Masculinities and the 'Fear of Crime'.

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Abstract

My overall aim within this thesis is to tackle a neglected area within criminological thought, that of male 'Fear of Crime'. My interest originated from the notion of a disparity between levels of 'fear' reported by men and women. Hough and Mayhew (1983) found that it was young working class men, particularly those that frequented pubs and clubs that were most at risk from personal attack albeit women and the elderly expressed most anxiety. This led to the depiction of those 'fears' that did not correspond to objective levels of risk as being 'irrational'. I suggest that in reality, these so called gender disparities[1] are attributable to the way in which 'fear' has been researched, most commonly by victim surveys, which exclude the particularities of experience and context.

The aforementioned assumptions about men's 'fearlessness' of crime can be attributed, in part, to the dearth of information on the subject. There has been a prevalent assumption that men are naturally reticent and reluctant to discuss feelings/experiences (see Stanko and Hobdell 1993: 400). What is missing from the literature is a qualitative study that examines men's concerns around crime. I suggest that 'fear' cannot actually be 'measured', although men can be asked to recall 'fearful' moments. Consequently, this research focuses on the recalling of 'fearful' moments, the constructions of 'risk' grounded in experiences of victimization and those that are purely hypothetical. It is also important to provide men with opportunities to discuss other concerns because it is recognized that the 'Fear of Crime' can serve as an idiom for other insecurities (Merry, 1981). This might be particularly true for men because they may be less likely to be asked or expected to express 'fears' and concerns around crime.

This research is aimed at addressing this gap in the literature by taking a qualitative approach that uses depth interviews to enable respondents to discuss concerns more broadly. The research is set within a particular geographical area and includes three age categories to discern whether there are differences in the masculine identities of my respondents at

[1] I suggest that disparities in age are also a product of victim surveys – for a detailed discussion of this method see Appendix One.

different life stages. If such differences do exist then, the question is, what impact do these have on concerns and 'fears' around crime and 'incivilities'?[2] In this way my study examines how men achieve *masculine identities* and concludes that concerns around crime and incivilities are intimately bound up with them *as men.*

[2] See Wilson and Kelling (1982) for a definition of 'incivilities'.

Introduction

This thesis is divided into seven chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter provides a review of the literature that is considered important to this project. My aim within this chapter is to provide an introduction to the focus of the study and to explain how I link two sources of literature to provide a starting point for the research.[3]

In the second chapter on Methods I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of the research and explain the motivations behind my choice of Methods. This chapter includes an examination of the research process and highlights the advantages and disadvantages of this particular study. Problems with sampling frames, issues of access and interviewing issues are explained here. Within this chapter I also discuss 'reflexive' moments from my experiences as a female researcher interviewing men. I explain how I managed incidents in the field and the possible implications for the research itself.

The purpose of the research was to discover how my respondents discussed their masculinities, if there were differences between respondents in different age groups and whether 'hegemonic masculinity', as traditionally defined by Connell (1985, 1987)[4] was relevant. I also wanted to address questions posed by the work of Gardiner (2002) and Goodey (1997) to find out what the implications of the ageing process were for the masculine identities of my respondents, whether they changed over time and, if so, which life events were key to these changes. Finally, I wanted to see what the implications of the aforementioned factors were for the discussions of my respondents around 'fears' and concerns around crime and 'incivilities'.

In Chapter Three I focus on the early experiences of my respondents in order to answer questions posed by previous research on the schooling process about whether heterosexuality is relevant to building a gendered identity at school and whether 'hegemonic masculinity' informed patterns of popularity and bullying between boys. I explain that

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[3] A further literature review is provided at Appendix One, which provides more detailed evaluations of victim surveys and Connell's notion of 'hegemonic masculinity'.
[4] See literature review for an explanation.

gendered differences including the component of heterosexuality were relevant to the masculine identities of my respondents during schooling and that my respondents constructed their early identities against the 'otherness' of girls. I go on to show that although some of my respondents engaged with discourses around 'hegemonic masculinity' whilst at school it was much less important than I had anticipated.

In Chapter Four, I look at the current identities of my respondents. Within this chapter I show that the majority of my respondents discussed forms of masculinities that bore more resemblance to Connell's (1985, 1987) original conceptualisation of 'subordinated masculinities'. This chapter also examines and provides examples of different types of change within the lives of my respondents, including 'transitional' changes and key events such as settling down, having children and retirement, and explains how these were implicated in their discussions of masculinities.

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I return to more 'criminological' questions and test a range of hypotheses about 'fears' and 'risks' derived from the literature.[5] These chapters show that contrary to suggestions in the 'Fear of Crime' literature[6] my respondents were not 'fearless' and neither were they reluctant to talk about 'fears' or concerns. In terms of actual fear, respondents did recall feeling 'fearful' in relation to specific incidents or threats involving attempted or actual physical assaults, muggings or burglaries.

Chapter Five includes a focus on the younger men in the sample who were comprised of two groups of youths exhibiting different styles of masculinities. These respondents were discussed together because their concerns were similar and centred on the risk of physical assault. This chapter explains how the masculine identities and routine activities of the respondents were implicated in their constructions of risks around assault and the behavioural strategies that they developed to manage them. I show how all of these men had been subjected to victimisation in the recent past and/or had witnessed the victimisation of other young men and that their concerns were realistically grounded. This finding provides support

[5] See literature review for those issues that were considered important.
[6] See abstract on victim surveys.

for suggestions that it is young men who are most at risk of physical assault (see Hough and Mayhew, 1983).

There are two chapters on men in the middle and older sample because they discussed concerns around both 'incivilities' and crime. In Chapter Six I show how the concerns of the respondents around 'incivilities' were connected to their conceptions of 'community', aspects of masculine identities including fatherhood and more personalised experiences which all informed feelings of security because they could contribute to or detract from a more generalised sense of well being.

Chapter Seven examines how respondents in the middle and older age groups discussed crime. I show here how, contrary to suggestions in the literature, my older respondents were not overly afraid of physical assault and explain why this was so. I also explain that men in the middle age category were largely unconcerned about physical assault and that for those with young families their concerns took an altruistic shape. I suggest that overall these men were the most anxious of those in the study because of their high levels of concern about both crime and 'incivilities'.

My findings demonstrate that the concerns of my respondents around crime and incivilities were connected to their masculine identities and/or routine activities and more personalised experiences. I also explain how certain life events, including changes in perceptions of masculine identities, were experienced as either 'empowering' or 'disempowering' and that these experiences could affect feelings of well being and consider the consequences for concerns around crime and incivilities.

In my conclusion I discuss the implications of this study including the contribution that it makes to the literature on 'fears' and masculinities, questions that remain unanswered and those that arise for future contemplation by other researchers.

Chapter One
Literature Review

A 'paradoxical' finding within the literature on the 'Fear of Crime' has been that it is women and the elderly who are most concerned about crime albeit young men are most at risk of assault. I suggest that the aforementioned assumptions can be attributed in large part to the way that the 'Fear of Crime' has been researched, which has mostly involved use of the crime survey.[7] Because of this and alongside telling criticisms of the survey method a body of work that attempts to redress the situation is in emergence. Some work on the 'Fear of Crime' has focused on gender, which has helped to dispel the notion of a gender disparity in fears/concerns (Maguire and Corbett 1987; Pain, 1993; Goodey, 1997).[8] Notwithstanding, the bulk of this work has focused on explaining the 'fear' levels of women and older people.[9] Much less attention has been paid to the 'fear' levels of young men, middle-aged men or even older men as *men* rather than as people. My research seeks to alleviate this gap by using a qualitative study to examine whether there are differences between my respondents, men at different stages in the life course in terms of their 'fears' and concerns around crime.

Problems with victim surveys

The problems with victim surveys have been well documented by other writers (see Hale 1996). The most relevant criticisms that have been made from a gendered analysis are that they undercount victimisation (Stanko 1988a and b); they conceptualise the victimisation relationship in a binary fashion (Fattah, 1992); they conceptualise crimes as discrete incidents (Skogan 1986; MacLean 1986; Bowling 1992; 1998); they conceptualise 'fear' as a one-dimensional, tangible attribute of individuals (Fattah and Sacco 1993; 1998); they suggest that 'fears' should correspond to objective levels of risk whilst failing to problematise the concept of risk itself (Sparks 1992; Walklate 1995; 1997) and they are based on essential assumptions about gender, which undifferentially present men as oppressors and women as victims. Consequently, they serve to reinforce stereotypical notions regarding men and

[7] For a consideration of the criticisms of crime surveys see Appendix One.
[8] For a fuller discussion of this work see Appendix One.
[9] For a fuller consideration of some work that has focused on men see Appendix One.

women, that stem in part from the fact that questions are pre-set and the relevancies have to be guessed in advance (Newburn & Stanko, 1994). Indeed, these problems with the survey method led to the assumption that men were either 'fearless' or reticent to talk about 'fears' (see also Stanko and Hobdell 1993: 400).

Re-conceptualising Fear

Chris Hale (1996: 131) has stated that, the 'Fear of Crime' is 'a problem in its own right'. The problem is that most of the research has not been measuring 'fear'; indeed, it is debatable whether 'fear' can actually be measured. For the most part, 'Fear of Crime' has been operationalised in relation to general concerns about crime and crime 'risk', which involve an assessment of one's personal safety, that have been associated with people's vulnerabilities, and experiences of victimisation. These connections have shaped the questions asked (Walklate, 1995: 57). The most popular approach to measuring 'fear' has involved the use of the global style question i.e. 'How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?' Global questions serve to escalate respondents 'fear' levels because they are based upon hypothetical anticipated situations and the reference to crime is implicit (Garafalo and Laub 1978; Garafalo 1979; Shapland and Vagg 1988). Ferraro and LaGrange (1987: 71) point out how the global approach measures judgements and/or values about crime. This is despite the fact that 'fear' involves an emotional response to crime.[10] This is in contrast to questions on victimisation that at least attempt to tap into real experiences.

Fattah and Sacco (1989) make suggestions about how the conceptual problems with measuring fear by the survey method might be alleviated. However, I suggest that the method remains flawed for capturing so called 'Fear of Crime'.

[10] Or to symbols associated with it (Ferraro and LaGrange 1987: 71).

Indeed, it is almost impossible to measure 'fear' by any method[11] because it involves a physiological, psychological and emotional response to an *immediate* stimulus such as being physically threatened on the street. Therefore, there is a world of difference between an actual and a perceived threat as measured by victim surveys. Immediate threats involve physiological reactions such as adrenaline rushes, which are, to a certain extent, outside the control of the individual. Immediate threats may incorporate a situation that the individual has previously constructed as a threat or they may present a situation that is completely unexpected. Immediate threats do involve social constructions such as interpretations of 'cues' about what is happening[12] but there is less time for reflection in this because of the immediacy of the threat.

In reality, people do not walk around in a perpetual state of 'fearfulness' albeit they may have a general level of awareness about risk. The most that research can do, therefore, is to ask people about situations in which they have felt fearful and/or threatened in the past. This involves their recalling an incident, reflecting upon it and constructing it as 'fearful'. Sometimes, previous experiences[13] will significantly increase anxiety but other experiences may serve to decrease it; either because the experience is not as bad as anticipated and/or that the individual coped with it better than they had expected. Previous experiences will, however, usually inform future perceptions of risk and/or behavioural strategies around them.

In contrast, to those 'perceived' threats which are grounded in experience; others are purely hypothetical having no 'experiential' basis. This sort of threat is very different, therefore, from the 'immediate stimulus' threat mentioned above and also from the perceived threat grounded in experience of victimisation. Firstly, there is no actual threat but only a perceived one and so there is plenty of time to construct the threat and reflect upon it. Secondly, the lack of experiential basis means that there is no information about how you are likely to feel when presented with such a threat i.e. would you be able to cope, both at the time and after. In this sense, 'perceived' threats, which are purely hypothetical, involve a 'fear of the unknown' and

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[11] This has meant that there has been a switch to a focus on constructions of risks and feelings of insecurity (see Goodey, 1997).
[12] To be discussed later.
[13] Such as actual or threatened victimisation.

can be more anxiety provoking than fears that are grounded in concrete experiences of victimisation.

