to convert personal troubles into public issues.

Youth Voice, the Institutions and Local Power Networks

In the course of my induction to Leevale-Campanile Hill, Morag took me to a meeting with other youth workers in the district including adjacent areas of Pineview and Streamstown. I had earlier been informed by Morag that her organisation intended to work towards a situation whereby all of the youth workers in the district would be encompassed in a 'regional youth service' and that towards that end the meeting we were to attend was part of that process. At the meeting Morag presented a document outlining the role and scope of the L-CHYP and the Pinevale Project within it. The document stated that one of the aims was 'to support young people *to have a voice* and to be encouraged to be challenged *and to challenge others appropriately*, (L-CHYP internal document, September 2004) [emphasis added].

This was explained at the meeting:

> The document contained a reference to 'young people's voice' and Morag made the point: "young people are not included in the plans of the various bodies such as the Partnership and the Drugs Task Force. Everybody says 'yeah we are concerned with young people and we are going to sort them out' but nobody actually consults with young people". The document also contains a reference to the commitment of the youth project to a 'critical social education model' [Communic Act Poss, PV 02, para 24].

The document went on:

> Our approach to youth work is based on a critical social education model of youth work adhering to principles such as voluntary participation of young people and equality (sic) (L-CHYP internal document, September 2004).

Morag emphasised that young people were excluded from those very structures that proclaimed their inclusion and singled out as examples, the Cityside Partnership and the Cityside Local Drugs Task Force. The *critical social education model* refers to a model of youth work practice premised upon radical-humanist principles. It seeks to enable the transfer of power over the curriculum to young people and to create democratic communication between young people and institutions as a means of transforming the basis of power in society (See Smith 1980; Hurley and Treacy 1993). In this sense, they not only committed themselves to dialogue on paper, but was part of everyday practice.

Developing a *critical social education* framework meant that the L-CHYP was at variance with a top down, police visibility strategy. This had been the case in 1999 but the difference now was that the youth work agency was not achieving the same level of engagement with the police. Avenues for 'youth voice' to inform policing policies and orientations were thus dis-established. Moreover, the distance between the two institutions grew wider as Morag and her colleagues professed that they were not in the business of curtailing young people's agency:

> On reaching the office Morag had arrived. I made some tea and returned to the office. I reminded Morag about her references to youth voice and critical social education and I asked her if I could arrange to meet her to talk about some of those issues soon. She said: "Critical social education is what I think we are doing but sometimes I don't know. I think we are heading for that. Youth work is not about stopping anybody from doing anything. As long as

we keep that in mind. It's not our job to get people to stop being involved in crime [Youth Voice, PV 03, para 62].

I took a tape recorder to Leevale-Campanile Hill and asked Morag if she would agree to a short interview on this issue of the conflict between social education, police visibility and institutional power. For the research, this created a 'speech event' (Neuman, 2003: 392) for it did not require a formal interview to be scheduled.

Speaking of the power of institutions to define the situation, Morag said that she felt that this was based upon 'educational snobbery'. She suggested that credentialised knowledge dominated the field and that people from 'the community' were in as good a position to act as definers and namers of the situation. However she pointed out that others such as the various governing 'partnerships' and 'task forces' 'lord over' the area: she included herself and her own organisation in that. Suggesting that she was quite self-effacing to acknowledge this, I probed the matter with her with the goal of naming the precise scope of power and governance:

MB: Right but where are the other 'lords'? I mean in order for you to think that way you have to give away some power right?

Morag: Yeah.

MB: Where are the other 'lords' that, if I can use your terminology, that don't want to give away power or are resistant to giving away power?

Morag: Up to recently, and I don't know that it is going to change that much, the Parish. The Parish (……) and em I suppose the Parish Priest. Now I have had a lot of time for him eventually but it took three and a half years to find it. But they own most of the land here. Like all of this space here now is still owned by the Parish. The negotiations and the licking up and the (…..) and the you know 'how great ye are' the boosting up of egos that we had to do just to be even allowed to get the youth building plans to get drawn up for a map on that area (..) with the Parish was unbelievable. (…) because it's their land (..) em (.) and the Parish Hall Committee who are the, you know, the old men (laughs)? They're the old men of the area (..) on the Parish Hall Committee and they wanted like a big glass huge full length window looking at the sports hall from the youth building built into the plan so as that anyone of them at anytime could walk in and look at the sports hall and find out who was messing, out of the youth building. And I refused to let go because I said it wasn't there to be a spy hole for anybody. Only they'd have access to it you know. But that all had to be negotiated and there was so much time taken. And it's still not handed over to Dublin City Council. Em (..) The Guards definitely. But only at times.

At times they lord about not being here at all. Rick actually asked the question a couple of weeks ago 'is it a fact that the Guards stay away a lot of the time

because they know where the stuff is going and they just contain it in there'. And they know that if they keep certain people in there that it keeps them having to it spreading to [adjacent middle class and other working class areas] that it's contained you know.[Morag Impromtu Interview, paras 10 to 13].

Morag identified the RC Church in the area as being a major power. Whatever power it held in terms of its relationships with other institutions or networks, it had material power in the title it held in property. So governance of the area operated beyond the level of discourse and within the sphere of material relations. For if the church acted as a landlord, then its relationship to its tenants made the nexus of power more problematic and more difficult to penetrate with a counter discourse. She suggested that because of their material power, a certain level of subservience or 'licking up' was required in this relationship.

Morag digressed slightly for about five minutes and I brought the interview back to this subject of naming sources of power:

MB: Which brings me on to what you said about sources of power. The Parish was one, the Guards were another....
Morag: Dublin City Council.
MB: The City Council.
Morag: Some community reps (...) em.
MB: Where are they coming from do you think?
Morag: The community reps?
MB: Ahmm yeah.
Morag: Well quite a lot of them are again, the old men who are also on the Parish Hall Committee, some of them. And I do I do, I don't believe that any of these people, including the Guards start off, or even are starting off as bad or inherently bad but it's real old school. 'A clip around the ear' (..) em, 'they're scumbags' you know. [You should] 'only work with the good kids, they're a waste of space, don't be working with them anymore'. But they see every young person that comes into us as bad and they aren't. Like there is some coming in here because they are being bullied (...) or their literacy is not great and they are coming to Carla for a bit of help on that. But just because they come here they're named as bad (.....) by not everybody but by some of this (...) circle of people.
MB: You are talking about the community reps here?
Morag: Ahmmm.
MB: Or when you say the circle are you saying that it's wider? You were saying that the community reps are like the old men as well? Are they Parish Committee as well?
Morag: You see they cross over.
MB: They cross over?

Morag: Yeah. [Morag Impromtu Interview, paras 24 to 37]

The context of the interview was to elaborate on the document Morag presented to her co-workers. So in this impromptu interview, she identified the existence of a patriarchal network that tended towards social control. In this regard, she implied that her practice was oriented towards working within this network in order to mobilise a counter discourse. She described the circle of actors as a dense network with co-membership of various organisations (including state and non-state) who eschewed her conversations with 'scumbags' and appeared to endorse a worldview that would have been content with placing young people under a controlling gaze.

This network had the power to stratify, define the situation and govern. Specifically, Morag identified the City Council officials and the 'community reps' as being also part of a local network of power. Here 'community reps' mean a group of local people who tend to be members of committees and their memberships often crossed over. They formed what she described as a conservative [old school] network whose solution to transgressing young people was to administer a 'clip around the ear'. Some of these 'reps' were the active lobby for CCTV cameras to be put around the area.

Morag elaborated further:

MB: And the Guards, do they have any relationship to that 'circle' of people as you described them?

Morag: Ahmmm.

MB: Okay. That's interesting. Do you know that that might be or what the nature of that relationship is between them?

Morag: There's some positive but I would say for the community reps, and again I think sometimes in terms of young people, people are misguided. In term's of the community they aren't always. Because they are saying there's not enough police here. I'd agree with that. There isn't enough police in this area. Problem is that when you send in enough they don't behave in the right way. So they'd be arguing with the Guards that 'we need more community policing, we need the cameras put up', which I don't agree with [Morag Impromtu Interview, paras 38 to 41].

Police Harrassment of Young People - Creating a Public Issue

A body that claimed to foster a critical social education model, being concerned to transform institutions through democratic communication, is less likely by definition, to be concerned with the agenda of institutionalised policing and more concerned to enable young people's voice to effect change. Hence a critical observation that might be made would be how precisely the organisation handled information brought to it by young people or others as to their harassment or alleged ill-treatment at the hands of the police. I observed Rick in two situations dealing with two distinct but similar accounts of alleged abuse of powers on young people. In both cases neither parent had made formal complaints through the institutionalised complaints processes. However, the SYS had procedures in place to raise such matters at managerial and policy level under the rubric of 'child protection'. In one of these cases, Rick and I went to Freddie's house and we met his mother. The conversation went as follows:

> [Rick] "I heard he got into a bit of trouble with the Guards over on the field there".
> [Esther] "Yeah. He got an awful time. I know mothers always stick up for their own but he didn't deserve what he got. He got arrested. Basically he got drunk and the Guards came and poured the drink all over him and gave him a few digs in the stomach. I had to go to the station to get him. They ripped up the cigarettes they took off him. The Guard, God forgive me for saying it, but he was a right bastard. He said 'he's underage and he shouldn't have them'. I said 'I know he smokes, will you give them to me'. And he just ripped them up in front of me. Now I wouldn't go up against the police because they all stick together. The youngfellas, his friends told me now that they gave him an awful life".
> [Rick] "Well I can register a case with my employers the youth service and what it is that if a certain Guard is coming up all the time well we can make an issue out of it. We don't send in the name of the young person, just the Guard or the station and we take it up with them as a child protection issue. If you want to do that you can talk to me about it".
> [Esther] "I'd never go up against the Guards because it's hard to prove it but yeah I wouldn't want that happening to anyone else's child".
> [Rick] "Anyway sure I'll be talking to you again and you tell Freddie to come and see me. He knows where I am and he has my phone number he can ring me". We said goodnight and left [Creating Public Issues, PV 12, para 22].

While the SYS did not appear to pursue a policy of direct advocacy here, they had adopted the stance that private troubles of this nature were logged and if necessary a public issue was created if a noticeable pattern of physical mistreatment of young

people emerged. Hence the SYS had instituted a mechanism for dealing with young people's stories of harassment or violence. Their narratives were cross referenced with their parent's accounts and then logged so that it could be raised through relevant policy making mechanisms. In this way, the SYS adopted a practice that defended the social by the positive utilisation of power. By extension, it adopted a counter position to that valued by the police and the Department of Justice: the expectation of behavioural change had to be a two-way process. It was expected under the initiative that the young people would do all the changing. This was and remains the cultural arbitrary that dominates the field and one which the SYS appeared to resist.