Consequently, my research was designed to capture both of these examples; to give respondents opportunities to recollect past experiences when they had felt threatened and also to discuss generalised concerns including situations and people that they defined as risky and/or behavioural strategies that they used for dealing with these. It was expected that some situations and people defined as risky would be grounded in past experiences of victimisation but that others would be purely hypothetical. An attempt was made to compare the two in terms of their contributions to risk constructions and concerns.

Reconceptualising victimisation, risks and fears

From a gendered analysis, the most important criticisms of the study of the 'Fear of Crime' are that survey conceptualisations of 'fear', 'risk' and 'victimisation' are too narrow. For example, the survey method has also used an inadequate binary conception of victimisation, which has treated the categories of victim and offender as mutually exclusive. This means that offenders are depicted as oppressors and victims as weak and passive (Fattah 1992; Walklate 1992; 1995). This approach serves to essentialise men and women as two different but homogeneous groups, women being generally cast as victims and men as oppressors whilst failing to examine how power is manifested in individual incidents of victimisation (Fattah 1992; Walklate 1992; Newburn and Stanko 1994). A related point is that surveys have failed to capture the material constraints which structure incidents of 'fear' and/or 'victimisation' and these are important components of power relationships (Galtung, 1967, Cain (1986), Outhwaite (1987), Walklate (1998). These points are important to a consideration of victimisation of men by other men and/or perceptions of potential victimisation because there are many variations of power between men and within particular incidents.

A related point is that the distinction between victims and offenders is not as clear as this binary conception suggests. Victims can become offenders and vice versa, indeed as Ruggerio (1992; 129) has suggested the categories may 'blur and overlap' for an individual within the course of a day.

I suggest that victimisation, 'fear' and 'risk' need to be (re)conceptualised as *gendered, developmental processes.* Bowling (1993) has contended that a conceptualisation of victimisation as a *process*:

> *implies an analysis which is dynamic; includes the social relationships between all the actors involved in the process; can capture the dynamic of repeated or systematic victimisation; incorporates historical context; and takes account of the social relationships which inform definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour (1998; 15, see also MacLean, 1986, Sacco, 1990).*

Although, Bowling is discussing 'victimisation', I argue that 'fear' and constructions of 'risks' should also be conceptualised as *processes.* In making this suggestion I draw on the work of researchers on women who suggest firstly, that women's experiences transgress public and private distinctions (Kelly, 1987, Stanko, 1988, 1990) and secondly, that their experiences of assault and victimisation can only be understood against the background of their lives and the connection of events within it (Kelly 1987; Stanko 1988; 1990; Pain 1995; Goodey 1994; 1997). Kelly offers the concept of a 'continuum'[14] in order to describe the connections between different lifetime experiences, which inform women's fears (1988: 74). She suggests that women experience sexual violence as 'a continuous series of events which pass into one another and which cannot be readily distinguished' (Kelly, 1987: 77, see also Stanko, 1990).[15] I argue here that these points are also relevant to men's experiences albeit their male gender will affect the nature of those experiences and the connections between them so that they will be different in some respects to those of women. Unlike women, men's 'fears' and concerns

[14] See later for criticisms.
[15]Similarly, Stanko (1990) referred to women's experiences as involving 'climates of unsafety' which connect experiences of subordination and daily harassments and transcend individual instances of violence.

will not be contextualised within a 'general fear of rape' and experiences of routine sexual harassment within both public and private spaces as the aforementioned feminist researchers show that those of women are. However, men's experiences need to be contextualised within living 'as a man' and their use of public space[16] where male on male assault may be commonplace.[17]

Both Kelly (1988) and Stanko (1985) show how women develop routine practices to manage their lives under the threat of male harassment and assault. Such practices are structured and informed by women's relationships with other women, known men and strangers.[18] Likewise, I suggest that men's daily practices will be structured and informed by their relationships with women, known men and strange men.

The suggestion that lifetime experiences are connected enables a consideration of the material, structural constraints within which men and women live their lives (Sacco 1990). For example, the aforementioned work by feminist researchers points to how an understanding of women's 'Fear of Crime' needs to be contextualised within a gendered stratified society (Sacco, 1990; Kelly, 1988; Stanko, 1987, 1990a and b, Goodey, 1994; Walklate, 1995). Similarly, an understanding of men's concerns needs to be contextualised within a society where they are structurally advantaged over women but where they might also be either structurally advantaged or disadvantaged in relation to other men. Such constraints are mediated therefore by the concepts of gender but also age, race, class and sexuality. Attention must be paid therefore to the discursive dimension in relation to how these constraints are discussed and shared or individual and private (Sacco 1990).

These points remain important to a re-conceptualisation of risk as a process. The concept of risk within work on the 'Fear of Crime' has remained limited. The risk/fear disparity emanated from work that suggested a 'fear' was only 'rational' if it involved a corresponding level of

[16] All men may be subjected to assaults in private space but particularly elderly men and also prison inmates.
[17] Examples within the public domain may include streets, public transport, spheres of employment, sporting arenas and pubs. Whilst there are examples of female on male domestic violence and there may well be more of this than that recorded in official statistics given male socialisation and expectations of men, it is well known that women's victimisation within the home is widespread and that is despite the fact that it remains underreported.
[18] It follows that an understanding of women's fears necessitates an understanding of women's position within a gender-stratified society (Sacco and Glackman 1987; Kelly 1988; Stanko 1987; 1990s and b, Goodey, 1994; Walklate 1995).

objective risk. As Sparks has argued, this approach suggests that people *ought* to be able to calculate what risk they run of becoming a victim. In practice, this notion of risk would only be intelligible in a situation governed by known probabilities. However, in everyday life, anxiety about crime is as much a product of uncertainty as risk, involving a set of 'intuitions' (1992: 126-127).

Following Douglas, Sparks suggests that the considerations on which 'Fear of Crime' turn are similar to those which apply to the assessment and perception of many other kinds of risk (Douglas, 1986:43, 79 quoted in Sparks) and that there was is a necessity to consider perceptions of crime as a dimension of a whole mode of concrete practices and experiences and as one of the ways in which people define the parameters of what is, for them, a habitable social environment and which may result in them occupying 'fearful' social locations (1992: 133).

As Sparks suggests:

> *'an understanding of the experience of fear in particular communities necessitates an understanding of what kinds of communities they are and how their members actually go about forming their views of themselves and one another and of their place in the world (Sparks 1992: 129).* [19]

It is pertinent at this point to consider the notion of 'communities'. Although 'community' strategies around crime reduction have been invoked since the early 1980s there is little agreement about what the concept of 'community' actually means. Despite this, two common presumptions about 'communities' are, firstly, that they are a 'good thing' and secondly, that 'traditional communities', which are thought to include extended family, neighbourliness, a sense of belonging and a personal sense of place and identity have been destroyed by the process of modernisation (see McLaughlin & Muncie 2002, p317). As I will shortly show, this

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[19] Walklate makes similar points. For instance, she has suggests that 'How individuals negotiate the familiar and unfamiliar may in a very real way affect feelings of insecurity and uncertainty' (1995: 65).
.[19] Another writer who has touched upon the issues of strangers, community and unfamiliarity is Fischer (1981)

can be linked to work on 'incivilities' in terms of living within a 'risky society' (see Beck, 1991) that is also important to a consideration of the 'Fear of Crime'. The notion of 'traditional community' can be seen in the work of Etzioni (1997) who argues for a need to 'reinvent communities of the past with one sense of morality and one sense of public interest'; which is emphasised in the policies of New Labour.[20]

Willmott (1987) puts forward more interesting ways of thinking about 'communities' including; the 'territorial community', (those people who live in a particular area), the 'interested community' (those people who have something in common over and above the geographical area in which they live) and the 'attachment community' (people who have a sense of attachment to belonging to a place). The way in which we experience living in our 'community' may compose a mixture of these categorisations at any moment or may change over time. Also these experiences may not be coterminous with one another. However, they do suggest a need to view 'communities' *experientially,* which has not necessarily been the focus of policy initiatives around community crime prevention (see McLaughlin & Muncie, 2002 p318). For example, as Crawford (1995, p. 105) has commented, an assumption is frequently made in appealing to the 'community' that 'more community equal less crime' – a view that suggests a homogeneous view of 'community' and fails to acknowledge that a 'community' may be fragmented and parts of it may be criminogenic.

As Campbell (1993) suggests, some of Britain's 'dangerous places' are also among some of its most economically deprived and crime-ridden areas, where much of that crime is produced and sustained within the areas themselves. Although writers on both the left and the right draw on the notion of 'community' in crime prevention, the emphasis on the left sees more of a role for the 'community' by emphasising a 'bottom up approach' which places it at the centre of a democratic decision making process. However, the claims to 'empowerment' here are questionable; as Jefferson et al (1988) point out there are difficulties in implementing policies that are sensitive to the questions of participation, representation and the 'community'. This may be particularly so in areas with fragmented 'communities'. An emphasis on an

[20] See 'Bringing Britain Together; Social Exclusion Report', Pantazis et al, 1998.

experiential sense of community may be useful in developing an understanding of the 'Fear of Crime' and feelings of safety. Indeed, in terms of 'community' it may be helpful to accentuate a *private* sense of well being (Taylor, 1991) over a *public* one.

This leads me to a consideration of an essential, but often overlooked, component of the notion of 'community' - that of trust. A longitudinal study of two 'communities' responses to their experiences of living in high crime areas during the 1990s indicates that the senses of well being that individuals construct for themselves can be mediated by their understandings of where they find themselves in relation to a 'square of trust' involving the state, the (dis)organisation of crime, the (dis)organisation of community and mechanisms for sociability (Evans et al, 1996; Walkate, 1998; Walklate and Evans, 1999). In these areas trust relationships are constituted differently in relation to the four points of this square. One area 'Oldtown', provides an example of being a 'defended community' (that is, an ordered 'community'; not disordered as the writers in the Chicago School (Park, 1915; Shaw and McKay, Burgess et al, 1967) would suggest, trusting (of those who are local) and, whilst certainly disadvantaged, well defended from interference from 'outsiders'. Trust relationships here mean not relying on state officials to sort things out in favour of expecting the more locally organized criminal gangs (organized crime) to do something. In the absence of that, other issues might be managed as a result of the presence of kinship and family networks, (the organization of the community), for instance, knowing someone's father or brother. It is suggested that both processes contribute towards local social solidarity, providing mechanisms for sociability.

On the other hand, Bankhill is described as an example of a 'frightened community', socially disordered, where there is an absence of the trust of 'being local' found in Oldtown, and where there is no general collective community infrastructure. In this area, trust relationships mean offering a 'generalised trust' to state officials to sort things out but with little expectation that this might happen and moreover with little to put in the place of an official response, an absence of organised crime or an organised community resulting in weak mechanisms for sociability (Evans and Walklate, 1996; Evans, 1997, Walklate, 1998). These studies illustrate

the differential relationships people have in relation to crime, which need to be considered when developing policy initiatives. However, what also needs to be kept in mind is that areas may involve a combination of both Oldtown and Bankhill approaches, i.e. that when we are considering mechanisms for sociability these may not necessarily result in collective solidarity, as in Oldtown, but may increase fragmentation of community, leading to further hostility between individual groups. What remains important from this discussion however is that a sense of 'community' may be implicated in feelings of well being and safety, that 'community' needs to be conceptualised *experientially* and that an emphasis must be placed on questions such as, 'Who you can trust?', 'How do you trust?', 'How much can you trust?', and 'When can you trust?' (see Nelken, 1994).