Unlike practices at Ballynew, and to a lesser extent Fairgreen South, staff at the Pinevale initiative did not act as 'fixers'. The SYS staff at the L-CHYP worked both with and against the prevailing sources of power be it through the various forms of network governance (Partnerships, Task Forces) or the coercive power wielded by police officers. They placed themselves in a mediating position yet they were not satisfied to act as buffers between two contrary opposites. They sought to create avenues of inter-agency communication but the prevailing discourse of security and the panopticisation of the physical and cultural landscape worked against such a strategy.

Communicative Agency in a Panoptic Landscape

Dialogue and relationship building were the two practice principles that pertained in both street level contact and in focused group activities indoors in the Pinevale Project. The Tuesday Group was not ready for the responsibility of a stabilised group activity and relationship building with them was slow. Rick, as noted elsewhere, was patient and was prepared to work through various issues and problems as part of a process towards group formation and enabling an ongoing conversation with and between the members. The group were referred by the Garda JLO; all except two appeared to be involved in cannabis smoking. This was painstaking for both PJ and Rick because the members of the Tuesday Group pushed normative limits on many occasions.

The fun and games of relationship building and its slow-brewing promise appeared to be going on against a punitive backdrop of a hardening surface of Leevale-Campanile Hill to the young people that Rick engaged. The wider conversation in networks of power and local governance networks was taking the form of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders and CCTV. Closer to LCH there was a building securitisation of the public sphere that was emerging as a successor to the 'defensible space' rejuvenation that had taken place a decade earlier.

On entering LCH first, I had noticed that the area was dotted with lamp posts on concrete plinths. There were no lights on top. Very early on, Rick pointed out their intended use:

> Rick suggested I look behind me: "Do you see those posts there, well they will be where the new security cameras are going. I don't agree with them myself but I know where local people are coming from". I looked towards the post. I realised I had seen these posts in other locations throughout the area and had not realised their intended use. They are about 15 or 20 metres in height with concrete bollards at their base. They have no cameras mounted as of yet it seems [Panoptic Landscape, PV 05, para 23].
> However, with a three week period, the masts became fitted out with cameras and infra-red lighting: the camera units themselves were protected by a metal cage on top of each mast. CCTV was a demand made by local people and while there was some unease in the Pinevale Project about their introduction, the staff there said they understood why local people asked for them to be installed.

There appeared to be some unease about this new imposition but a simultaneous sensibility as to their presence. Neither Rick nor Morag agreed with their use but were not opposing their installation. There was, it appeared no alternative view being expressed about their presence. Indeed Rick even thought that they may have had an initial effect in that he noticed that there was little on-street drug activity since I had first started accompanying him and that the CCTV cameras may have displaced whatever dealing had been going on [Panoptic Landscape, PV 13, para 18].

So while Rick and his colleagues had mobilised a dialogic-discursive engagement with young people who would otherwise be the subject of this surveillance, the conversation continued in contradistinction to the surveillance technology or the 'government at a distance' modality that the CCTV represented. CCTV had become

available as part of a Department of Justice scheme for protecting communities from crime and incivilities, while Rick's salary was paid ultimately from the same source under a scheme that sought to persuade young people to desist from crimes and incivilities in housing estates. This raises an interesting theoretical nexus. Much of Rick and his colleague's practice appeared to be about engaging in conversation and creating a public sphere with and for young people. There appeared to be an 'on the streets' agenda in that most of their contact, and indeed many of the schemes the Pinevale Project involved itself in were about raising the visibility of young people in the public space, and not that of the police. The CCTV scheme appeared to be about extending a state-civil society panopticon; a digitised gaze over space in which the normative framework appeared to connote the idea that young people should not be in public space and if they were, they were to be monitored from a distance. Indeed, Rick's efforts at developing and using the fishing pond and the L-CHYP's involvement with music and pageantry and creating the public 'festive' around occasions such as Halloween, seemed to run counter to the securitisation of the public sphere. Indeed the fun and games of dialogue celebrated the spirit of freedom that might be associated with 'youth' as a 'cultural moratorium' (Chisholm 1995). The panopticisation of the landscape however, appeared to convey a hostile, detached and anti-youth gaze.

Hence the dialogue taking place between the youth service and the young people was operating within the contested field and in the conflict between the right and left hand of the state (see Chapter One). In this context the dialogue seemed to run as a contrary opposite to the panoptic gaze of the state while the expectation at the policy level was that it somehow would cohere with it. While unable at times to overcome the institutional and governing blockages to youth voice, the Project acted as a form of resistance to the panoptic tendencies of the local / glocal state.

Ironically, some of the young men from the Tuesday Group were among those that congregated at an earth knoll in open public space in Campnile Hill Estate that Rick referred to as 'the high ground' (see Figure 9.1 above). He could go there if there was a particular young person he was looking for. The young people, he suggested use it a surveillance point to view who was encroaching; a form of counter panoptic.



The panoptic landscape: security cameras at LCH (above and below).



The LCH 'village centre' is a recent urban regeneration project that houses a city council regional office, a health centre, some shops, a post office and a crèche. At one end of the building is a FAS training workshop for young people, known as the 'discovery centre'. The main entrance is off a courtyard that is entered through steel gates either from the front (main road) or rear (church / school parking area). It is a node of administration and public services in the area together with the training and educational facilities located within the part known as the 'discovery centre'. In addition there is a Local Employment Service to which Rick referred those young people he met who were seeking employment or training. Hence the 'village' had been constructed from a variety of local nodes of government and stood out as a manifestation of a re-spatialised governance. It is the local node of administration for the local authority, the Health Services Executive and other state functions. It housed professionals providing health services and administrators dealing with housing issues. In this sense it is a junction between the system of the state and market and that of the life world of individuals and families.

This was a highly securitised and fortified space. At night the steel gates were closed. The interior and exterior was surrounded with CCTV. It stood in sharp contrast to the housing and environs especially its sleek, uncluttered modernity and its newness; it gazed out at LCH through its long lateral windows from which Carla suggested I went if I wanted to observe cocaine dealing on the streets from a distance. It was easy to gaze outwards from the windows but not to look in. To move from one place in the 'village' to another, one had to pass through various border crossings - from the car park to the courtyard; from the court yard to the main building and from here to the various sections within. The 'discovery centre' and many other spaces were only discoverable via coded doorways and the "village centre" emptied out at night:

> I came away from the conversation to observe some movement of people coming into the car park via the security entrance. A group of three people came through the gate, one man and two women. They were dressed in business clothes. The man was wearing a suit and the women were wearing what could be described as smart casual clothes. Both of the women were carrying boxes with files. The man carried a brief case. The boxes being

> carried contained mostly paper and the boxes had the name of a medical supplies company [I took it they were staff from the health centre]. They were followed by a steady stream of people as if they had come from the same place. A woman carried a box which contained medical supplies including dressings and bottles containing medicines. They were placed in the boot of a car and the woman drove off. Rick said: "This place will empty out now watch". Within a few minutes about half of the cars in the car park had dispersed [Leevale Village Centre, PV 13, para 10-12].

As Rick observed, within a few minutes, the professionals and the administrators had left the village centre. The term *village* had been appropriated for the term *governance node*. The predominance of security in the landscape and the fortification of governance appeared in sharp relief and was observed to be in a dialectic with the dialogic communication that the Pinevale Project sought to create. Thus as well as the power of networks, the task of creating 'youth voice' was made all the more difficult by virtue of a discourse of security and a panoptic landscape.



The Council offices and training centre at LCH Village Centre, with windows overlooking Campanile Hill.



The rear car park at LCH village centre. A node of governance, the car park empties at night.



The LCH village square accessible through gates that close at night.

Subjectivity, Masculinity and the Working Class Experience

Conversations on Work, Education and Welfare Revisited

As noted earlier, Rick's entrée to conversations often involved the subject of work. Labour is part of the habitus of working class men: they are inculcated to it from an early age to the point that it becomes, as Bourdieu has suggested, ingrained in the subject at the doxic and paleo-symbolic level (see Chapter One on 'habitus'). It thus provides a set of codes for evaluating the meaning of activity or a benchmark for interpreting culture and placing oneself in social positions (see also Willis, 1978). In this context the lexicon that this doxa provides draws upon a knowledge of the meaning and significance of work as part of the very identity of the individual. Rick's use of work references for entering conversations drew upon this habitus: for much of his school life, just like those in Willis's classic study of working class male culture, he would have been inculcated with the idea of measuring the success of his transition from school to work by the working occupation he would have achieved. Thus the phrase 'are you working' or 'are you doing anything' is what is learned from the time the working class boy has spent at school where he has been warmed up to expect a certain manual level of occupation and cooled out to the labour market to fend for that position. While Mac an Ghaill (1994) observed that the 'macho lads' were learning not to labour in the context set by high levels of unemployment in the British west midlands, the present study was being carried out in a period of full employment. Rick operated out of a habitus based upon the centrality of labour as cultural value, revealed in his disposition on work.

In an impromptu taped interview with Rick, I reflected back the observation that conversation openings often revolved around either <u>work</u> or <u>fishing</u>:

> MB: Now all the jokes and all the fun and all around that it was about fishing or about work. Now I don't want to put you on the spot about this but I'd really like to hear about why you think those two things come up in conversation? And this thing about the in is important.
>
> Rick: Well work (….) nearly everybody wants to work or they want a job. They want to be able to make money. Everybody (.) the whole country the whole world is run on people getting jobs. It's part of what

everybody seems to be aiming for. Not that I mightn't totally agree with that but that's the reality of it you know (..) from when you go to school. You go to school to get an education to get a job you know. And that's it's a normal easy thing to talk about you know.

MB: Right it's something that people seem to respond favourably to. So when you get when you get that response you have an in?

Rick: Yeah. It's communication. Part of the job. Relationship building is communication em (…) sometimes we walked by gangs of young people and we still be communicated?

MB: Hmmm.

Rick: Like it's like [nods] that.

MB: A nod. [Rick Impromptu Interview, para 23-29]

After a digression we continued:

MB: But there's two safe things. Fishing and then work, they are two safe things?

Rick: Yeah. They're safe things. It's also safe for them to talk to me about. It's safe me to talk to them and it's safe for them to talk to me and work wise, you'll always get some sort of reaction. You know, they'll always (..) now they might say 'no I'm still in school'. So you're learning. 'Ah you're still in school that's great'. You might ask what they might consider a stupid question sometimes or make a stupid question.

This reflected not only Rick's role to create linkages to labour market and training services for young people but that it was part of his own cultural repertoire: part of his own habitus. Rick's craft was it seems about presenting himself as an honest reflection of his identity. This he described in the interview as 'being ordinary'. That is, he suggested that it would be difficult to train somebody to work like himself; it required that one did not pretend to be somebody else:

MB: Yeah you were saying there a few minutes ago that that's about almost walking in a particular way and having your body language (..) giving off the body language that's expected of you?