A link can be drawn between the aforementioned works on 'risks', that on 'communities' and work on 'incivilities' including vandalism and more generalised insecurities over modern living. Many writers suggest a link between environmental 'incivilities' and the 'Fear of Crime' (Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Wilson and Kelling 1982; Lewis and Salem 1986; Box et al 1988, Skogan 1988, 1990; Warr 1990; LaGrange et al 1992). [21] However, the link between the two is not straightforward; whilst some studies find a strong correlation between perceptions of incivilities and those of risks (Panzatis 2000) others do not (Ferraro 1992; 1995, Tulloch 2000). The concept of 'incivilities' and their contribution to crime itself is discussed by Wilson and Kelling (1982), who suggest that if 'incivilities' such as broken windows and vandalism are not acted upon, people come to perceive that 'nobody cares' about the neighbourhood; the end result is that the law breaking are more likely to commit crimes in the area whilst the law abiding are less likely to spend time on the streets, both of which result in more crime. In this respect links are drawn between the 'Fear of Crime', 'incivilities' and the belief that both have a deleterious effect on 'community' life and consequently crime itself (see also Hope and Shaw, 1988a). The concept of incivilities is examined in my research but the overall focus is on how they are 'perceived' by the respondents and how perceptions impact upon constructions of selves, physical spaces and those that use them. It is expected that

[21] Space does not permit an examination of this literature nor is it necessary at this point. A good overview is provided by Hale (1996).

subjective interpretations will contribute to concerns around crime and risk constructions.

In a similar fashion to my own work, some previous studies contextualise the 'Fear of Crime' and perceptions of 'risk' directly within the economic and political marginalisation of urban areas (see Merry, 1981; Smith, 1986) drawing links between 'incivilities' and interpretations of them. The objective of Merry's research was to develop an understanding of how urban residents develop their own strategies for 'identifying and coping' with danger and how this affects their use of social space.[22] From her findings, Merry develops a theory about the multi-faceted meanings of danger. She suggests that the 'Fear of Crime' serves as an idiom for expressing and legitimising 'fear' of the strange and the unknown. Notions of safe and dangerous places and people take into account territory, ethnic hostility and conflict, ignorance, the presence of hostile strangers, familiarity, the availability of friends, feelings of vulnerability and helplessness, and the design of spaces. Notions of danger appear to be embedded in belief systems shared within social groups. Mortal dangers within one cultural group could appear as irrational fears to others. Differences between respondents' perceptions of danger bear implications for their use of social space. For instance, most respondents feel that familiar areas are safer than unfamiliar ones. The familiarity of an area is affected by several factors; the kind of people who habitually used a space influence its reputation as safe or dangerous; places occupied by people one knew are considered safer than those occupied by strangers; finally areas dominated by one's own ethnic group are considered safer.[23] People construct cognitive maps, informed by notions of risk and trust, which delineate people and places as safe or dangerous, as a coping strategy for managing potential problems. The resources available to people when making decisions about potential risk are enormously variable (see Sparks, 1992). Merry's research indicates one possible resource, that of ethnic networks.

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[22] This involved ethnography and qualitative interviews.

[23] Although not made explicit by Merry, notions of danger would appear to involve notions of trust. The concept of trust has received little attention in the 'Fear of Crime' debate. Following Walklate (1996, 1998), I suggest that trust is implicit in risk evaluations.

Smith's (1986) research highlights another that of communication networks, including the media, and examines their relationship with the 'Fear of Crime' within urban areas. In addition to the media, she argues that networks of rumour and gossip are important in providing 'improvised news'. These have multiple purposes and dimensions and often exceed the information given. Danger can be exaggerated where sources of information are lacking and the rumour often then becomes a surrogate for other fears. Smith suggests that the salience of a particular report for any individual is affected by the spatial distribution of the events reported, together with the specific social proximity of the victims.

Taken together, these studies suggest that 'risk', like 'victimisation' and 'fear' is a multi-faceted notion informed by experiences and knowledges. However, the life course factors of gender and age have been afforded limited attention.

The suggestion that lifetime experiences are connected also enables a consideration of the material, structural circumstances within which men and women live their lives including processes of socialisation. Both Sacco (1990) and Walklate (1995, 1997) suggest that men and women will experience different messages about victimisation and risk through the socialisation process and that these need to be accounted for. Despite this such 'normative discourses'[24] about gender have received little attention in the 'Fear of Crime' literature.

Moreover, although the factor of age has long been afforded recognition in the 'Fear of Crime' debate[25] the focus has remained limited. I argue that the nature of both 'fears' and 'risks' may alter as one ages and so the factor of age is extremely important to understanding both. Firstly, people may be more at risk of certain crimes at particular life stages and secondly they will be more 'fearful' of those crimes of which they perceive themselves to be at most risk. I consider the most useful work to be, that which develops the notion of vulnerability (Killias, 1990, 1991; Stanko 1998). It is argued that differential sensitivity and impact are components of vulnerability and that these can help to explain the 'greater fear levels' of older people (Hough & Mayhew 1983; Warr 1984; Hough 1995). Some researchers have looked at

[24] Walklate (1997).
[25] For a fuller consideration of this work see Appendix One.

distinctions between social and psychological aspects of the concept (Killias1990, 1991; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Farrell et al, 2000).[26] Useful insights are also gained from combining age with other factors such as poverty and/or incivilities. Such combinations help to expose the heterogeneity of older peoples' fears (Pantazis and Gordon, 1997).

Work by Tulloch (2000) makes a major advance because she focuses on the factors of both gender and age. By using interviews and focus group discussions she attempts to discover how people use social categories in their narratives about crime threats. She argues that in order to identify potential threats respondents make assessments through the utilisation of social cues and comparison with their knowledge of social categories and that they deploy these in their everyday assessment of risks. Tulloch argues that social categorisation is most important in contexts where *in-group* differences are *minimised* and *out-group* differences *are maximised* (2000: 460 – 63). She suggests that her theory recognises that dimensions of social similarities and differences are in some contexts more important than personal categorisations. In the context of the 'Fear of Crime' in a public space, she suggests that personal characteristics are less important than those relating to social group membership, for example, what it means to be an elderly woman.

However, whilst I accept that social categorisations are important in such situations, I stress that personal characteristics are as important. This is because personal characteristics and experiences may impact upon how one constructs one's self-identity and also how one constructs others. Indeed I argue that constructions of risk will be informed against a backcloth of life experiences and these will be different for each individual. Constructions of risk will also be informed by discourses around gender and age and each individual will interpret and use such discourses in a slightly different way. Therefore, I suggest that personal experiences will mediate constructions of selfhood throughout the ageing process and this will inform perceptions of risk and feelings of safety both in terms of 'actual threats'[27] and hypothetical ones. Therefore, although commonalities between experiences are important, I argue that a recognition of more personal components of identity is essential to

[26] For a fuller discussion of work on vulnerability see Appendix One.
[27] Such as a threatened physical attack.

an understanding of nuances between gendered identities and constructions of risks and my research seeks to examine these.

My argument also illuminates other problems with Tulloch's work in that her conceptualisations of gender and age are too rigid, they are more problematic than she implies. For example, age and gender both involve social constructions, human agency and temporal and historical significance. Constructions of risk around crime and 'incivilities' therefore need to include a consideration of gendered identities and their *connection* to the ageing process. I argue here that we can link this combination of social and personalised aspects of gender and ageing to work on living in a 'risk society' (see Beck, 1991) by including a focus on 'incivilities' and 'communities' as discussed earlier.

I suggest that an *experiential* concept of 'communities' *and* 'incivilities' can be linked to gender and ageing and contextualised within Beck's notion of the 'risk society'. Young (1999, 2003) connects this notion to a set of personalised rules. The question now, he suggests, is what likelihood there is of *your* rules being broken and that unit of risk is your chance of victimisation. [28] In doing this, Young draws on Goffman's notion of the 'Umwelt', which refers to a core of accomplished normality within which individuals and groups surround themselves. The 'Umwelt' has two dimensions: the ore in which one feels *secure* and the area in which one is *aware*; that of apprehension, which shrinks and expands in relation to one`s surroundings. The nature of the 'Umwelt' varies by social category, class and age, it is gendered and racialised.

By contextualising the notion of the 'Umwelt' within Beck's notion of living within a 'risky society' we can illustrate how crimes and incivilities, which form part of the social fabric of modernity, are troubling because they represent threats to conceptions of selfhood. Indeed, I would argue that conceptions of selfhood become ever more important in an increasingly fragmented world. Therefore, I suggest that, in terms of the 'Umwelt', the area in which one is aware, involves perceived threats to selfhood, which will incorporate identifications and comparisons with social categories (Tulloch, 2000) and other more *personalised* components of developmental gendered

[28] Giddens had referred to the development of `long-term processes whereby potential threats are avoided or immobilised` quoted in (Young 2003: 564).

identities, both of which involve questions of trust (see Nelken, 1994). In this way my research draws together work on 'risks' and 'incivilities' in order to emphasise a more personalised focus and combines them with developmental gendered ageing.

Developmental gender and ageing as a combined process

Drawing upon the insights provided by some feminist work, I suggest that gender and age need to be viewed as a combined developmental process. As Gardiner (1992) suggests a consideration of ageing enables us to think about gender more flexibly and she outlines several advantages to viewing gender developmentally by including a focus on age. Firstly, age categories are more likely to be viewed as continuous rather than oppositional like gendered ones. Secondly, like gender, the developmental category of age has both biological and sociological components (Gardiner, 2002). This recognition of the continuous nature of ageing and the social aspects within that process opens up theoretical insights. It recognizes that developmental gender is 'performative' and will be evaluated by societal norms; transgressions of age and gender are socially policed through a variety of sanctions (Gardiner, 2002). Furthermore, it helps us to understand power relationships; as Gardiner argues age, unlike gender, is a category in which assertions of power are overt and openly debated as matters of social policy and communal welfare. For example, as Gardiner suggests, changes in the life cycle can be categorized as dependent, independent and then interdependent. Although these categories are often normalized as 'simply part of a life cycle' they involve complex power relationships between the family and state institutions (Gardiner, 2002).

I argue that viewing gender developmentally may help us to forge a connection between identities and concerns around crime and related matters. Such an approach enables us to take account of the changing nature of masculine identities and events in the life course, which may impact upon these and affect discursive choices. As Goodey (1997) suggests an individual's 'masculine biography' may shape daily concerns. For example, when a man becomes a father, he may develop 'altruistic concerns'; his perception of risk and vulnerability

may be sharpened as he becomes aware of the vulnerability of his child and sees himself as a 'male protector' (see Valentine, 1997). Moreover, the ageing process may result in the 'feminisation' (see Gardiner, 2002) of masculine identities over time; for example, as men become physically older, discourses around male physicality and toughness may become unavailable and therefore they may be unable or disinclined to present a tough masculinity. In addition to this, as men grow physically older they may perceive themselves as being more physically vulnerable (see Painter 1989; Pain 1995). Furthermore; age has a social component and significance; for example, the official retirement age in Britain is 65 and this is the age where one receives the label of senior citizen, which carries the potential for negative connotations which can affect feelings of well being. The connections between these three arguments can help us to understand how men may feel more vulnerable as they age.

I suggest, therefore, that a developmental conceptualisation of gendered ageing can help us to understand the processes involved in coming to view something/someone as dangerous and the strategies that are developed to manage these dangers. Goodey suggests the concept of a continuum (see also Kelly, 1987) to help explain the connections between life course experiences/developmental stages in that multiple experiences of fear and fearlessness shift back and forth along the fear continuum, according to meta-discourses in the life course, such as adolescence, parenthood and ageing, which are part of the individual's personal biography (Goodey, 1997). However, I suggest that the connection between incidents might be more fluid than that suggested by a continuum and that the metaphor of a wave may be more useful to an understanding of how experiences alter throughout the life course process. A wave is always present in some capacity, involving surface and subsurface movement, rising and falling at varying intervals. I suggest that different life experiences may have the effect of reducing or heightening fears. Therefore, at various times and stages in one's life a person may come to experience something as a threat, where they might not do at another stage, some experiences will take the form of a wave, whilst others may involve a mere ripple. The utility of this concept will be tested in the course of the fieldwork. However, I do draw on Goodey's (1997) notion of a 'hegemonic masculine biography', which in terms of my respondents should help me to discover whether

'hegemonic masculinity' is more relevant at some stages of the life course than others and/or whether those men at different stages of the life course engage with 'hegemonic masculinity' and what the implications are for their 'risk' constructions. This also enables me to connect the literature on the 'Fear of Crime' and that on the 'Sociology of Masculinities'. My objective in doing this is to develop a theory of concerns around crime and incivilities within a theory of developmental masculinities.[29] My conceptualisation of masculinities is taken from the work of Connell (1987, 1995) and Messerschmidt (1993). The Gramscian notion of 'hegemony' came from attempts to understand class relations. Connell (1987, 1995) uses the notion to describe a form of 'normative heterosexuality', which defines masculinity through difference from, and desire for, women.[30] 'Hegemony' is used to describe the structurisation of differing forms of masculinity within Westernised society. It is formed in relation to femininities and competing accounts; its position is constantly negotiated and sometimes altered following the resistance and challenge of such accounts.

'Hegemonic masculinity' is distinguished from other masculinities especially 'subordinated' ones. It is 'normative' in that it embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man. In this way, 'hegemonic masculinity' is understood as the pattern of practice that allows men's dominance over women to continue. Connell suggests that whilst only a minority of men might exemplify it, enough men are *complicit* with the 'hegemonic pattern' to maintain its hierarchal position. Although, 'hegemony' can involve violence, it does not necessitate it, it means ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions and persuasion. 'Hegemony' implies that gender relations are historical, so gender hierarchies are subject to change. There are struggles for 'hegemony' and older forms of 'hegemonic masculinity' could be replaced by new more humane ways of being a man that might undermine gender hierarchies.

By drawing upon Connell's work, Messerschmidt(1993), provides an example of the connection between gender as a situational accomplishment that simultaneously

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[29] Clatterbaugh (1990) and Edley and Wetherall (1995) provide reviews of the Masculinities literature.
[30] The most cited source for 'hegemonic masculinity' became a book by Connell (1987) entitled "Gender and Power" which discussed both 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'emphasised femininity'.

accomplishes race and class. Situational accomplishments involve interactions between individuals who share structural space and blocks of knowledge in the form of discourses. During situational accomplishments individuals draw on existing and shared knowledge patterns and configure the behaviour of themselves and others through the notion of accountability.[31] This involves individuals being able to explain and account for their own behaviour and evaluate that of others, with reference to existing knowledge patterns and discourses. Over time, these historical and interactional practices produce institutionalised structural concepts such as gender, race and class.[32] 'Hegemonic masculinity' provides a resource to be used in such situational accomplishments, which contributes to structured patterns of gender.

It follows that the masculine identity of each man will be unique because each will select from the resources available to him and will build these into his identity in a different way. Building a masculine identity involves a continual and complex process (Jackson, 1990), which includes several psychological and social factors such as sexual orientation, race and class, together with one's historical experiences. Therefore, as with 'fears', the factors of life course and age must also be incorporated into the concept of a masculine identity. The ability to draw upon potential identity resources will sometimes be limited by structural restraints (Messerschmidt, 1993), albeit how people draw upon resources will always involve a degree of personal choice. However, the work of Connell and Messerschmidt has been criticised for underplaying this element and failing to develop any understanding of subjectivity and how men come to make discursive choices around masculinities (Edley and Wetherall, 1995; Jefferson, 1996; Walklate, 1998; Whitehead , 2002) and my work aims to deal with this criticism. [33]

I suggest that the latter is provided by the work of Freud (1963). This work remains helpful because it provides a connection between heterosexual parenting and the formation of

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[31] Messerschmidt (1993) draws upon Giddens (1976; 1981) and connects structure and agency by drawing upon phenomenology.

[32] This approach bears similarities with Goffman's (1958) notion of roles as knowledge patterns to be used in variable performances of gender.

[33] For a fuller consideration of criticisms of Connell's work see Appendix One where a discussion of Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) reworking of the concept is provided.

heterosexual gendered identities by explaining how children acquire experiential knowledge of gender through their relationship with parents and/or primary caretakers. Secondly, the recognition of potential bi-sexuality helps demonstrate how individuals in the attainment of a gendered identity negotiate structural and discursive factors. Thirdly, the defence mechanisms are important to an understanding of how men achieve masculine identities throughout the ageing process and deal with fears. I suggest that men may use the internalizing defence mechanism of repression to deal with 'inappropriate' feelings or desires; alternatively they may externalize these feelings by projecting them onto others. For example, in her research on gender, Hollway (1989) suggests that men frequently used projection as a defence mechanism for dealing with anxieties, emotions and perceived weaknesses. In this way men projected aspects of their own personalities onto others[34] and this is examined in my thesis.

Chodorow's (1978) work combines object relations theory with classical Weberian sociology in an attempt to explain how capitalist patriarchy becomes embedded in the psyche. Within Western industrialized societies, capitalism structures women into the mothering role wherein the family pattern is nuclear, defined by paternal absence and exclusive mothering. In this way, mothering is then reproduced through socially induced psychological mechanisms.[35] I seek to find out what sorts of relationships my respondents had with their parents and what implications this has for their formation of masculine identities and expression of emotions.

Conclusion

I have suggested that we need to re-conceptualise the theoretical tools of 'fears', 'risks' and 'incivilities' and that my research can help contribute to this. From the literature, the factors that I have identified as being important for exploration have been masculinities, gendered ageing (including life events), perceptions of 'incivilities', 'communities' and social categories. I want to find out if and how these factors are important to individual identities and/or constructions of risks.

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[34]Such as women, see Hollway (1989).
[35] For criticisms of this work see Appendix One.

The main focus will be on the process of building a masculine identity. I will question respondents about their early experiences of parenting and schooling to find out what, if anything is important to their current identities. I also want to find out if and how masculine identities change during the ageing process, which life events are important and whether 'hegemonic masculinity' as originally defined (Connell, 1987) is relevant. The research will examine how my respondents use language when discussing their identities, how they construct 'risks' and which factors are important. Actual experiences of victimisation, recollections of 'fearful' moments and hypothetical 'risks' will be evaluated to see whether they are related and what the implications are for feelings of well-being, future 'risk' constructions and behavioural strategies. Finally, the research will examine whether there are connections between the masculine identities of my respondents, their discussions of the ageing process and the 'risks' that they discuss.[36]

[36] My research is set within a particular geographical space, which grounds the risks of my respondents within their immediate environment, which is a site of economic and political marginalisation (See also work by Merry, 1981 and Smith, 1986).

Chapter Two
Methods

Background to the study

The objectives of this research were to explore and analyse concerns around crime and incivilities together with recollected experiences of 'fearful moments'. I wanted to find out how the respondents, who were at different stages in the life course, described their masculinities and if there were connections between the discussions of identities and their concerns around crime and incivilities. I had suggested that such a study would be useful because little qualitative research has been undertaken on men's concerns and much of the information that was available had been generated through victim surveys, which had been subjected to criticism.[37]

Consequently, I felt that a more qualitative approach would yield richer data and was more suited to research, which was aimed at developing new perspectives because it would enable men to speak easily about their experiences and discuss the issues at length using depth interviews.

Feminist research

I suggest that my research is 'feminist' because it draws on a 'feminist favoured' ontology and epistemology, it employs feminist preferred practices such as reflexivity (Gelsthorpe, 1990) and it contributes to the development of 'gendered' criminological knowledge. My conception of feminism involves 'a belief that women are oppressed and an active commitment to ending that oppression; feminist research is, therefore, political and includes an emphasis on power relationships and how they are gendered' (Cain, 1986; Gelsthorpe, 1990; Willott, 1999). However, I suggest that such power relationships also intersect with class, race, age, and geographical location. Consequently, I am in agreement with those researchers who have suggested that feminist work must be dedicated to ending all oppressive power relations because of the way in which they are intertwined (Harding, 1991; Willott, 1999).

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[37] For a detailed consideration of these issues see Appendix One.

It follows from this that women can do research on and for men and vice versa (Cain, 1990). My research is useful to men because it can contribute towards the deconstructing of male stereotypes within the literature and also help to expose the oppression and victimisation of men and boys by other men. In terms of benefits for women, I was looking to correct a false assumption about male fears and concerns, which I suggest contributes to the body of work which is helping to expose the myth around women's fears as being 'irrational'. However, the data are not about women nor are they directly usable in terms of contributing to a reduction in women's oppression.[38] Where the research may prove helpful to women however is in providing more information on masculinities, which can help us to deconstruct the taken for granted nature of 'masculinity' in the literature and help contribute to a 'gendered' criminology[39] that is inclusive of both female and male experiences.

My ontological perspective is that social reality is made up of active agents (with psyches, personalities and motives) drawing upon discursive options within structural circumstances, with a view to being held accountable to others according to existing knowledge patterns. I suggest that an understanding of social life requires a consideration of how agents actively construct their pasts and future life trajectories (motives, psyches); of the *cultural habitus* within which they do this (i.e. taken for granted assumptions about social reality); of discourses available to them and of the structural circumstances surrounding all of these (Bourdieu, 1997; 1992).

Epistemology is concerned with what constitutes knowledge. In accordance with my ontological position, I suggest that all knowledge is contextual, situational and interactional. Cain has used the term 'historical specificity' in order to describe the situational nature of knowledge which includes an emphasis on the historical and constantly changing nature of human relationships and understandings (1990, p. 129). These include the relationship between the researcher and the researched; the data generated from the remarks of the respondent in interviews must be contextualised within the interview itself, for it is the

[38] Such as work on women's victimisation – see Kelly (1987), Stanko (1985).
[39] Note for some researchers such as Smart (1990) this is a futile enterprise but I do not agree with this position.

'interaction' between the interviewer and her respondents that constitutes the data (Cain, 1990, p.129).

This interpretation of knowledge is linked to another aspect of epistemology, that of who can be 'knowers'. In this respect, I suggest that one's social location will influence what it is possible to know. As Cain (1990, p.129) has pointed out, we can only ever know with the discourses that are historically and culturally available to us and we speak from our own unique site within a complex configuration of inter-related people.

However, the notion of a standpoint suggests epistemological privilege to certain 'knowers'. For example, in terms of a 'feminist standpoint', Hartsock (1983) suggests that through the sexual division of labour, women participate in their own material reality as well as the abstracted reality of the dominant group – men. This affords women the possibility of epistemistic privilege because they *can become aware* of the socially constructed nature of the world. The argument is, therefore, that epistemic privilege is granted by one's social location and experience in relation to oppression (Silverman, 2000).

Feminist standpoint epistemology had been accused of essentialism and of detracting from a consideration of the differences between women. Critics of standpoint theory have suggested that identities remain fixed and determine knowledge production (see Harding, 1986; Haraway, 1988; Smart, 1990).

Cain (1990) is one of the feminists (see also Harding, 1991) who have remained convinced of its usefulness and by emphasising its relational core she has managed to defend it against many of the criticisms against it. Indeed, she has made clear that it is the aforementioned reading of standpoint theory that is essentialist rather than the concept itself (1990, p. 134).