Rick: Yeah. You don't have to act it though (..) you know that way? (……) eh. When I'm out with somebody that you have a (..) you might mention body language to make them aware of it but you can't ram it down their throat that you just have to be normal, you have to be ordinary you know. When you try to be something else it's like eh imagine [laughs]. Imagine walking down Harlem and trying to be a black ganger you know as a white person you know. It's the same walking around here if somebody tries to imitate it sticks out a mile you know. So you have to be ordinary and honest you know [Rick Impromptu Interview, para 55-56].

So Rick perfected the craft of being and remaining ordinary – appearing to be the same as those who were the subject of his work or blending and knowing how to blend. The 'right' body language was required and it involved not being too easily distracted or over curious, not looking behind too much, not over-reacting and setting up safe zones to enable dialogue. On the streets of LCH then, conversations about work, even if they were mediated by educational, legal or other matters, have some relationship to a person getting work, improving their work opportunities or getting over an obstacle to secure work.

Apart from talking about work, Rick also acted as a de facto intermediary between life world and labour market by the way in which he made links for young people to education, training and work and to state supported labour services such as the Local Employment Service (LES). This involved calling to houses to broker appointments for some young people. Freddie was a victim of police harassment - Rick had heard about him in this context and we called to his house at one point where his mother Esther spoke about this issue. Freddie's mother was anxious to get him work because his father would take him to work with him or send him to relatives so as that he would be occupied. Hence, the labour market was viewed in this context as achieving a safety status or as a prophylactic against the onset of idleness and boredom.

Thus insofar as any preventive pedagogy had been mobilised, it appeared that it was built upon normalising the idea of work as a passage to adulthood and, by extension, away from criminal lifestyles. But Rick himself had a critique of this idea because he knew that many of those involved in selling cocaine did so as additional to jobs they had, as a way of earning extra cash, and not entirely as an alternative means to culturally prescribed ends.

Gender Divisions and Sexual Apprenticeship

The LCHYP appeared to work on a gender division of labour. While both Carla and Rick engaged with girls and young women, Rick did not appear to establish relationships with them. In the housing estates, he mostly engaged with young men and any relationship building was with boys and young men. Rick often avoided

making commitments to groups of young women who approached him asking to get involved in activities. His rationale to them was based upon staffing and resources:

> We rounded the shops to meet La La, Olga and the group. They had been joined by two other boys who hadn't been there earlier. "Here Rick, I have the list made out, and here's your pen back", said one of the girls. "Okay, so I will arrange a session some night before Christmas when you can all come over", replied Rick. "Ah Rick, why can't we do it now, why can't we have our own group", asked Olga. "Well, you see, there's only me and Carla and we have enough groups already. We don't have the staff". "And what about him, Matt?" she asked. "Matt only works with me on Tuesday and Thursday", replied Rick [Street Gender Scenes, PV 10, para 34].

The fishing involved recruiting young men into a male leisure network: by definition it involved some degree of inculcation - not least to the lexicon of fishing but also an inculcation to the culture and skills required and the attraction of 'gear' and technique. Rick's own subjectivity was bound together with fishing and his own masculinity valued both it and work as two key components of urban working class male life. In this regard, his practice often engaged young men in a form of sexual apprenticeship whereby 'through the various practices, sexual teasing, practical jokes etc. the adolescent boy is shown up as "soft like a girl" in order to provoke him into the counter-assertion of "manhood to maturity"' (Cohen, 1997: 203). Fishing by definition involves a gendered apprenticeship as it necessarily introduced young men to an almost totally male local culture. Rick at times revealed his own masculinity: eschewing that 'soft' leisure for boys such as soap opera or 'ballet dancing' while valuing football and fishing:

> PJ bantered with Nigel about his Mancheser United jersey. "Who are they playing tonight" said PJ. "Sparta Prague", he replied. PJ had said earlier that Nigel wanted to go at 7.30 to see this match. Rick said: "I bet he's [Nigel] not going to watch the match at all. I bet he's going to watch Coronation Street aren't you"? [Rick and Sexual Apprenticeship, PV 07, para 67].

Hence the older male reproduces the *gender order* (Connell, 1995) whereby as an elder he sets out the cultural parameters for the expression of sexuality by attaching to cultural practices, ideas about softness and hardness, masculinity and femininity. Hence the jibing about Coronation Street versus the Manchester United match seemed to counter pose two masculinities - football as hegemonic masculinity and soaps as a

feminine pursuit or for those with subordinated masculinities. Thus talking about work and securing a 'relationship wedge' are for Rick an extension of his own habitus; in a sense he was already 'in'. In this context he demonstrated a capacity to reach out to a group of people who were, like himself, in search of both subjectivity and collective identity in a post-industrial, securitised world. At the same time, he reproduces the gender order as a latent function of practice. That is not to undermine his work with young men as a practice in its own right, for engagement with adolescent males is part of the dialogue leading to the shaping of masculinities. As Connell (2005: 11) has pointed out, adolescence is important in the 'making of masculinities' and it 'lies both in the ways existing masculinities are appropriated and inhabited, and in the negotiation, and sometimes rejection of old patterns'.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the extent to which a distinct cultural practice was in train in Pinevale. The key distinguishing feature of that practice was dialogue with young people. This was aided by the degree of naturalisation that Rick had achieved in the setting. He drew upon his own cultural repertoire to open and develop relationships. While this cultural practice was in motion, it certainly did not constitute the 'definition of the situation in-charge' (Goffman, 1963); its nemesis was the powerful network of interests that controlled the social space that we might call 'the community'. The research presented in this chapter reveals the subtelties of an etho-craft that youth crime and disorder prevention practice might become. For the Pinevale Project at LCH to realise its ambition for transforming institutions through opening channels for 'youth voice', the main challenge appeared to be the powerful institutional and dominant community interests, along with their discourse that eschewed a public sphere for young people.

The mobilisation of panoptic technologies and the discourses that sought to secure the institutionalisation of young people is a contrary opposite to the dialogic approach adopted by the practitioners. The L-CHYP and the Pinevale subsidiary of it operated within this dialectic. They coruscated as a resistant practice in an ever growing hardening of discourses towards young people's participation in open spaces in cities and towns. Rick drew upon a cultural repertoire that enabled the engagement of

young men mostly, and in doing so he arguably reproduced a gendered division of the public sphere.

In the overall context of the research then the rift between the police and the youth work models in the Pinevale Project grew further apart and the promise of resolution and a return to the form of communication established at the outset, was not in sight. Unlike Fairgreen (see Chapter Eight) and other contexts studied, practice at LCH (in the Bourdieuian sense) did not lead to a flow of social and cultural capital to the police. The Pinevale Project deepened its resolve to work in dialogue with young people while institutions hardened their mandate towards ridding the community of anti-social behaviour. The promise of a communicative transformation may still be present but the political context was and remains unfavourable.

Rick's practice operated from an insider habitus and as such was not pushing an external moral agenda. However this case study appears to be pointing to the practice of an ethico-craft where the practitioner retains a 'high moral tone' (Smith and Jeffs, 1999) and at the same time exposes aspects of his/her own habitus so as that it can enter into dialogue with the dispositions of others. In Rick's case this meant also being prepared to work with subterfuge and using upon his habitus as a working class male.

Rick and his colleague Morag, are in one sense practicing consistently within the institutional culture of their organisation and in another sense, working outside it. It appears that the SYS shows itself to be tolerant of practices to which is not itself formally committed. In this case while its mandate involves social education in a broader sense, it is not particularly wedded to its 'critical' variant as practiced at LCH. Critical social education is a transformative pedagogy by virtue of its emphasis upon rational dialogue with young people. It appears that once its own mandate, to engage with and provide for the welfare of young people was fulfilled, the SYS enabled practitioners to utilise their own professional habitus within the SYS worldview, provided that these did not fundamentally clash with one another.

Chapter Ten Conclusion

In this final chapter, the argument is positioned firstly within the policy and practice field on which youth crime and disorder prevention takes place, and within the sociology of contemporary Ireland. A major initial reference point here is O'Sullivan's (1998b) argument that state policies for the control of youth had shifted from incarceration to a medley of technologies of prevention. The research reported here has explored this proposition with particular reference to the increasing role prevention gives to civil society in disciplining working class youth. The chapter provides a concrete statement of the revelations of the research, a theoretical reflection on the findings, and some consideration of the policy and practice issues in relation to youth and governance.

The dissertation is located within a structuralist-constructivist sociology influenced by Bourdieu (1977; 1984) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992). The research has also been framed within both critical criminology and urban sociology. The organising framework further draws from realist criminology to enable a focus upon the role of actors in determining and delimiting the shape of youth crime and disorder prevention modalities (see Chapter Two) in specific urban locales.

Within this theoretical framework, the research sought to address two key questions. First, are youth crime and disorder prevention modalities an extension of state power as an adjunct to the monopoly on legitimate violence and if so, how is this manifested? More particularly, the research sought to untangle the nature of civil society-state relations in youth crime and disorder prevention in order to establish a sense of the nature of governance. Second, might modalities mobilised under youth crime and disorder prevention be considered as a form of reflexive, self organising governance with the transformative potential in creating democratic practices and discursive-communicative forms of action? In relation to this, the research sought to identify forms of pedagogy mobilised in order to explore the nature of discipline on the one hand, and the potential for discursive practices on the other. A series of

linked theoretical case studies were undertaken that involved an analysis of archived interviews with key actors together with a contemporary field study utilising participant observation (see Chapter Four). As the research was conducted over different time periods, the project has an historic dimension.

Following Peillon (1998, 2001), who studied the Irish welfare state as a 'field', this dissertation presents a more intensive study of power and practice in youth crime and disorder prevention than has been attempted before. Accordingly, the research involved the delineation of institutional practices within their wider social context, outlining the socio-spatial context as a central dimension to an understanding of youth crime and disorder prevention; and also, the identification of the main players and their strategies within the field.

This dissertation has documented that since the events at Ronanstown in 1991, a model of practice in youth crime and disorder prevention has emerged and become widespread through Ireland. The research shows that this model was a direct reponse to problems of order in urban peripheral locales. The model favoured a particular form of practice – one based upon returning the maximum visibility to the police whose legitimacy was in question in these locales. This set of practices, as outlined in Chapters Six and Seven, was promoted by a group of key actors in state, police and civil society organisations.

The case studies presented provide evidence for the finding that youth services, with the exception of the SYS, brought into being a practice of collaboration with the police that was based upon a form of network governance that was premised upon the flow of capital between youth services, the state more generally, and the police in particular. The basis of this collaboration was to provide visibility to the police in the process of community building in the urban periphery. The intended effect of this appears to be the promotion of a cross- class social solidarity; whether and how this is achieved however, is outside the scope of this research. One effect that it does appear to have is to de-centre the relationship between youth worker and young person in favour of a form of moralising and civilising pedagogy. The importance of representing the police as a benign force through forms of rehearsed and ritualistic civic engagements, took precedence over the fostering of meaningful, qualitatively

driven relationships with young people experiencing social marginality. The case studies presented also provide a degree of evidence for the survival of such a model in that fostered by the SYS where the investment of social capital appears to be more focused upon the young people involved, and less upon the promoting institutions. In this instance, more discursive forms of pedagogy have been proven to be resilient despite attempts to marginalise and constrain it within youth crime and disorder prevention.

While demonstrating what appears to be a discursive practice encapsulated in the term 'social apprenticeship' (see Chapters Seven and Nine) this remains an elusive term. This concept needs further research and analysis before its promise can be more fully articulated. The possibilities for implementing it remain frail: part of the difficulty is that youth crime and disorder prevention, as an area of policy and practice, remains tied to the promotion of police-community relations. In this context the model has favoured promoting a form of moral cleansing of urban society over and above reconstructing the public sphere for young people. This resonates with the conclusion of Hughes (2002: 136) in his analysis of 'community safety' in the UK. On the one hand, the practitioner might represent a form of 'tough love facilitator' imposing compulsory social inclusion to the disaffected. Alternatively, the practitioner becomes the expediter of a 'replacement discourse' and whose transformative work becomes the basis for reversing the tendency towards the criminalisation of social policy in favour of the socialisation of crime and disorder policy.

This dissertation is curtailed by a number of important limitations that might be subject to further research in this field. In this respect the conclusions and observations can only be partial. The thesis is firstly restricted to a research problem as outlined in Chapter Four, and does not examine either the patterns of crime over time or the thrust of criminal justice policy and systems. Second, the research does not set itself the goal of examining the findings against the historical evolution of the youth justice system; this might form the basis of collaborative work in the future. In addition, a third limitation is that the research is only partially a reflection upon the practices and policies of An Garda Siochana and is not specifically linked to an analysis of its overall evolution or to more recent institutional changes as set out in the Garda Act 2005. The fact that the research is overwhelmingly Dublin focused is a

fourth limitation. A more complex model is required to reflect the whole of Ireland. Nonetheless, the aim of the research was to examine an urban process and Dublin provides the principal example of a particular model of urbanisation in Ireland.

The research finds that there is variation in the mix of coercive and persuasive strategies. Two broad modes of governance have been identified that are dependent upon (a) the form of network arrangement and (b) the modes of curriculum and pedagogy mobilised as summarised in Figure 10.1 below.

Figure 10.1: *Modes of Governance in the study sites.*

	Coercion Strategies	Persuasion Strategies	
Government	Police and State Institutions *-Enforcement and extensive use of policing powers;* *-Surveillance and social control by extended judicial field (net widening)* ***All Sites by Definition***	State Institutions *-Formulation of consent;* *-Forging of legitimate domination through symbolic power.* ***All Sites in Varying Degrees***	Modes of State Action vis-à-vis youth disorder
Governance	Meso Level Local Elite Networks *-Promoting Police Visibility;* *-Social Panoptic;* *-Youth Regulation.* ***Ballynew, Fairgreen, Emmetstown***	Meso Level Reflexive Networks *-Preservation of youth welfare;* *-Promotion of 'youth voice'.* ***Leevale Campanile Hill***	Modes of Curriculum and Pedagogy as State-Civil Society Action
	Monologic	Dialogic	

First, where youth crime and disorder prevention has been mobilised towards the accumulation of institutional capital it tends towards the coercive pole by virtue of its role in surveillance and regulation. This is because it serves to soften the state's coercive monopoly by promoting state-spatial strategies that make state policing institutions both visible and legitimate. Some level of persuasion takes place in all sites studied. However in three sites - Ballynew and Emmetstown (see Chapter Seven) and Fairgreen (see Chapter Eight) – the mobilisation of monologic forms of pedagogic communication, together with mass character forming curriculum, serves

to underline the symbolic power of the state to a greater degree. This is by virtue of the position of these sites vis-à-vis a system of gift relations mobilised through the practice of beneficence by networks of state and civil society actors on a regional and national basis. In these instances, a panoptic policing gaze can be cast over physical and social space by local elite networks consisting of handpicked youth agencies and community representatives. The research also finds nuances in how this is executed. In Ballynew for instance (see Chapters Seven) the DYS as an agency within the church, sought to reinforce a form of moral community based upon its pastoral role in which it conjoined with the police in a relationship of institutional reciprocity. In Emmetstown, a self-appointed local network of notables comprised of police, clergy and a school principal (see Chapter Seven) mobilised mass scale physical activities as a means of neutralising the physical capacities of young people that might otherwise be directed towards disorder.

Second, where youth crime and disorder prevention mobilises around the idea of working with young people dialogically and where the focus is upon promoting the acquisition of social and cultural capital by the young people involved, the coercive power of the state is played down; its legitimacy is built from investing in social citizenship. The promise of this model, as exemplified in the Pinevale Project at Leevale-Campanile Hill (see Chapters Seven and Nine) is that it preserves the idea of promoting youth voice and protecting the values of youth welfare. In this way it softens institutional agendas in favour of the building of quality relationships between practitioners and young people. In this way, the model promotes discursive communication by virtue of the emphasis upon dialogue. Its persuasive power therefore is stressed over state coercion and the place of police visibility neutralised and redirected to activities elsewhere (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Nine).

This range of practices has, in this dissertation, been connected theoretically to the structuring logic of the late modern, post-Fordist social order whereby actors have been focused more towards the instigation of regulation of youth in public, and away from youth welfare. Thus the response to advanced marginality and increasing invisibility and social polarisation associated with the urban periphery, has been less about creating a greater social citizenship and more about shoring up the power of

local governing elites as the new governors of working class youth in the urban periphery.

Illustrative of this was the practice of the network of actors that generated the youth crime and disorder prevention projects who were seeking to establish a system of gift-giving based upon the incorporation of local areas into a sort of state sponsored philanthropy (Chapter Six). The gifting was in turn passed onto the young people in a variety of ways though the inculcation of the values to be imparted in the pedagogies associated with character building, giving and order. The creation of a personal locus of responsibility in the question 'Who Suffers?', put forward to young people in Ballynew, isolates the individual within his or her own agency, denying in the process, the structural conditions in which environmental degradation and urban decay takes place (see Chapter Seven). The symbolic violence therefore implied in such a statement, rested upon the idea that the slaves created the conditions, not the masters, and by extension, the slaves were responsible for their own plight. This then was the mobilisation of symbolic violence at the micro level; the way in which 'the social panopticon' (Wacquant, 2001) worked at the front end. In Ballynew, Emmetstown (see Chapter Seven) and Fairgreen (see Chapter Eight), the modus operandi was to tie young people into such a process. Hand-in-hand with this was the process of control over the naming of reality at the very heart of the relationship between the youth worker and the youth. The effect of this tended toward the reproduction of a system of classification between the "good kids" and the "scumbags", between those 'at risk' and those not so.

This cultural reproduction of the gifting relationship was a central binding value at the core of the network of state-civil society actors overseeing the response to urban crime and disorder. Moreover, it provided a template for all other urban peripheries in Ireland. Pinevale was the deviant case: it sought to move away from gift giving and towards a more discursive practice based upon social apprenticeship (as a cultural moratorium leading to a social citizenship), the generation of a collective consciousness through artistic media and the creation of active participative networks (see Chapter Seven), such as those around fishing. This is a particular form of gifting that does not appear to be oriented towards behavioural accommodation per se. It resisted and actively worked in a counter logic to the imposition of the panoptic, in its

human and in its physical and digitised forms. It promoted trust by recognising young people's right to the public space and sought to discursively engage through conversation, as if building or renewing the public sphere (see Chapter Nine).

Two Modes of Gift-Reciprocation Practices

In essence then, it has been observed in this research that two modes of gifting and reciprocation are in train. One set of practices, it is argued, appears to be based upon symbolic power, often by defining the situation in terms of linguistic binaries and the orchestration of moments for the practice of gifting to occur. Another set of practices, it is argued, appears to build a form of social apprenticeship based upon a critical pedagogy based primarily upon dialogue.

Bourdieu's (1977) theorisation of gift-giving as outlined in Chapter Two, relies upon the idea that within the habitus, the calculation of return or reciprocity is disguised such that the passage of time between giving and receiving appears not to be connected to one another (Adloff and Mau, 2006: 103).

Titmuss (1970) on the other hand argued for a conceptualisation of gift-giving, as exemplified in voluntary blood donation, as a form of social altruism in which people act to 'cause good' by 'expressing the belief in the willingness of other men to act altruistically in the future ' and thus 'express confidence in the altruism of unknown strangers' (Titmuss, 1970: 239). In this line of thought, there is no expectation of reciprocation arising from the fact that the giving is between strangers and channelled through the redistributive functions of the national blood banking system. In this way, the gift is a form of social insurance, where the donor banks blood on the understanding that this action is a form provision for contingency in the future, should the donor need the blood of another. Key here is the role of social rights in which the individual contributes and withdraws as required based upon particular contingencies during the life course.

On the one hand, Bourdieu's concept emphasises the reproduction of power relations while Titmuss emphasises the role of inter-temporal giving practices as a mode of

building social solidarity. However these concepts are further complicated by the role of networks for as Thompson (2003) suggests, members seek to strategise so as to achieve individual benefits, as opposed to investing in the production of society-wide solidarity as implied in Titmuss's analysis. Equally, networks rely upon interpersonal communication that is not present in anonymous donation such as that in the blood banking system.

A useful distinction here is that between 'balanced reciprocity' and a 'reciprocity of obligation' that has been drawn by Adloff and Mau (2006: 116-117). The altruism of the social insurance principle is embodied in a *balanced reciprocity* whereby social citizenship is promoted through a corresponding process of contribution and benefit. The *reciprocity of obligation* on the other hand derives from residualised welfare states where there is a focus upon the resocialisation of those in need; the 'deserving poor' are gifted on the basis that they should orient their behaviours to avoiding poverty. This establishes a relationship of 'debt' and expectation on the part of the giver in that it 'demands activities of redress from the debtor which are cooperative and conform to norms, such as efforts to re-enter the labour market' (Adloff and Mau, 2006: 117).