Cain's interpretation is that standpoint involves a choice of site through political engagement that shapes possibilities for knowledge production. In this way, men can know for women, black women for white, white for black and vice versa. Moreover, as standpoint involves

actively chosen sites an awareness of the historical and temporal nature of knowledge generated from them should be more readily apparent. It follows therefore that feminist standpoints will take different forms and the knowledge's generated from them will be different (1990, p. 132-3).

For Cain, theory is fundamental to standpoint; thinking theoretically enables us to 'work out where the fractures are and why they matter'. In this way we can 'recognise differences whilst reuniting around important sameness' (1990; 134). The form that this sameness takes is what women have in common; they negotiate their structural and discursive location in relation to populist discourses surrounding femininities and masculinities. It is this shared experience of day-to-day negotiation that makes it possible to record, speak or write from a feminist standpoint (Cain, 1990, p. 134).

Finally, in using a standpoint, we must remain theoretically reflexive. According to Cain this means:

> *thinking about oneself in terms of a theory and undertaking theoretically the site one finds oneself in. In this way, theoretical reflexivity tells you whether anything in your personal site must be changed* (1990, p. 133).

The issue for me here is that it is the components of Cain's version of standpoint that can contribute to validity claims such as the need to make one's choices and political affiliations clear and the requirement to incorporate reflexivity. These arguments recognise the importance of personal experiences.[40] Indeed, the notion of reflexivity places significance on personal experiences by placing the researcher herself under focus, which subjects the research process to scrutiny.

I incorporated some of Cain's suggestions in the design and conduct of the research. As a feminist researcher working with men I have tried to maintain a critical viewpoint and to remain

[40] Albeit Cain is not suggesting that one's personal experiences as a woman and/or of oppression simply provide one with epistemic privilege.

vigilant and conscious of any imbalances in power between my respondents and myself. Willott (1999) suggests that differing relationships within specific contexts can be seen, as placing the researcher or researched either 'inside' or 'outside' what is normal and powerful in contemporary society:

> *As a woman and a researcher, I was an outsider within the male dominated arenas of the research and as working class offenders my participants were outsiders within my analysis and middle class world of research expertise (*1999, p. 147).

Like Willott (1999), I was also both an insider and an outsider within my research. I was an insider because I had a long period of residency within the geographical area. However, I was an outsider because I was a woman and my analysis and writing up were outside of the experiences of the men in the study. I had set the questions to be asked and conducted the analysis and report. As Finch (1984) has pointed out, by writing up a thesis one is objectifying the respondents, partly because the voice of the researcher has primacy.

As Cain (1990) suggests the best way to tackle the complexity of these relationships is through 'reflexivity' and the method that I chose was intended to help tackle the issue of power relationships and to provide scope for reflexivity. The use of semi-structured depth interviews permitted flexibility, which enabled me to follow up lines of enquiry initiated by the respondents. It also enabled my respondents to use their own terminology and gave me the opportunity to be responsive to them. I tried to remain conscious of exploitative situations, to be open about my research designs and objectives and to answer questions as fully as I could.

Reflexivity also required that my subjective experiences in undertaking the research became part of the project itself and that they were analysed and made clear. I kept a reflective diary in order to keep a record of my feelings during the research process. It is not possible to include all of the experiences from my research but a selection is included at Appendix Two.

I suggest that there were possible implications from my being a female researcher doing research on men. Firstly, a possible advantage is that the men may have felt more able to acknowledge their feelings, 'fears' and concerns to me than they would have done with a male interviewer. In contrast, a possible disadvantage is that men may have felt obliged to present themselves in a particular way because I was a woman; though similarly men may have felt obliged to present themselves in a particular way to a male researcher also. However, in hindsight, I did not feel that the 'Macho Men' played down their toughness, racism and homophobia to me and yet they also discussed their reflective feelings and 'fears' and I feel that this suggests that my position as a woman did not affect the collection of data in a detrimental way. I also had secondary verification about the activities of men who were interviewed at various sites in the area from those that ran those sites and through my own experiences in spending time at those sites and living in the research area.

I was heavily pregnant with my second son at the time of interviewing some of the 'Macho Men', and I am not sure whether this made a difference in that I was viewed as a maternal type figure and afforded more respect than I would have been otherwise which may have made it easier to interview these men. Certainly, my pregnancy often proved an icebreaker with respondents and they would ask me questions about it.

Throughout my experiences in the field I had to remain professional at all times and to make sure that my feelings about individual experiences and respondents did not influence my findings. Overall I found that it was easier to develop a rapport with respondents than I had anticipated and I got better at this as the research progressed by figuring out how to start small talk that was relevant to the circumstances in which the interview was taking place.

It is inevitable in research like this that one will warm to some respondents more than others but through my reflective diary I managed to keep track of my feelings and I began to see that I felt the same way in many of the situations that arose. In this way I developed a strategy of being aware of myself and my feelings and recording them in my diary, returning to reflect on them and think about how they might affect my interpretation before I began to transcribe the tapes. I left

transcription for a couple of weeks so that I could place some distance between myself and the interview experience which meant that although I had a record of the context of the interview and my feelings I was able to be objective when typing and analysing the data.

Choice of research sites and sampling

The research was conducted in Ellestree[41] a suburban ward in South Birmingham, approximately 7 kilometres south of the city, consisting of mainly inter-war and post-war family housing, half-owner-occupied and half rented. I had extensive knowledge of the area because I had lived there whilst I was growing up. I was also living in the area for two years prior to the research being undertaken and continued to do so during the fieldwork and analysis. The fieldwork was conducted between 2000-2002 and the analysis of the fieldwork continued well into 2003.

At the outset of the research I intended to conduct 45 depth interviews with men from three age ranges; being 16-21, 25-45 and 60 plus. I considered these to be important stages in the lifecycle (see Goodey 1997, Gardiner, 2002), which could have implications for the masculine identities of my respondents, and the risks that they discussed. The 16 – 21 age group was chosen because this was the age that boys were leaving school and either going to college or starting work, the middle group of 25-45 was chosen as a time when men start to settle down and may have family responsibilities and 60 plus was chosen because it is an age when men start to retire or think about retirement.[42]

My sampling techniques involved forms of purposive sampling, which were informed by Glaser and Strauss's (1967) 'Grounded Theory' approach.[43] The initial sampling method selected was that of snowball sampling, which is a version of non-probability sampling or convenience sampling. In its simplest formulation this consists of identifying respondents who are then used

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[41] A pseudonym.

[42] There was no upper age limit to the research.

[43] This involves theoretical sampling by selecting groups of people to study on the basis of the theoretical relevance to your research questions, your theoretical position and analytical framework, your analytical practice, and the type of explanation that you are developing (Mason 1996, p94).

to refer researchers to other respondents. I considered that snowball sampling would be helpful because the study was primarily explorative (Silverman, 2000, Mason, 1996). I also anticipated that a degree of trust might have been required to initiate consent because I was a female researcher looking to undertake a study on men, which would be heavily reliant on their co-operation.

My first step in identifying and finding potential respondents and starting off chains of referral was to locate sites within the study area where respondents might be found. I identified several locations within the research area including two community centres, a youth and adult education centre, a Doctor's surgery and two social clubs. I then approached key individuals who worked at these sites who could act as gatekeepers and explained the purpose of the research and how it would be conducted. Once permission to undertake the research had been given I designed posters and flyers to be displayed in the research sites. I also spent plenty of time at the locations speaking with people who used them, providing information about the research and building rapport.

I obtained my initial contacts from the sites but quickly realised that people who had been referred were often unwilling to refer others and that this would slow the research down. This meant that in order to continue I would have had to rely on the gatekeepers and I had come to realise that 'gatekeeper bias' could be an issue. This is a problem with snowball sampling because gatekeepers can be biased as regards to respondents that they refer and those that they do not.

In order to remedy this I had to rethink my sampling strategy. I decided to use a form of non-probability quota sampling where I spent more time at the various research sites distributing leaflets and chatting to potential respondents from the different age groups. I eventually filled my quota in this way as men agreed to take part. Once consent had been provided respondents were provided with a protocol,[44] which gave the purpose of the study and informed them of how confidentiality would be maintained and how their anonymity would be protected. All names

[44] See Appendix Three.

provided in the study are pseudonyms.

I believe that I managed to build up trust by spending a lot of time in the research areas because I became a familiar figure and built up rapport with respondents and others that they knew. Consequently, this approach may well have enabled me to build up trust and rapport with male respondents in a more satisfactory way than that enabled by snowball sampling.

Focus groups and triangulation

It was my intention to supplement the interviews with focus groups. These involve a semi-structured group session, moderated by a facilitator, held in an informal setting with the purpose of collecting information on a particular topic through group interaction. An advantage of this method is the generation of data through exploratory group talk; thereby providing rich details of complex experiences and insight into behaviours and attitudes (Morgan 1988, p. 20-1).

Researchers sometimes use more than one research method in an attempt at 'triangulation'; to get a 'true fix' on a situation by combining different ways of looking at it (Flick, 1992a; 2002a). If one treats social reality as being constructed in different ways, in different contexts, then one cannot appeal to a single 'phenomenon' which all one's data apparently represent (Silverman, 2000: 156-8). This means that my conception of reality was not compatible with the assumption that true fixes on it could be obtained from different ways of looking at it. However, this problem only arises when researchers use such multiplicity as a way of settling validity questions and does not mean that they should not use different data sets or employ different qualitative methods (Silverman 2000, p. 177). My intention therefore was to use focus groups as an alternative source of data to see whether there was a difference in the issues raised and discourses used within a group context and whether any different insights could be generated. I was not making claims to validity on this basis; rather I suggest that these claims are made on the basis of making my research choices and analysis clear to my readers and my use of the constant comparative method (Cain 1990, Silverman 2000 see below).

For this part of the study I used a semi-structured interview to help guide the discussions. This was based on key issues taken from the research questions and informed by data generated from the research itself. It has been argued that in research using focus groups it is necessary for participants to have similar cultural experiences as this facilitates the establishment of rapport and makes participants feel free to offer their input. For this reason participants were selected from particular sites within the area and they had some previous knowledge of other participants in the groups. It has also been suggested that the optimum size of a focus group should be six to twelve individuals and that for sensitive topics groups of three[45] might be more satisfactory (Morgan, 1988).

Disappointingly, I ended up having to abandon the data from the focus group discussions because I could not make proper use of it.[46] The problems were largely to do with the youngest age group where the session was conducted at the youth annexe. I found it extremely difficult to handle the sessions, despite having a youth worker present to help facilitate. An example of this is that, although I started with six respondents, other young men turned up and kept joining in regardless of requests not to from both the youth worker and myself. I suggest that one of the reasons for this was to do with the lack of private space to conduct the group and the bravado of the men, which was exaggerated by use of the method itself.[47] In part, however, the problems were to due with my lack of experience with this method.

The problems that I encountered are commonly associated with focus group research. Large groups typically require a higher level of moderator involvement, and it takes an experienced moderator to control them without engaging in continued intervention, which is counterproductive in terms of the method itself. A particular problem is that discussions in large groups can break up into small conversations around the table, which are difficult to record and indeed this is what happened (Morgan, 1988). As a consequence, it proved impossible to transcribe the tape from the session.

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[45] Discussing 'fears' and concerns could be such a concern.
[46] For the purposes of this research.
[47] It was notable that there was much less of this in individual interviews.

I undertook another focus group with three respondents[48] but that too proved difficult as one respondent dominated the session and the other two respondents contributed much less. It is suggested that where all of the participants are not sufficiently involved in the discussion, the group moderator will have to question them closely to get to the desired materials but this defeats one of the advantages of the method which is to focus on natural interaction within groups with little input from the researcher (Morgan, 1988). It may also have been the case here that some of the participants did not feel comfortable about revealing their opinions on a topic within a group and in this respect the individual interviews may have been more effective.[49] Indeed, as focus groups are based in unnatural and group settings, there is always some uncertainty about the accuracy of what respondents say (Morgan 1988, p. 20 -1).