While not a completely embodying the insurance principle, the idea of *social apprenticeship* serves to bolster social citizenship by virtue of its mobilisation of a pedagogy that promotes social and cultural engagement with civil society and with city life. This requires a form of human capital investment that promotes young people's well being in transitions to adulthood. Reciprocation occurs through the reproduction of a socially inclusive pedagogy which is imparted in the future with young people either known or strangers. Further research is required to determine the scope and depth of this model of practice to explore its further potential in relation to the youth crime prevention curriculum. For now however, the research has revealed such a practice in motion at the SYS project at LCH exemplified in its work within local support networks that appears to be working towards a transformative social praxis through its reflexive use of critical pedagogy.[68] In addition, its work within

[68] Critical pedagogy has been heavily influenced by the work of Paolo Freire (1972) who argued that institutionalised education was based upon the idea of knowledge 'banking'; of filling empty vessels with deposits of received wisdom. Freire's theory of praxis was based upon the premise that human

working class culture, and in the youth culture of the peripheral estate, marks it out as a practice that eschews the imparting of cultural arbitrary by the way it builds pedagogy and curriculum from within the social context.

On the other hand, the pedagogies that dominate the field such as those in operation at Ballynew, Fairgreen and Emmetstown operate within a *reciprocity of obligation* in so far as they seek to mobilise a disciplining pedagogy through which the deserving and the 'willing' poor are 'helped' in order that they might re-orient themselves out of poverty.

A further point here relates to the practice of 'staged gifting' as forms of social ritual where gifting is rehearsed for all to see through deliberately fashioned moments. For where the benefactors are known (and their presence deliberately revealed) 'chains of reciprocity' are thus set off (Adloff and Mau, 2006: 117). This research reveals the nature of the practice of setting up rituals for gift-giving to take place whereby apparently everyday and mundane events are transformed into moments of rehearsed gift giving. This was revealed to be in train at particular moments such as in the football match at Fairgreen for instance. Goffman (1961) has pointed out, that micro-situations such as these can be reconstituted as moments of interaction that involves the exchange of gifts, the adherence to rules and deference to the definition of the situation in charge.

The research revealed these different practices, themselves reflecting different forms of habitus meeting within a competitive field. Such variations in practice reveal different patterns as well as ironies and nuances in micro level interactions. These defy rigid explanatory approaches, though some general observations can be made. For example, the practices of inclusion and exclusion in the form of networks and social closures, appeared to be based upon the struggle to classify and name reality in a classical Bourdieuian sense.

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beings produce history and culture rather then being its mere reflex. His liberation pedagogy thus was premised upon the idea that a practical grasp of history enabled people to first understand their situation and then to transform it through the development of a critical consciousness or *conscientisation*. To struggle to transform reality was part of being human. Without the human need to transform reality 'there can be neither genuine critical knowledge nor authentic modes of being' (Glass, 2001: 19).

The conditions for inter-communicative dialogue between young people through civil intermediaries were unfavourable given a level of instrumentalist action and strategic action on the part of the state and some civil society actors. Youth crime and disorder prevention modalities have been mobilised, in the majority of cases, as a means of moralising the urban periphery in the form of panoptic network governance. However, the thesis that there is an all seeing and all powerful apparatus of social control is not fully supported by this research. Local institutions and individual practitioners play a major role in determining whether such social control is accepted or resisted. Crime prevention does moralise but only under certain conditions. Indeed, the case of the Pinevale initiative at LCH demonstrates the extent to which moralisation was withheld and dialogue became mobilised as a form of etho-craft.

In more recently urbanised spaces, the police have sought to be partners in the construction of civil society. The emergence of youth crime and disorder prevention has been conflated with police visibility which has further complicated the possibilities for discursive governance. Networks in this domain have also acted instrumentally rather than discursively as they have operated closure strategies and have stratified the community by either deploying or bolstering the power of local elites and institutional interests. This might have something to do with the pursuit of a particular ideology of community, emphasising the binding power of national institutions such as the police force, and the effective exclusion by local closure that exacerbates inequalities (see Crawford 1997, 1998). Indeed, a technological *government at a distance* is emerging in which CCTV is being utilised to augment existing social control strategies and some local interests have stepped forward as new 'governors' (Flint, 2002). Indeed, the case of Ballynew reveals a tendency towards the initiation of information flows between linked agencies in responding to public order. In this sense it reveals the emergence of a panoptic circuit, whereby a criminal justice gaze is cast over both space and over social action. O'Sullivan (1998) suggested that there was a repressive state apparatus and a ruling ideology that remained somewhat intact with the preventive turn constituting a new field of engagement. The preventive turn as analysed here, has been based upon a subtle logic of coercion and persuasion where the basis for building discursive or reflexive practices remains somewhat frail.

Critical Realist Criminology and the Preventive Turn

There has been a proliferation of commentaries on late modernity (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Sennett, 1998; Garland, 2001) that characterise society in terms of levels of insecurity and risk. Crime in that context becomes a normal social fact, another risk to accommodate in pursuit of one's life project. Crime and disorder prevention constitutes a reformulation of governance thus as part of the ordering of a new type of freedom (Rose, 1999). Such explanatory narratives have been criticised by Hughes (2007). The social relations of crime control, he argues following Edwards and Hughes (2005), operate in *open systems* (just as Lea and Young 1984 argued) that are subject to change because human agents are reflexive. Thus the critical realist position 'recognizes the necessity of an interpretive understanding of meaning in social life' (Hughes, 2007: 21). Reference to specific situations are central to the development of a social scientific, critical realist criminology. Hughes argues that explanation needs to be specific to interactions in context. Moreover, context is not just background and 'explanation of these interactions proceeds through a focus on concrete processes of crime control and safety in particular places and at certain historical moments, articulating what causal mechanisms were activated in these concrete instances and identifying how, in turn, they were generated by the structure of crime-control interactions' (Hughes, 2007: 22). Hence for Hughes, geo-historical specificity distinguishes critical realist criminology from nomothetic theorization, i.e. it is the 'spacing and timing' of social relations that counts (Hughes, 2007: 23).

The research sought to address the question as to whether youth crime and disorder prevention modalities, emerging at a particular socio-spatial and historical juncture, provided scope for greater reflexivity, whether it leads to discursive modes of governance, or whether it was simply a reassertion of state power and control. A nuanced and complex picture has emerged. First, a totalising state repression is not in evidence and while there is evidence of the mobilisation of local elites with access to governing power, this does not support a finding of a 'dispersal of discipline' (Cohen, 1985) or indeed a 'culture of control' (Garland 2001) per se. Second, the research suggests that a particular mode of governance has been set in train that follows a specific logic for reasserting the symbolic power of the state and its institutions in places where they had hitherto been undermined or had not been established. In other

words, youth crime and disorder prevention came from the need to provide greater visibility to the police. It also sought to 'target' key young people and divert them from offending: what this mostly amounted to was to include them in youth work, already ongoing, if somewhat residual in many of the local contexts studied. How this proceeded however is crucial to discerning whether there was an underlying process of disciplining going on.

In Ballynew for instance, the DYS 'cast the net' widely and included young people and children regardless of risk. This strategy conjoined with information sharing with the police effectively operated a form of net-widening. Similarly in Emmetstown, large scale character building and muscular activity of various kinds, were involved in disciplining by seeking to institutionalise young people by means of taking them off the streets en masse (see Chapter Seven). The pattern was different in LCH where the youth service sought to adopt a broadly welfarist approach with actual offenders; and, when it could no longer sustain this, it shifted focus to dialogue through conversation and engagement in public spaces (see Chapter Nine). In some instances, then the extension of symbolic power was evident, especially in the two former cases.

The understanding of complex variations in the social field has usefully been informed by Hallsworth's (2002) analysis of a range of responses (including situational prevention, policing and social approaches) made by local actors in a London Borough. Policing responses he argued, failed to overcome the lingering legacy of intensive policing and young people in particular were resilient given that they only had a negative language with which to describe the police (Hallsworth, 2002: 200-201). This parallels earlier research in Ireland, where individual negative experiences of the police were reinforced by the collective experiences of young people in that the same levels of hostility to the police were true for their siblings, extended family members and friends (Bowden and Higgins, 2000: 131; Bowden, 1998).

Social prevention initiatives with young people in Hallsworth's (2002) study, sought to give them an 'anti-crime message' by warning young people of the dangers and consequences; and, by 'working with and for young people' so that they might 'subliminate their urges in more socially benevolent ways' (Hallsworth, 2002: 205).

In the research reported in this dissertation, *some* youth services and local interest bodies that have set up to develop youth resources, operated out of a need to protect their individual territorial control rather than a concern for a focus on conversation or dialogue with youth. Individual and organisational reflexivity are central to the practice of governance and in turn to the nature of how youth disorder is approached. As individuals moved from the LCH area to pursue their careers elsewhere, the reflexive mode of network governance also dissipated. The youth service at LCH reported that it found it difficult to penetrate the powerful local governance networks that had been set in train the Area Partnership Company, Local Drugs Task Force and the management forum for establishing a new youth centre for the area. Practitioners pointed out that that they felt that they were not treated respectfully for representing the views of the 'scumbags' (Chapter Nine).

Such disrespect from the state has been experienced by the 'community and voluntary sector', so described, in social partnership arrangements, particularly among youth and community practitioners. Somers and Bradford (2006: 80) point out that the boundary between this sector (viz. civil society) and the Irish state has become 'increasingly intertwined' leading to 'a complex politics of practice (and survival) in these relationships'. There was also a felt disrespect amongst practitioners interviewed for their study, that state agencies viewed their role as 'a means of furthering the state's agenda' (Somers and Bradford, 2006: 82). However, if the goal directed state operates through a managerialist strategy for achieving results, a question opens up as to how professionals behave: do they become 'expert', autonomous and detached or to they become engaged and reflexive? Hence, 'the effectiveness of the "reflexive professional" is likely to be determined by the extent to which such professionals are seen within the community sector to contribute solidarity and social justice' (Somers and Bradford, 2006: 81). From the present research it seems that reflexivity as practice however is undermined precisely because of the existence of the field in which contestation takes place and especially where practitioners are mobilised to the task of accumulating symbolic power on behalf of more powerful institutions.

In this context, the conditions for intercommunication and dialogue cannot therefore flourish. Moreover, youth work as a practice of youth welfare then becomes a

communication vehicle for anti-crime messages, a pedagogical delivery conduit for the goal directed, late modern state. Putting forward the idea of prevention in the form of greater investment in youth services is little more than a mantra, as if utterance of the phrase magically creates social inclusion. What matters here is what pedagogy and whose principles are mobilised within the prevention curriculum.

Youth crime and disorder prevention works through the 'policing' field without, as of now, any critical reflection of the place of wider systems of social prevention that might be reflected in state investment by the state in youth, children's and family services (for a discussion see Canavan et al, 2000; Dolan et al, 2006). The complexity of social exclusion in the urban periphery requires moving beyond the social panoptic and the cultivation of cultural capital for exiting institutions and interests. A policy and practice agenda is required for mobilising quality oriented youth engagement practitioners with the appropriate training and resources to act as effective agents of mediating institutions between the state and young people as citizens. A model for this, as a wider model of social prevention might build from relevant and efficacious aspects of the Bonnemaison model in France as briefly discussed below (see Pitts, 2003).

Youth Crime and Disorder Prevention in Comparative Terms

Comparative consideration of Irish urban crime and disorder prevention is problematic given that it has emerged in an organic and more haphazard way compared with those in Britain, the United States and the remainder of the English speaking world. In Britain for instance, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 imposed statutory responsibilities on local authorities and police forces in relation to inter-agency local crime and disorder partnerships (CDRPs) (Hughes and Follett, 2006: 159). In Ireland however, such developments have been more piecemeal. In relation to policing, the Garda Act 2005 introduced Joint Policing Committees (JPCs) between local authorities and the police force. Such committees are only being put into place at time of writing.[69] In addition, the Youth Justice Review (Government of Ireland,

[69] Similarly, while the National Crime Council (2003) has recommended the establishment of a national crime prevention strategy to 'address the concerns of local communities', the implementation of this has been tardy.

2005) has led to the recent innovation of the formation of a Youth Justice Service in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform to co-ordinate efforts under the direction of the office of the Minister for Children.[70] There are early signs that the policy transfer of 'community safety' strategies from the UK to Ireland has already begun, albeit unevenly.[71]

Inclusion strategies appear in this context, to be working ambivalently alongside strategies to bolster safety, surveillance and security. Hill and Wright's (2003) comparative ethnographic study in two housing estates in the midlands of England, reveals the extent of ambivalence of youth inclusion alongside community safety strategies. The authors stress the idea that 'respect' for young people is central to an inclusive strategy: while youth provision was seen as part of selective inclusion, CCTV was proposed for the 'others'. These very strategies they argue, 'ensure that more and more young people are drawn into the criminal justice system rather than diverted from it', thus increasing marginalisation and exclusion (Hill and Wright, 2003: 290). Such a political commitment to equality and cohesion might also be said to characterise the French approach to social crime prevention. During the 1980s, while Britain by comparison, was de-centring the state, the French were reorganising the relationship between the centre and the margins and between government and citizen (Pitts and Hope 1998; Pitts 2003).

The French social prevention initiatives were built upon a distinct political strategy that sought to reconfigure the relationship between the central state and the citizen, especially those at the social margins. On the other hand, Pitts (2003) points out that in the USA and the UK the state had come to be ideologically viewed as 'a potentially antagonistic force' that required to be rigorously controlled: freedom, in this context meant limiting the control of the state. The preventive drive against social exclusion in France was implemented through urban policies, collectively referred to as *la*

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[70] The 'modernising' effect of the legislation however, may be offset by the introduction of anti social 'behaviour orders' in the Criminal Justice Act 2006 similar to those introduced in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 in England and Wales (Bacik 2005). This provision has been described as 'imprudent' and resulting in an institutionalisation of intolerance (Hamilton and Seymour 2006). Indeed, it may represent an encroaching punitive turn in order to counterbalance welfare with discipline.

[71] In Limerick, at the time of writing for instance, a 'community safety partnership' has initiated a 'community co-ordinators' scheme, based along the lines of community wardens in the UK (Hayes, 2007).

politique de la ville; crime and disorder prevention was integrated within French political discourse, conflated with the urban question itself and as such responses delivered under that mantle (Body-Gendrot, 2000: 71-72).

In his version of the France-England comparative Crawford (2002), in agreement, acknowledged that the growth of crime prevention in both societies had been based upon two distinct political and cultural traditions. The community safety paradigm in which the 'politics of insecurity' is mediated in England he suggests, was based upon the signification that 'something is being done: something achievable in an uncertain world. Symbolically it reaffirms control of a given territory, which is visible and tangible' (Crawford, 2002: 216).

While French social prevention was set within the republican tradition emphasising integration and citizenship, the 'English' model on the other hand has rested upon situational 'opportunity reduction' and surveillance. However, both are varying responses to social and economic restructuring and both have had a tendency to responsibilise (Crawford, 2002). Youth crime and disorder prevention in Ireland, it might be argued, occupies a hybrid position between these two ideal types. The Irish model has operated from a position of dissonance in policy terms, drawing from various models, not exclusively these two. It was not particularly concerned with renegotiating social solidarity through crime prevention but took an approach for the optic effect of creating the symbolism of solidarity through the gifting practices it mobilised and the visibility strategy it adopted in order to stimulate feelings of security.[72]

The research presented in this dissertation underlines the apparent inability of the Irish state to govern the urban periphery reflexively through civil society. Indeed, the mobilisation of youth workers under the Garda Youth Diversion Projects in Ireland, has some of the hallmarks of the French model by the way in which it seeks to promote the idea of an inclusive community. Here lies the potential of such initiatives

[72] While the French state might have engaged in social experiments with social prevention, the structural position of the French urban periphery remains largely the same, a condition which has been diagnosed as feeding into the banlieu riots of late 2005 (Wacquant, 2006). See also Wacquant (2005) 'Burn Baby Burn, French Style?', webcast of seminar at University of California, Berkley http://webcast.berkeley.edu:8080/ramgen/events/igs/french_riots.rm

as a force for solidarity and integration, based upon a renewed social citizenship premised primarily upon trust, and mediated through civil society. However, therein also lays its nemesis. This research reveals how the field is fraught with organisational conflicts and power struggles for the governance of local territories. Moreover, the ad hoc nature of the response of the Irish state to urban crime and disorder indicates a dissonance in terms of the identity of the state, lodged as it had been in a process of European integration, while at the same time being open to policy transfer from the UK and the USA. Yet it appears not to have had the action repertoire, or indeed the extensive political and cultural capital with which to reconstruct citizenship in the face of the late modern advanced marginality.

This signals a need for a clear focus on youth who experience exclusion and oppression in peripheral locales. It calls also for a concerted focus on the life chances and creative contribution of young people as urban citizens as the focus of intervention. This further signals the need for a renewal of efforts towards a form of local informal education (see Smith 1994; Smith and Jeffs 1999) that is protective at the level of crime and victimisation but also socially transformative in its reach (see Smith, 1980).

While the events at Ronanstown precipitated concerted governmental action (see Introduction and Chapter Three), they were not used as an opportunity to reconsider the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state. Rather there was a recourse (which continues in youth crime and disorder prevention practice to this day) to traditional forms of gift giving and bluff in order to create the impression of social solidarity and inclusion. There was also a resort to the 'community safety' option as a means of generating the illusion that something was being done by mobilising youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives under the aegis of community policing, itself a vehicle for police legitimacy and for increasing public co-operation. In the mid-1980s, the proposed renewal of youth citizenship through an integrated youth service as part of a youth policy in the Costello Report (National Youth Policy Committee, 1985), initiated under a Fine Gael – Labour coalition government, was too expensive in the context of economic restructuring. Politically, the Fianna Fail government after 1987 opted for fiscal rectitude over social democracy by abandoning the national youth policy White Paper, In *Partnership with Youth* (Government of Ireland, 1985).

In Leevale Campanile Hill (see Chapter Nine), the emergence of technological solutions has not sat well with 'people focused' crime prevention (see Foster, 2001). Greater recourse to such systems was beginning to find favour amongst local groups who had got closer to the local authority and police agenda. This access appears to operate as a form of social closure, making it difficult for the youth service to table its priorities in relation to youth. Thus community security becomes a limited party interest for those contesting the definition of community. The louder voices in this context then are involved in putting their agencies' or constituency interests to the fore over those of the public in general. Thus an exclusionary politics exists in that context whereby community became defined as a 'club good' rather than a 'public good' (Crawford, 1998: 268).

Despite the pursuance of an institutional agenda by the Garda Síochána, the case of the Pinevale Project at LCH demonstrated the extent of youth service practitioner resistance and their capacity to engage the local police management in reflexive governance (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Nine). This underlines the extent to which local personnel and 'geo-histories' (Hughes, 2007) matter in staging resistance to and the transformation of the intended purpose of a mode of governance through reflexive practice. Hughes and Follett (2006) argue that despite the 'repressive turn' in the policy environment at central government in which the ASBO 'crusade' takes place, the implementation of ASBOs across England has been nuanced. Practitioners and managers resist depending on the specifics of local relationships and 'geo-history'. While the central state pushes for the utilisation of evidence-based models of crime prevention technologies, actors are adaptive (Hughes and Follett, 2006: 169). Thus Hughes (2007: 188-189) has developed the concept of *power dependence* as an essential part of the 'tool kit' for a critical realist criminology. In short, differentiation and specialisation in public administration gives rise to policy networks whereby the power of policy actors is curtailed because of their dependence upon others to execute commands, leading to tension at the level of implementation.

How practitioners interpret and act upon their roles is crucial to the extent to which a coercive-persuasive or discursive approach is taken (see Figure 10.1 above). Hence, those closer to the coercive pole, underpin the sovereignty of the state by their actions

to the extent that they do not question or seek to undermine the state's sovereignty. Instead they become local agents of it, whether they operate as local officials or as members of civil society organisations in the youth field. Those who resist or reinterpret their role reflexively on the other hand, open the door for discursive communication as in the case of LCH in particular (Chapter Nine).[73]

As in the research presented here, who gets into the governance networks to influence agendas and everyday practice is crucial. Given that the state and the police force between them hand-picked their partners, they have steered and controlled the content and process of youth crime and disorder prevention. The policy networks literature associated with Rhodes and Marsh (1992) while enabling the specification of the general shape of what actors in governance are doing, has assumed that actual policy making is the outcome of deliberations and relationships in the field. What this research has shown is that policy making has been less of a priority compared with manipulation of circumstances in which to acquire the optimum level of cultural capital in order to secure both state and police power. In order to attain this, the Garda Síochána and the state actors, *some* but not all youth services and local actors have in Crawford's (1998) parlance, practiced a 'politics of exclusion'.

This is consistent with research conducted by Hancock (2001) who carried out neighbourhood studies into aspects of crime prevention and urban regeneration in inner-city areas of Liverpool. She preferred the concept of 'policy arena' to that of network where only a small number of actors are likely to be included; the excluded thus are relegated to the position of spectators (Hancock, 2001: 114). She also adopted the term 'community of interest' to encapsulate the politics of exclusion.

The research presented here, demonstrates that such a 'community of interest' was being forged locally albeit limited to the form of an alliance between the police and the youth services. This community of interest was as much about the mobilisation of the symbols of nation and securing the position of the police in civil society as part of

[73] Such a finding concurs with that of Skinns's (2003) study of Elmside involving interviews with practitioners in a crime and disorder partnership. Sovereign authority is strengthened or weakened by the way in which local interpretation of the agenda proceeds. Practitioners outmanoeuvre the UK central government on local safety and crime prevention implementation (Skinns, 2003: 11).