Despite the generation of data from this age group[50] therefore it was not comparable to that of the other groups because there was insufficient material on all of the topics. I therefore decided to abandon the group data and concentrated on the individual interviews.

The Qualitative Interviews

Before conducting the interviews I designed an interview schedule containing open-ended questions, which built on the information obtained from the literature review. The use of open-ended questions involved a conscious choice because I wished to gain data on a wide range of issues and it was felt this would enable me to provide respondents with enough flexibility to provide answers in their own words but it would also help to focus the respondents on the issues to be discussed.[51]

Spending time at the research sites discussing the research and providing information meant that at the stage of the interviews the participants had already met the interviewer, heard about the research, agreed to take part and had time to think about their participation and issues of

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[48] With men from the youngest age category.
[49] Indeed, issues of bravado were much less of an issue with the 'Macho Men' in individual interviews outside of the group setting.
[50] 16 – 21 years.
[51] For a copy of the interview schedule see Appendix Four. I conducted interviews with a respondent from each age group in order to 'pilot' the interview schedule.

confidentiality. The protocol that was provided for respondents can be seen at Appendix Three.

At the beginning of the interview I told the interviewees[52] about the range of areas that I wanted to discuss. A potential danger with unstructured interviews is that interviewees might stray from the subject; at times I had to gently guide the interviewee back to the issues or alternatively ask them to expand on a point. Each interview was recorded and afterwards I made notes on the context of the interview.

Interpreting the data from the interviews

I transcribed all taped interviews personally and used a combination of cross-sectional and non-cross sectional indexing in my analysis of the data. I firstly printed off a hard copy of each interview and read through several times highlighting important points and themes. Once I had a holistic understanding of each interview I made summaries of them. This helped me to make sense of small sections of text in isolation, or with others of a similar type and also to remain mindful of the overall context of the interview itself. This approach is known as non cross-sectional data organisation and it is a practice guided by a search for the particular rather than the common or consistent, and the holistic rather than the cross sectional (Mason 1996; Silverman 2000).

Once I had done this with several interviews I entered the data into a qualitative data analysis package; NUD.IST (Non-Numeric Data. Indexing, Searching, Theory). This software package enables the researcher to index and retrieve data across a whole set of coded interviews.

There are inherent dangers involved in cross-sectional indexing. Firstly, any one piece of qualitative text is likely to address more than one topic or concept at a time, and therefore serial indexing may be inappropriate or impossible to apply. Consequently, it is difficult to use in qualitative texts, which do not have a uniform layout or follow an ordered sequence. Devices such as keyword searches in qualitative data analysis packages might save time but

[52] For background information on interviewees see Appendix Five.

risk distorting the meanings behind the data (Mason 1996, Silverman, 2000). However, I felt that these problems were avoided by my use of non-cross sectional indexing with whole transcripts and my careful use of NUD.IST. I used the keyword searches in a very broad way around themes and mainly used NUD.IST as a repository for the hand-indexed data and to provide a visual illustration of the emerging linkages between themes and questions. Throughout the analysis I continued to read though whole interviews to retain a holistic sense of the men in my study and to look for disparate instances which did not fit my overall pattern.

The use of these forms of analysis constituted 'inductive reasoning' where the research develops 'theoretical propositions or explanations out of the data' (Mason 1996, p.143). This is associated with Glaser and Strauss's 'grounded theorizing', whereby explanation and theory are fashioned directing out of the emerging analysis of the data – using their constant comparative method (Mason 1996, p. 142).[53]

Categorisation of respondents

One way that I did use the software was to explain the masculine identities of my respondents through the use of categories. The intention here was not to invent categories then fit respondents into them but rather to reflect the way that the data appeared to group and which related themes or events seemed repeatedly to draw upon the same interviews around identities. These categorisations will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Issues within the research

All research involves a process of learning in the field. In hindsight, I would have attempted to gain access to potential research sites and respondents well in advance of the fieldwork because this took up a lot of time at the beginning of the period that I had set aside for the research. There were sometimes frustrating moments such as when potential interviewees would cancel the interviews or rearrange them. Sometimes I would be waiting at a pre-arranged venue and

[53] However, Glaser and Strauss's approach can also be matched with the third option, where theory, data analysis and data production are produced dialectically (Mason 1996, p142). I suggest that this is what happened here.

the interviewee would fail to turn up, this often happened with the 'Macho Men'. In order to remedy this I spent a lot of time hanging out at the youth annexe and then respondents would be interviewed after they had finished playing pool. On reflection, I would also have gone to sit in on some focus groups and tried to obtain some training in arranging and managing them.

There are often problems with interviewing as a method. One of the problems is how to stop individuals from going off the point. I found with some interviewees that they appeared to really enjoy being asked about themselves and given the opportunity to discuss their views and experiences. Some respondents were very willing to talk whilst others were less talkative.[54] Although this was not particularly frequent it was often difficult to get such respondents to talk in more detail and I had to try various ways of prompting them such as asking them to explain and expand without leading them. This meant that although many respondents gave similar responses, some were more detailed than others. Another problem was that some respondents were more articulate than others, this was a particular problem with some of the 'Macho Men' and it was sometimes difficult to understand them and I had to ask them for clarification. The disadvantage of this is that some respondents had more time to develop their arguments and therefore their views and experiences may be over emphasised in comparison to other respondents.

However, the whole point of using depth interviews was to allow respondents to talk in their own way and at their own pace about the issues. If I had interrupted respondents and tried to manage the interviews more I would have been undermining the supposed advantages of this method and I would also have risked distorting their responses and losing valuable data.

I have tried to be objective in the presentation of the research but at times some respondents did manage to give fuller answers and/or discussed more issues than other respondents and this is sometimes reflected in the findings presented.[55] However, I suggest that this is a feature of qualitative interviewing and, moreover, was also a reflection of the personalities of the men that

[54] The most difficult respondents in this respect were Frank, Martin and some of the 'Macho Men' who gave answers but at times appeared to have difficulty in expressing themselves.
[55] Examples of particularly talkative respondents included Danny, Kieran, Alan, Dave, Andy, Ian, Jeff, Trevor, Adrian, James, Robbie, James, Gerald, Harry, Tony, Ron, Tom, Reggie and Francis.

were being interviewed.

Chapter Three
Masculinities, Early Life and Schooling

Introduction

The next two chapters examine the process of identity constructions. This chapter addresses and resolves several questions posed by the literature on gendered identities and masculinities. It examines the role that 'hegemonic masculinity', as traditionally defined by Connell, played in the formation of the masculine identities of my respondents. I also address questions posed by the work of Gardiner (2002) and Goodey (1997) by explaining what the implications of ageing were for masculine identities, how they changed over time and which life events were crucial to these changes.

Research on gendered socialisation has suggested that the invoking of gender as a means of making sense of the world is very important in the everyday lives of young children (Davis 1989; 1993). The literature also suggests that the everyday practice of 'doing gender' at school involves 'heterosexuality' (Connell, 1996; Mac An Ghaill, 1994; West and Zimmerman 1991; Hasbrook, 1999). Connell (1987, 1995, 1999) argues that it is through such gendered practices that masculinities ('subordinate' and 'hegemonic') and femininities ('subordinated' and 'emphasised') are reproduced and reinforced. Masculinities within schools are achieved through the use of the cultural resources available to each boy but within the specific situational context and structural restraints of the school and schooling process (Mac An Ghaill, 1997). Whilst one such resource is 'hegemonic masculinity', *normative* ideas around gender, relationships with peers, and the institution of the school itself will influence how individual boys draw upon this resource and this chapter explains the significance of these factors for my respondents.

Connell's work (1985, 1987, 1995) has also suggested that masculinity involves a hierarchy based on 'hegemony' and 'subordination'. Research on schooling has suggested that one's position in this hierarchy is related to the degree of compliance with this 'hegemonic' model and that, accordingly, this is related to popularity (Mac An Ghaill, 1997, Pheonix et al, 2002). Indeed, it has been suggested that policing and/or bullying around 'hegemonic masculinity'

(and homophobia) becomes endemic to the 'hegemonic enterprise' of becoming acceptably male (Poynting & Donaldson, 2005).

My findings challenge previous research on early socialisation, 'hegemonic masculinity' and the 'Fear of Crime'. In the section on early home life, I show how my respondents valued certain qualities in their parents and that these were characteristics associated with 'women and mothering'. This is significant because these 'non-hegemonic'[56] characteristics were valued before entry into the schooling process. Moreover, as I will show at a later point, these qualities were emphasised in the adult identities of the respondents.

My respondents suggested that, whilst at school, the dominant masculinity in numerical terms comprised characteristics more often associated with Connell's (1985, 1987) notion of 'subordinated masculinity'. Indeed, my findings reveal that levels of compliance with 'hegemonic masculinity' were considerably varied. In the conclusion to the chapter, I suggest therefore, that the concepts of 'hegemony' and 'popularity' within the literature may need to be redefined.

Early Home Life

The first part of the interviews asked men about their early home lives and relationships with their parents. Although the respondents were asked about early home life, this was not the central concern of the research and I did not try to elicit such full responses as have been achieved by other studies (see Hollway and Jefferson, 1997, 2000).

I found that the division of labour during childhood was still largely as discussed by Chodorow (1978). 42 of the 45 respondents reported a division of roles between their mothers and fathers whilst they were at a pre-school age; the pattern was maternal presence where mothers cared for their children and the home, and paternal absence.[57] For 41[58] of these

[56] As traditionally defined.
[57] Providing support for the work of Chodorow (1978).
[58] Andy's mother had not worked since having children.

respondents, this pattern had continued as they were growing up.[59] Although the mothers of 40 respondents had obtained part-time jobs when their children were at school, these were largely domestic and service type roles.[60] Moreover; these women had still done the housework. Three older respondents also recalled less division of labour and remembered their mothers working whilst they were very young and being looked after by other family members such as grandparents. However, for two of these respondents,[61] their fathers had died when they were very young and their mothers were therefore the only breadwinners. For the remaining respondent,[62] his family were so poor that both parents had to work.

The overall pattern of maternal presence and paternal absence and the division of labour sometimes affected the quality of relationships with parents as some men remained closer to their mothers and distant from their fathers. I constructed a typology based upon parental preference, illustrated in the following table:

(Table 1).Parental Preference

Preference	Macho Man	Softer Man	New Man	Reluctant New Man	Traditional Man
Maternal	8/45	4/45	10/45	5/45	1/45
Paternal	0/45	0/45	0/45	2/45	1/45
Liked Both	0/45	3/45	1/45	2/45	1/45
Disliked Both	0/45	0/45	2/45	1/45	0/45
Other - Grandparents	1/45	0/45	1/45	0/45	1/45

Total 44/45 Respondents.
Note: one respondent James, a New Man, switched his preference from his mother when very young to his father, as he grew older[63].

In total twenty-eight of the forty-five respondents expressed a preference for their mothers.[64] From their responses, it appeared that these respondents valued the caring qualities of their mothers, because they were there whilst their fathers were not and because their mothers were easier to talk to:

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[59] Exception was Kris, mother had a full-time job as he matured.
[60] Such as being a cleaner, dinner lady or shop assistant.
[61] Albert and Frank.
[62] Seamus.
[63] Because his mother was *there* but was violent and as he grew older.
[64] See Appendix Five for figures.