'national life' (to paraphrase a former Minister for Justice, see Introduction). Communities were generally not represented. In the main, representatives on GSP / GYDP advisory committees, had no executive power and were hand picked in most cases.[74]

This is also consistent with Hancock's (2001) criticism of the *collective efficacy* or the *social disorganisation* thesis associated with Sampson et al (1999). While they correctly locate neighbourhoods within a structural context, they give little attention to the processes through which the policing institutions are given legitimacy. How such institutions are accorded legitimacy is crucial; for this shapes 'the manner and means of community mobilisation' (Hancock, 2001: 152). Thus faced with disorder, individuals have the option to exit neighbourhoods or remain and exercise 'voice', the latter more likely where exit options are constrained (Hancock, 2001: 160).

In the Irish urban context, youth crime and disorder prevention as an expression of youth governance came about in the socio-spatial context of the dispersal of the working class to the periphery as argued in Chapters Three and Five. Whereas the inner city had some degree of grassroots organisation associated with the labour movement given its proximity to the unionised port, brewing and distilling industries, the urban periphery was geographically isolated and socially marginalised. The peripheralised working class was caught with little capacity to mobilise collective responses to disorder. Indeed there may have been considerable suspicion of attempts to mobilise around the issue of crime and disorder given the concern over the supposed role that paramilitary organisations might have played (see Introduction). This suspicion might also have stemmed from the state's conflicts with the community anti-heroin movement that mobilised in two distinct waves in the inner city in the early and mid-1980s and both there and in the periphery as heroin began to effect the newer housing estates (for a discussion of this history see Nugent 2006; Cullen 1990; Bennett 1988). More recent attempts to improve Garda and community relations have developed through the Community Policing Forum model, piloted by some Local Drugs Task Forces (LDTFs). However, Connolly (2002) has cautioned

[74] Ballynew was an exception where they were selected as members of a local community development association. However even in this case, there was frustration with the position they had achieved because the local representatives knew they had no access to a policy making process (see chapter seven).

that the setting up of new community groups to mobilise around drug related crime has not been encouraged owing to the fear of reprisals among residents. Thus Hancock's (2006) criticisms of the social disorganisation thesis are justified: it is one thing to organise responses that are collectively efficacious, and another thing to assume that the actors involved have legitimacy or security.

In many respects, the practice of symbolic policing through the present community policing arrangements, in which youth crime and disorder prevention has been a key element, has been counter democratic. It delays the onset of a renewal or reconfiguration of the democratic institutions by the pretence of the adequacy of the existing arrangements. This is bolstered by the creation of the illusion of presence, itself mobilised through the practice of gifting. The renewal of citizenship and the state-citizen relationship has therefore not been part of the social inclusion agenda regarding the response to urban crime and disorder in Ireland.

However, this is not to suggest that all youth crime prevention should be practiced within a youth work paradigm. Indeed the present policy framework for youth work in the Youth Work Act 2001, copper fastens the role of the voluntary sector in youth provision and effectively turns over the responsibility for informal education to a field that is fraught with competition for scarce resources. In this regard the need for a clear focus on the real impact of youth disorder and youth offending is not addressed. As this research points out, much of what has been practiced, with the exception of the early stages of the Pinevale Project at LCH, has been nothing short of generic youth work. Thus there continues to be a gap in the provision of youth work that has any clear focus on youth offending. The straight-jacketing of this field of practice within police-community relations also militates against developments. Its emphasis upon patronage and gift-giving, may indeed be more ingrained into the Irish habitus than is possible to change by a re-orientation of the policy focus alone, as discussed in the next section.

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Youth Crime and Disorder Prevention and Narratives of Late Modernity: Towards a Sociological Criminology in Ireland

Peillon and Corcoran (2004) characterised Irish society as having post-industrial tendencies, without ever realising industrialisation. This is because a post-industrial productive sector has implanted and embedded itself in Irish social and cultural life to the extent that it continues to create fault lines, and a multiplicity of internal divisions. Thus the late modern conditions in Ireland as elsewhere reflect the emergence of complexity and nuances in relation to social order. This dissertation has been concerned not only with the character of crime control and youth disorder prevention, but with the politics of community safety in a temporal and spatial context (Hughes 2007; Hughes and Edwards 2002). The late modern turn manifests itself here, inter alia, in the emergence of patterns of inclusion and exclusion in geo-historic and socio-spatial terms. In the urban periphery, a distinct socio-spatiality, the manifestation is one of invisibility through the masking effect of situational architecture and the persistence of urban marginality, as argued in earlier chapters.

Late modernity has been variously presented by Giddens (1991) as a post-traditional order in which unleashed from the constraints of tradition, reflexive human agents are 'free' to follow life projects; and, by Garland (2001) as a dystopia of exclusion, surveillance and control. Similarly, late modernity is conditioned by the separation between out-groups and in-groups through various manifestations of *cordon sanitaire* (Young, 1999). This study has focused upon the relationship between the police and

youth service, together with state and civil society actors as those actors positioned to give effect to a late modern governance of youth.

The form of youth crime and disorder prevention that has emerged in the Irish context has been nuanced and locally specific. This in some way relates to the nature of the relationship between networks of actors at the local node. In each area studied, there were distinct nuances in how the police-youth service or police-'community' arrangements were configured. Hence, included network actors were in a position to mobilise the gifting arrangements and the symbolic policing strategies that were implied within that. The process of gifting then represents a traditional practice of reciprocal exchange relations emerging in a post-industrial context.

Coulter (2003:17) argued that social development in Ireland is dialectic in nature and 'allows for the persistence and revival of certain forms of tradition'. Indeed, taking up the theme of the co-incidence of modern with pre-modern practices, Keohane and Kuhling (2004) suggest that in modernity there is a collision between 'diverging rationalities' that are continuing to collide within an 'accelerated modernisation' (Keohane and Kuhling, 2004: 4).

This 'collision' of rationalities is reflected in a number of key incidents and social patterns developed by Keohane and Kuhling. Two of these processes are drawn attention to here. The first is that of the Sheedy Affair for the way in which it exposes the existence of power networks that have the capacity to manipulate, inter alia, the course of the administration of justice. Philip Sheedy was an architect in his late 20s who crashed his newly acquired car after he had been drinking. The car collided with that of Anne and John Ryan, a working class family from Tallaght, killing Anne Ryan and injuring the other passengers, i.e. her husband and two children. Sheedy was sentenced to four years in prison but was subsequently released after a review of his case following the intervention of Mr Justice O'Flaherty, a judge of the Supreme Court (Keohane and Kuhling 2004: 48-49).[75] O'Flaherty was steeped in the tradition

[75] A friend of Sheedy 'bumped into' Mr Justice Hugh O'Flaherty who also happened to be both a friend of the Sheedy family and politically connected to Fianna Fail. On foot of this, O'Flaherty contacted the Dublin County Registrar for the Circuit Court inquiring as to whether the Sheedy case was due for review and suggesting it was so suitable for review. The case was subsequently reviewed and the

of the political culture of brokerage and 'pulling strings', a practice that is 'familiar and well worked as a pattern of action, like a cow's path on the contour of the political landscape, a habit, a scheme, a way of doing things'(Keohane and Kuhling, 2004: 50). For the authors, this constituted a clash between the traditional habitus of the political and (by extension) the juridicial elite with new reflexive forms of institutional and public practice based upon accountability and transparency.

The second example of the collision between traditional habitus and reflexive modernity by Keohane and Kuhling (2004) is that of consumer culture. 'Frenzied gift giving', they suggest results from economic growth and the persistence of a traditional practice of giving in Irish culture. Thus there is a somewhat contradictory process in motion combining coexistence between possessive individualism and collective commitment. Indeed, contrary to the belief that consumerism replaces social solidarity, gifting and 'family shopping' serve to reinforce 'obligatory and reciprocal relations'. That said, the gift relation reinforces social exclusion and polarisation as it masks the need for a more equitable system of redistribution. This is so, they point out, as the welfare safety net of the modern state, a modern expression of the gift relation, has never been fully realised in Ireland and as such civil society (the voluntary sector, the community and families) are 'called upon for their generous gifts to compensate for the failings of the social system' (Keoghane and Kuhling, 2004: 121).

The present research did not set out to study gifting, but it is a key finding: that the basis of network governance is a discernible practice of gifting. This in turn rests upon tying actors into relations of *deferred reciprocation* (Thompson, 2003). Youth crime and disorder prevention in Ireland is based heavily upon this practice. The empirical question that remains is whether this occurs 'naturally' or whether it is deliberately cultivated by those actors with the power to orchestrate the relationships from above? Thus the powerful binding nature of gifting is built into the curriculum and the pedagogic relations in youth crime and disorder prevention. It operates under the umbrella of community policing which appeared to operate also within a cultural

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remainder of Philip Sheedy's sentence was suspended. O'Flaherty was subsequently summoned and eventually resigned over his role in the affair (summarised from Keohane and Kuhling, 2004: 48-50).

practice of gifting from above, particularly by the way in which the police promoted their visibility through acts of institutional philanthropy. In this context they used these opportunities to promote their presence symbolically in order to accrue symbolic capital, and therefore legitimate power. Hence pre-modern forms of practice continue to bind individuals and classes to the social order just as much as individual investments in 'life projects'.

In chapters three and five, the urban theory was considered and the Irish 'urban question' set out as the context for youth crime and disorder and the preventive modalities that emerged in the last 15 years. The study is thus a contribution to an overall understanding of youth crime and disorder prevention as an *urban process*. Recent research by Peillon et al (2006) provides a focus for fixing the present study into an emerging urban sociology in Ireland. Peillon and his colleagues, taking their cue from Putnam (2001), are involved in ongoing research on the question as to whether suburbs in the new commuter belt around Dublin generate sufficient social capital in order to define the public good.

A crucial finding from Peillon et al concerns what they call the 'institutional void'. This they attribute in part to the centralisation of local government at the county level and hence the absence of municipal democracy. Moreover, residents of the new suburb could not influence the key issue of 'unrelenting housing development' largely because this was market driven and thus outside of their reach in relation to public governance. In addition, the decline and decay of the traditional parish mode of governance produced 'an administrative or bureaucratic form which has crystallised around various partnership structures' (Peillon, 2006: 52). Finally, Peillon et al point out that the institutional void and levels of social capital are linked by the way in which the lack of municipal democracy (the institutional void) deflects social capital (Peillon et al, 2006: 59).[76]

[76] More recent adjustments of local governance including the setting up of Strategic Policy Committees (SPCs) and County Development Boards (CDBs) are viewed by Peillon et al (2006: 74) as appropriate to filling the institutional void, but they do not clarify the representativeness of the 'community voice'. Hence public participation is disenabled resulting in the obligation towards using relationships with political brokers.