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

I loved mom, I really did...she tried her best for me... she was a great influence on my life... I think the best woman in the world, apart from Mother Theresa, was my mom, even today she's still in my mind

Sean (Aged 18) MM

I feel most comfortable with my mom...she understands what I'm going through and she listens as well

Narratives around mothering included accounts of mothers being sympathetic and tolerant and defending their sons against over-zealous fathers and schoolteachers:[65]

Tom (Aged 70) RNM

Dad used to show anger and mom used to go off at him, because he was unreasonable...she always stood up for me, if anything flared up and because he was a bit unjust

For these men, their preference for their mothers was also affected by their relationships with their fathers. The reasons for paternal dissatisfaction were the opposite of those provided for maternal preference and included limited physical and emotional contact. Fathers were mostly physically absent through work or in the case of three men,[66] because they had been in the Armed forces and in the case of two of the younger men[67] through imprisonment. For three of the younger respondents,[68] their fathers had been physically absent for much of the time through divorce. These respondents had been badly affected by their fathers leaving and did not want the same experience for their own children:

[65] Ian, Arthur, Tony, Vincent, Tom.
[66] Reggie, Ron, Tom.
[67] Brad, Craig.
[68] Kieran, Sean, Craig.

Kieran (Aged 20) SM

...I think it does affect you...not having your dad about...at parents evening, it was always my mom, instead of my dad... it's just those little things...you don't realise it at the time...but when you get older, you think back, you reminisce and you think 'Shit!', you know, it really did bother me

However, in addition to this physical absence, thirteen of these respondents[69] felt that their fathers had been emotionally distant when they were around. These respondents were particularly dissatisfied with their relationships, mainly because of the perceived inability of their fathers to communicate with and relate to their sons:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

I don't want to be in the same situation with (his son), as I was with my father... I don't think I knew my father, I didn't have a conversation with him for about ten years...it was like 'What are you doing?', 'I'm going to bed', you know

Woody (Aged 30) NM

I did bugger all with my father, he wouldn't play games with us at all, he never played board games, not that I'm bitter, you can tell, [laughs]

Four respondents[70] recalled their fathers being selfish and putting themselves before their children and partners:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

I'd have had a more thoughtful father...a father that did more, that didn't just go to the pub and come back pissed...on a Friday night, we used to have jam sandwiches... and the old man would come back in from the pub, pissed,

[69] Andy, Woody, Vincent, Jeff, Dave, Trevor, Warren, Stephen, Sid, Tom, Tony, Lee, Gary.
[70] Trevor, Tony, Dave, Jeff.

with chicken and chips, things like that, as a child you remember it and resent it

Tony (Aged 60) TM

...the one time my mom had put a lovely tea on... there were cakes, and I played me face up a little bit and said I wanted the cream cake, because that was a rarity in them days, and I caused a bit of a fracas at the table...my dad had a right go at my mom because she stuck up for me ... I can remember my dad picking it up [the cake] and throwing it at her...and that really put me off me dad for a long time...he could be like that at times and I can remember those times

Three of these respondents[71] were angry and upset about their paternal relationship and claimed to actually dislike their fathers. Another reason for maternal preference and dislike of fathers was poor paternal discipline. Five respondents[72] who expressed maternal preference claimed that their fathers had struggled to discipline them, especially as they had matured and relations had become more strained. Therefore, adolescence was a difficult time for these respondents:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

... I wouldn't exactly say that I was an angel but to hit your child with a fist, even at seventeen, eighteen, it's inexcusable, you know, he would never hit a man outside, but me answering him back, he would hit me

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

My dad was quite vicious...I remember once when I cooked a chicken...I think I was about fourteen.... he was up the pub...the chicken's cooking away, and I said 'I don't know about this, it's gonna be burnt', anyway he came back, about an hour and a half after he should have...the chicken was

[71] Andy, Jeff, Lee.
[72] Vincent, Ian, Dave, Jeff, Andy.

almost burnt to a crisp, he went mad at me ....he shoved me up the wall...I would never be like with my kids

Five of these respondents [73] felt that their fathers had undermined their self-confidence:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

... I'm constantly feeling insecure ...that I'm not good enough all the time which comes from my dad

Tom (Aged 70) RNM

...he took all the confidence out of me... he used to .ridicule me and say, you'll never be good at anything....he'd rather take the mick, than praise you, he never ever praised you

It was implicit in many accounts that fathers found it difficult to relate to their sons as children and adolescents. Two of the respondents[74] who suggested that their fathers had undermined their confidence, felt that their fathers had 'mellowed' as they had matured. Indeed, Tom felt that it was only when he had become a 'man' in his father's eyes that he was willing to treat him properly:

Tom (Aged 70) RNM

He was very strict, and it wasn't until I went into the Army at 18, that he changed overnight, and finally he started to treat me as an equal ...and I couldn't believe the change in him... he was all over me...and I couldn't cope with it...because I wasn't used to it

For six of these respondents,[75] dissatisfaction with fathers was also linked to their perceived preferential treatment of sisters, which I refer to as the 'princess syndrome':

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[73] Tom, Ian, Arthur, Lee, Vincent.
[74] Ian, Tom.
[75] Tom, Vincent, Trevor, Dave, Jeff, Lee.

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

I felt that I was always fighting for attention from dad, which my sister was always getting

Lee (Aged 20) MM

He's always been like much more talkative to her, than he is to me ...to me he just goes 'Oh, you're never gonna do anything with your life, things like that

Interestingly, one of the respondents in the mid age range, James, switched his preference from his mother when he was very young because she was *there*, to his father as he got older because his mother was 'violent' and his father was much softer and understanding and never smacked him. Therefore, the switch in preference from mother to father could be attributed to the same reasons that respondents had provided for maternal preference as could the reasons given by the three other respondents[76] who claimed to prefer their fathers to their mothers. Preferred fathers were described as being softer, less harsh and less critical than the mothers of these respondents. The mothers of these respondents had disciplined them with beatings:[77]

Roy (Aged 70) TM

I got on well with my dad ...he was a nice man, very laid back...but not with my mom she was always criticising me

Francis (Aged 68) RNM

...my dad was a very placid sort of chap...never laid a finger on us, but my mom [laughs] ... she was volatile ...she used to have one of these straps, and she used to really belt you with it, and you'd got to get out of the way, quick...nobody could have been beaten more when I was a kid

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[76] Francis, Martin, Roy.
[77] Roy, Francis, James.

Another reason provided by one of these respondents[78] was that his father did more with him. Finally, three respondents[79] claimed to dislike both of their parents, seven respondents claimed to like both parents, and three respondents claimed to prefer their grandparents.[80] Of the latter, two[81] had not had a father, and although they claimed to have been close to and have loved their mothers, they had liked their grandfathers best of all.

Summary

Respondents who expressed a preference for someone in their early lives gave similar reasons whether the preference was for mothers, grandparents or fathers. The qualities that the men valued and remembered were those 'traditionally associated' with mothering including kindness, nurturing, caring, listening and understanding. The reasons given for their dissatisfaction with paternal relations were the opposite and included a lack of kindness and empathy. These were the lasting impressions of childhood for many men and the implications for current identities are discussed in the next chapter.

Patterns of gendered segregation and 'doing heterosexuality'

My results support arguments that children start to 'do gender' at school from a very early age and that heterosexuality is central to this process. Respondents suggested they did construct girls as 'others' and that they had formed their identities against their perceptions of what girls were like. This practice built upon perceptions of gendered differences informed by official practices of segregation.

Patterns of gendered segregation were apparent in accounts of schooldays. These included the provision of single sex secondary schools for boys and girls, the physical layout of co-sexed schools such as different toilets and entrances,[82] providing different subjects, [83]

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[78] Martin.
[79] Jeff, Andy, Stephen.
[80] See Appendix Five for breakdown of all.
[81] Albert, Frank.
[82] Recalled by all respondents, entrances recalled by thirteen older respondents with the exception of Harry and Sid.

different sporting activities[84] and social practices such as different levels of discipline[85] and seating boys separately.[86]

Ron (Aged 60) TM

...I never saw a girl hit, but the boys, there used to be queues of us ...we were severely chastised, definitely

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

... the girls were being treated differently and I can remember teachers talking to one girl about her subject options at secondary school ...they were more or less saying, you need to take childcare

Interestingly, parental preference did not appear to have any effect on the experiences of gendered segregation in the playground, so those boys that preferred their mothers were not predisposed towards feminine friendships and still played with other boys. Indeed, forty-four respondents discussed the gendered segregation of the playground where children tended to play with those of the same sex and engaged in 'appropriately gendered' activities. Five respondents (all older)[87] recalled playing with girls when they had first started school but that this had stopped quite quickly. 'Kiss chase' was a gendered activity during primary school for four respondents.[88] It seemed that this was considered to be a legitimate game to engage in with girls because the roles were gendered and clearly defined within the game on heterosexual terms:

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[83] Such as home economics and needlework for girls and woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing for boys (mentioned by Alan, Andy, Dave, Robbie, Vincent, Warren).
[84] Such as hockey and netball for girls and football, rugby or cricket for boys (recalled by Sid, Reggie, Arthur, Gerald, Tony, Vincent, Warren, Adrian, Ian, Woody, James).
[85] Older and middle category respondents only reported these differences because corporal punishment in schools had been phased out by the time the youngest respondents were going through the schooling process. Recalled by Vincent, Warren, Woody, Ron, Tom.
[86] In the belief that sitting boys together would be too disruptive – recalled by Lee, Ricky, Kris, Danny, Vincent, Trevor, Adrian.
[87] Albert, Arthur, Seamus, Fred, Gerald.
[88] Warren, Ian, Andy, Stephen.

Warren (Aged 31) RNM

...we used to play football, us boys....it was mainly kiss-chase, that was all I used to play with the girls....I mean, people used to play kiss-chase, but then you get to about six and it just stops doesn't it?

The exception to this was an older respondent[89] who was a haemophiliac and who had attended a 'special' school for ill and disabled children, where contact games were not permitted. He had associated with boys and girls throughout his time there until he left at fourteen.

There was also a distinction in playground activities with girls skipping and playing hopscotch and boys playing football, cricket or 'British Bulldog'.[90] Some respondents[91] recalled that occasionally it was deemed acceptable for girls to play football and/or cricket. However, boys playing girls games was not legitimate. Boys were regarded with suspicion when they played with girls, particularly where they joined in with 'girls' games'. This is exemplified in the following response where playing with girls is taboo:[92]

James (Aged 25) NM

...when you're younger, I suppose you can get away with it to an extent around five...but when he's ten[93] and he's playing hopscotch and still skipping with the girls...you do start to question whether he's potty [laughs]... later we used to hang out with girls but you know boy/girl sort of relationship, just talking...we are strictly opposite, we are male and you are female

The forty-four respondents who recalled that playground activities were segregated noted that boy's activities involved sport, mostly football and occasionally cricket. This was important for

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[89] Roy.
[90] The latter involves a game played by boys where a line of boys try to pass a single boy and he tries to bring one of them down in a rugby type tackle. If he succeeds that boy is 'on' and so on.
[91] Dave, Brian, Adrian.
[92] This was a view provided by all of the respondents except Roy.
[93] Discussing a boy at his primary school.

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two reasons discussed later; sport provided both a 'legitimate activity' for boys and also one of the only 'legitimate' ways of being with other boys.

Twenty-two respondents[94] reported a shift in break time activities from around the age of fourteen. Although these boys continued to play football with other boys, they also started to simply 'hang out', sometimes with other boys talking about sport and girls/sex, sometimes with girls as well, chatting and often smoking.[95] Older respondents did not report these changes tending to continue playing sport with other boys such as cricket and football. However, thirteen of this last group[96] had only attended one school and left earlier, usually at fourteen, which was the age when many respondents had reported a shift in their break time activities.