My own argument is that youth crime and disorder prevention as instigated after the IGUCD, was born into the same institutional void. The absence of municipal democracy had effectively disempowered the element of the working class that had been dispersed to the urban periphery in Dublin in particular, but also other urban peripheries around Ireland. Indeed, the incapacity of the state to democratically govern this field, feeds into the absence of social capital. In this regard, attempts were made to bolster the stock of social capital by both the state and some of the civil society organisations involved, not for the reconfiguration of citizenship, nor the renewal of democratic participation in civil society, but for their own power. Youth crime and disorder prevention pedagogy was thus coined in the context of achieving social integration in the context of urban restructuring.

Hence, the current research adds to the discussion about the mobilisation of community in Ireland albeit by adding a layer of complexity firstly in relation to youth crime and disorder and secondly in relation to governance and policing. Essentially, this study is one of *urban governance* which is both a contested urban process on the one hand, and a cultural struggle on the other. In this sense, institutions struggle over territory; states over sovereignty; and young people over the use value of public space. This contestation calls then for a public sociology (following Burawoy, 2005), and indeed a public criminology (Hughes, 2007). In this regard, reflexive engagements with the both intellectual field in professional and policy sociology together with a plurality of publics, hold out the promise sociological endeavour more accessible and thus regenerate its 'moral fibre' (Burawoy, 2005: 261).

Critical criminologies have made their mark by exposing the excesses of the criminal justice state. This research exposes the extent to which the state is dissagregated and active in networks; part perhaps of the struggle between right and left hands as alluded to by Bourdieu (1998). This suggests the need for further research on the role of networks in governance in crime prevention, community safety and in criminal justice generally. This research also points to the practice of gift giving as a particular characteristic of the Irish case, highlighting the need for comparative research on gift relations within states and in state-civil society networks.

This research has been conducted for the Irish case where institutions, despite their high degree of centralised power, operate in a closer familiarity than those in mass societies such as Britain, France or the United States. The research has sough to preserve the anonymity of actors, and in the youth sector, the actual names of the organisations are not used to retain some level of objectivity. As such the political and normative issues are raised in only a general sense for the present.

The research draws the focus towards the need to engage with the complexity of urban society with a practice that works within urban habitus and one that can reflect the complexities and specifities of urban life. Such practices must relate discursively to both urban democratic traditions and the ensemble of institutions that comprise the city. As this research has shown, organisations in the youth field within civil society, compete in the field for territory and governing power. This brings us closer to the idea of an 'urban question' in this field for what this dissertation has theorised, is essentially about young peoples engagements with the public sphere. In this regard, policy and practice revolves around the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996) which concerns young people's social and political rights as citizens to participate in urban social and cultural life.

A programme of developments in this field might include a greater emphasis upon the mobilisation of 'quality' oriented youth programmes that engage urban youth in civic action towards the transformation of the public sphere. Furthermore, there is a need for clear training in youth crime and disorder prevention work that builds upon that of other related practices such as youth work and care work that can adopt aspects of transformative praxis while at the same time engaging those young people who are most challenging in terms of their status within the youth justice system. Finally, there is a need for a crime preventive model operating outside the policing field and particularly one that is not concerned with the manufacture of image, popularity or legitimacy of the police force. Such a model must also find pathways into democratising policing and socialising criminal justice policy.

The research provides a platform for further research into the nature of youth discipline in a variety of fields in Ireland. However, in view of the social context, the present research has only been possible by virtue of the need to proceed sensitively,

while avoiding self-censorship. As Morrison (2006) has pointed out, sensitivities exist in relation to carrying out research in small states by virtue of their particular ecology: the sensitivities have to do with their smallness. Although not directly comparable to Ireland, in the small territory of Macau in China (Morrison, 2006) individual state actors have roles other than their official ones and as such the conducting, disclosing and dissemination of research on its education system have multiple consequences for the participants. For Morrison (2006: 262), this involves a clear trade-off between what the researchers might have desired to have achieved against what there were realistically able to achieve. Furthermore, the ethical issues of anonymity and confidentiality are also problematic.

In this research, a number of sensitivities arise also from the closeness of the context. Firstly, Ireland is also small country in spatial, demographic and institutional terms. It is therefore, not difficult to identify the actors involved or the locales studied. Secondly, the *field* studied is also small: the researcher has occupied a variety of insider and outsider positions within in it (see Chapter Four). The use of fictive names for interviewees and locations thus poses several challenges arising from these two factors. The challenge for social research of this nature in small societies is to proceed on the basis of a positive view of trust (Lee, 1993: 208) whereby research informants and participants offer accounts and access on the basis that the researcher does not betray trust. Anonymity therefore offers limited protection but it enables a research bargain to be entered into where access to participants and the sites is exchanged for the researcher's discretion. In small societies, therefore, researchers have to establish trust in order that those participating and informing the research can co-produce a version of the truth.

Such an enterprise requires levels of permission so as actors undertake the co-production of research willingly and do so without fear of repercussion.[77] This was the case in Brewer's (1993) account of his ethnographic study of policing in Northern Ireland for instance where permission was granted at Chief Constable level on the basis that the study itself provided attractions to those giving permission and access.

[77] Permission was granted to enter youth services by those at director level. The police officer interviews were facilitated by the Chief Superintendent, Garda Community Relations Section and individual civil servant informants agreed to be interviewed of their own volition. In addition, as in Chapter Four, all individual interviewees gave permission for the evaluation interviews to be revisited.

The attraction in this, as in Brewer's research, was that those informing the research could contribute in such a way that their version of the situation could be articulated. Exercising discretion is an investment in the future and ongoing contact with the field and also protects the possibility for other researchers to research the same field and for policy actors and practitioners to engage creatively and critically within it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Purposive and Theoretical Sampling of the Archived Data

The point of using sampling in this research stems from the need to attach some level of theoretical validity to the study. Research validity and reliability requires that some level of adherence to criteria such as sampling and the utilisation of deviant cases (see Seale and Silverman, 1997) so that areas chosen for study reflect a cross section of those originally studied. Hence to retain some level of reliability, a number of criteria were used for filtering and selecting for analysis, the final number of interviews and the sources of these interviews.

In the first part of the research strategy (see Figure 4.3, columns 1.1 and 1.2 in main text) material from the late 1990s was reanalysed. This data was organised in two parts. The first (research strategy 1.1) dealt with national and regional level actors and the second (1.2) with city level management or local area management level. A total of 76 interviews were carried out for the national level evaluation in total. These were conducted with national, regional and local personnel involved at various levels of implementation of the Garda Special Projects initiative (research strategy 1.1). At national and regional level, 14 senior and key personnel were interviewed, while locally under research strategy 1.2, 62 interviews were initially carried out with a wide range of informants in five locations. These were gathered in the period September 1998 to April 1999.

For the dissertation, sampling from the original pool of interviews followed both purposive and theoretical sampling principles. In the first instance, archived interviews with *key personnel* were *purposively* selected over those with more peripheral involvements. In the second instance, those informants whose organisational location seemed better ableto inform the historical evolution of the initiatives were given priority over those with less proximity. Of the 76 interviews, a total of 20 were identified for further analysis in this dissertation.

When revisiting the data, the primary purpose of drawing from the pool of interviews with national and regional actors was to explore the circumstances following the Ronanstown scenario. Of the 14, two informants working in regional youth organisations in the provinces were not in a position to inform this aspect of the research and so they were not included in the interviews selected for further analysis. In addition, one interview with a police chief superintendent had not been tape recorded, and in an additional case, a misfiled tape was inadvertently destroyed with another archive. In one more case, the interview converged with other senior police officers to such an extent that it was not transcribed. Thus of the cluster of 14, a total of nine interviews were suitable for transcription and analysis for the purposes of this dissertation.

To refine the number of local interviews from larger pool of 62, a division on the basis of area was made. Three areas from the original five were selected. This was based upon the criteria of historic specificity in the first instance, i.e. their degree of proximity to or relationship with the first moves to set up youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives. This was so as to ensure that the research got close to the actors that were responsible for the construction of the GSPs / GYDPs in the first place. Firstly Ballynew was chosen because of the specific historic circumstances leading to its establishment that resulted in a particular mobilisation of state officials (Justice, Police) and civil society organisations (Youth Services, Community Organisations). The police-youth service arrangement that had been set up at Ballynew was subsequently elevated to the exemplary model of practice by the Gardai in particular. For this reason, the interviews with local personnel from this area were selected for further analysis. Secondly, Leevale-Campanile Hill (LCH) was the exceptional case: while all other Garda Special Projects were to be modelled upon the Ballynew template, the actors at LCH had negotiated a derogation. Hence this area was selected for its historic specificity and for its oppositional characteristics. In this context, it was intended that the data might highlight the nature of consensus, contestation and governance surrounding the initiative as a whole given the positioning of these two polar opposites. An examination of Ballynew might lead one to the premature conclusions as to the authoritarian nature of the state in this field. The introduction of LCH therefore presented more nuanced and reflexive scenario that complicated the emergence of narrow or simplistic hypotheses. Both of these

areas were in the Dublin region and both operated within the bi-partisan arrangement in the form of a police-youth service management of the initiative.

A third area, located in a provincial city, and operating outside of the typical organisational form was selected. Thus while the remaining three of the original five areas studied were situated in the regions, only one of these, Emmetstown, was operated by a local development concern and not promoted directly by a youth service organisation. Hence Emmetstown was selected as the third area.

Somewhat unsurprisingly, the more intensive interviews carried out were with the principal stakeholders in the initiatives. Hence in order to return a more intensive insight into the nature of the youth crime and disorder prevention initiatives, a further filtering criteria was applied based upon the intensity of relationship to the running and organisation of the initiative itself. These grouped around four clusters: Youth work staff and management; Garda management including primarily those at inspector or superintendent level; local operations level Gardai at either sergeant or Garda level; and, other primary stakeholders such as 'community representatives' or school principals.[78] Thus a total of 11 interviews as summarised in Table 4.2 below were transcribed and analysed based upon these criteria.

Table A.1: *Number of Local Area Based Interviews Analysed*

Area	Youth Work Staff / Management	Garda Management	Garda Local	Community and other local personnel	Total
Ballynew	2		1	1	4
Emmetstown	n/a	1	2	1	4
Leevale-Campanile Hill (LCH)	2	1	n/a	n/a	3
Total	4	2	3	2	11

[78] In Leevale-Campnile Hill for instance, there was no 'community representatives' involved because of its adherence to a strict bi-partisan arrangement. These were being recruited as the original research proceeded. In the same area, local police officers were not involved with the GSP initiative by arrangement and hence only local police management personnel were interviewed.