Reinforcement of gendered differences

For some respondents gendered differences between boys and girls were also informed and reinforced in places by the perceived attitudes of teachers. Twenty of the forty-five respondents stated that girls had been treated better by teachers than the boys had been. Two respondents[97] felt that at secondary school, male teachers fancied female students and that this contributed to their better treatment of them. Moreover, eighteen respondents[98] recalled girls receiving less discipline than boys. Eight of these respondents[99] thought that teachers were harsher on boys because of a perception that their behaviour was worse than that of the girls and that therefore they needed more discipline. In contrast, three[100] felt that girls really were better behaved and that this accounted for the differences in discipline. The naturalisation of heterosexuality was important to all of the respondents while they were at

[94] All fifteen of the younger respondents and Warren, Alan, Andy, Ian, Adrian, Vincent, Robbie.
[95] Ten boys at single sex secondary schools went with other boys to meet girls from single sex schools and hung out with them in parks and/or local shopping centres – the 'Macho Men' and Danny.
[96] Exceptions were Sid and Harry.
[97] Mickey, Sean.
[98] Alan, Warren, James, Stephen, Robbie, Vincent, Ian, Woody, Jeff, Frank, Tony, Tom, Sid, Arthur, Ron, Ricky, Mickey, Sean,.
[99] Alan, Stephen, Vincent, Ian, Frank, Tom, Sid, Arthur.
[100] Ricky, Mickey, Sean

school. Indeed, for thirteen of the older respondents,[101] it was even more taken for granted because they had known nothing about homosexuality at school:

> **Ron (Aged 60) RNM**
>
> *...it was never mentioned...we were all sort of brought up to be man to woman like, you know, heterosexual*

> **Tom (Aged 70) RNM**
>
> *It was completely unheard of, you never heard it mentioned, nor lesbians sort of thing... it never came to light*

For these respondents, therefore, during their school years heterosexualism was naturalised through their interactions with girls and the institution of the school itself in the sense that it was 'taken for granted' as a cultural norm. These respondents constructed their identities against the 'otherness' of females but the normality of heterosexuality was not *reinforced* by the 'abnormality' of homosexuality.

Hegemonic masculinity, heterosexuality and homophobia

Several researchers on the schooling process in more recent years have noted the ubiquity of homophobia (Epstein, 1997; Nayak and Kehily, 1996; Duncan, 1999; Pheonix et al, 2002; Hasbrook and Harris, 1999, Poynting & Donaldson, 2005). Certainly, for 32 of my 45 respondents, including two in the older age group[102] discourses around heterosexuality, were intertwined with those around homosexuality. For these respondents, the normality of heterosexuality was reinforced by the representation of the 'abnormal' homosexual. These respondents built their masculine identities against the otherness of both females and 'homosexuals' who were associated with and represented femininity.

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[101] Arthur, Albert, Gerald, Tony, Roy, Seamus, Martin, Fred, Francis, Tom, Reggie, Frank, Ron.
[102] All of the younger and middle groups plus Harry and Sid.

These respondents had first come across 'homosexuality' through jibes and gossip amongst boys in the playground as a discursive practice, which constituted a practice of 'othering'. There were three ways in which homophobic language was used: to 'label' a boy as gay, for more 'generalised abuse' or to 'cuss'.[103]

Labelling effeminate boys as gay

The first way in which homophobic discourse was used was to label someone as gay. All of the 32 respondents who discussed gay discourse in the playground recalled the practice of linking effeminacy with gayness. Effeminate boys were suspected of being gay and then 'labelled' as such based on their speech and mannerisms:

> **Jeff (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *...it was kids at school who were obviously a bit effeminate*

> **Warren (Aged 31) RNM**
>
> *...the way they walk, talk,[laughs], you know, mincing (does a high voice) [laughs]...sorry, I'm in the schoolyard at the moment, effeminate basically*

> **Kieran (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...if you spoke kind of camp...if your mannerisms were kind of camp*

This practice of linking effeminacy with gayness meant that misogyny and homophobia were linked, which was exemplified by the interchangeability of the terms 'gay' and 'cissy' (see also Epstein, 1997). Indicators of 'cissiness' included, as seen above, effeminate speech and mannerisms, playing girls' games, taste in music and/or avoiding P.E. (see also, Hearn and Collinson, 1994).

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[103] Providing support for the work of Pheonix et al, 2002.

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

....I always remember, we had a kid at our school and the boys used to turn around and say 'I think he's gay' because of the way he was, he might have been, he certainly acted that way...he was cissified, he used to walk funny and things like that, you know, the way he spoke....he used to sit with his legs crossed...and he didn't run like a normal lad would run he sort of did a bit of a cantering type of thing....they picked up on things like that a lot... I think that was the way it was...it went around the class, the school...he's not normal...there's something wrong, he's gay

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

....they just act like girls, don't like sports or anything...they always try and get their way out of doing games ....there's one....he buys pens with glitter stuff...and he listens to Geri Halliwall, the Spice Girls, none of the teenagers in my year listen to that, like girls of about eleven would listen to that

The narratives of respondents were strewn with accounts of the repetitive bullying of effeminate boys, which often had severe consequences (see also Poynting and Donaldson, 2005).

Adrian (Aged 29)

...we weren't too sure about one lad at school...he was picked on and tormented by a lot of boys and it really messed him up....they nearly drove him over the edge

Dean (Aged 34) NM

I did have a friend that actually killed himself because of that he used to get bullied a lot

Trevor recalled how his brother was constantly bullied because he was 'effeminate' and was considered to be gay:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

My brother got picked on because he was very effeminate...he had loads of abuse...they used to pick on him all the time...he got chased home from school once and wet himself on the way, he was that frightened

Only one respondent admitted that he had been 'labelled' as gay at school because he was perceived to be 'soft' and hung out with the girls. He recalled being subjected to repetitive bullying which had affected his confidence and his enjoyment of school:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...I had lots of name calling...physical incidents...I remember one... I was sat on a bench that was open back and one of the lads behind me got a match and held it underneath my bottom...until I jumped up and my blooming trousers was alight...that sort of thing...secondary school was a miserable time

Hegemonic masculinity, gay discourses and more generalised abuse

As we have seen, those boys who were labelled as gay were subjected to repetitive abuse, which was based upon mere suspicion. Only two respondents[104] thought that they had actually known someone gay at school; notably, in both cases, the confirmation of this came sometime after they had left school. It is hardly surprising, given the prevalence of gay abuse and degradation, that boys were unwilling to admit to being gay and/or unwilling to admit to actually knowing anyone gay (see also Duncan, 1999).

[104] Sid and Ian.

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...God, if you knew someone who was gay, you might as well go and kill yourself because it was just so taboo!

Given the 'taboo' nature of gayness, jibes around it were also used as a potential resource for joking and/or insulting any boy because they provided the ultimate insult. This generalised abuse appeared to take two forms; firstly where boys used jibes in a jokey way as a non-permanent label, and secondly where they used them as a permanent term for being unacceptably different.[105] The following is an example of the distinction between labelling someone as gay and using gay abuse in a jokey non-permanent way:

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

Well if someone is like feminine they'd say 'He's gay' but that's different to like when some people just do it, to take the mick out of you with the ball or something

What was clear, therefore, was that one did not have to be suspected of being gay to receive gay abuse:

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

It's a term of abuse really

Warren (Aged 31) RNM

...you could have a beard at fourteen and still get called it

The other way in which gay terms were used as more generalised abuse involved the practice of 'othering' based on perceived differences based upon deviations from 'hegemonic masculinity'. The characteristics involved in this sort of abuse were varied and included having a 'geeky' appearance, wearing glasses or braces, liking schoolwork, being articulate,

[105] All thirty-two respondents who discussed homophobic discourses at school recalled generalised abuse. Cussing was recalled by all fifteen of the younger respondents and also Woody, Brian and James.

not wearing fashionable clothes or wearing Gothic type clothing, and/or liking 'unpopular' forms of music:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...there was the kind of geeky, be-spectacled kid, who would be called gay because he was a geek...but there were others who were just a bit kind of wacky....a couple of them were Gothic, into the Cure and all that, so they did the kind of make up thing a little bit...but effeminate in that sort of way

James (Aged 25) NM

...I suppose some thought I might be gay...they didn't ask me...but they made comments sometimes...because I liked Art

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

...you had to watch how you spoke...if you used long words you'd be called gay

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...at secondary school....kids start getting into fashion ....you had to have a Nike coat ...and then Kicker shoes ...and I just had normal shoes and you do get a lot of kids calling you gay and stuff

As we have just seen, the labelling of effeminate boys and the use of 'gay discourses' as a form of abuse were standard practices throughout the schooling experiences of these respondents. However, they acknowledged that they hadn't really known what the terms had meant when they were very young (see also Hasbrook and Harris 1999):[106]

[106] Reported by all thirty-two of these respondents.

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...we used to call each other 'fag' and 'puff' and all that, but we never really knew what it meant

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...it was just another insult, you know, you may as well call them a tosser or whatever.... it was just, 'you're a fag or you're a homo', but we didn't really know what they meant

The significance of this was that the respondents had known that to be gay was 'taboo', and 'other' than male. Therefore, although the words used to refer to 'gayness' were varied, they were connected in that they were intended to be abusive and degrading:

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...it was kind of like queer, poof, stuff that would kind of make me dislike them before I even knew anything about them

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...we talked about them abusively...queer, fag

Nine of these respondents[107] during adolescence had also picked up homophobic messages from their fathers, which for some[108] had served to reinforce the homophobia that they had experienced in the playground:

Woody (Aged 30) NM

....it all started when I wanted to buy two records and my dad wouldn't let me...he kept saying you're not buying those because they are shirt lifters, I

[107] Dave, Ian, Woody, Vincent, Mickey, Brad, Sean, Kris, Lee.
[108] Except Vincent.

didn't know at the time that Jimmy Somerville was gay... I didn't know what a gay was

Brad (Aged 16) MM

...my dad, if he saw it on telly he'd say 'dirty bastards"

However, these respondents did not recall their fathers actually explaining homosexuality; indeed they had found out what it meant from media sources or teenaged friends:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...it was only later really, when we got to about fifteen, sixteen...I remember Frankie Goes to Hollywood and realising that the lead singer was actually homosexual...it was sort of like, they're singing about gay sex here!...that was a big dawning moment in your life, 'God!'. [laughs]

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...at the time when you're 13 or 14 you thought 'well, obviously, it must mean a man kissing another man' ...when Freddie Mercury died of Aids, I knew then that's what they did.. Aids wasn't publicised when I was at primary school....but it became really big when Freddie Mercury died and then Kenny Everett followed straight after

At this point therefore, for some respondents, homophobia became linked not just to femininity, but also to distaste for sexual acts between men. These experiences had reinforced the homophobia of many respondents and were reflected in choices of terminology; during adolescence, verbal taunts were more likely to refer to the sexual practice of anal sex between men:

Richard (Aged 17) SM

....the usual stuff, gays were batty men

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...ooh God, there were a few choice phrases...fudge packer, shit stabber

These experiences appeared to affect attitudes; even some of those respondents who had not identified as being really homophobic when young admitted feeling distaste and disgust when they had realised what homosexuality was really about:

James (Aged 25) NM

...to a degree I picked it up from friends at school, I think Aids was about then as well when I was a teenager...my friends thought they were freaks...I think I probably did find it disgusting

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

....I'm not being funny, but if you sat down and thought about it, what they do and stuff, it just makes me sick

Hegemonic masculinity and popularity

The association of 'gayness' with femininity and its use as a term of abuse for labelling difference and keeping boys in line can be understood through a discussion of 'hegemonic masculinity' and its relationship with popularity. In total, thirty-two of the forty-five respondents recalled some sort of hierarchy at school, which appeared to be linked with 'hegemonic masculinity'. The thirteen respondents who did not were the ones who had not recalled gay terms at school, and twelve of these respondents did not recall bullying. The one exception was Gerald,[109] who recalled some fighting and scuffles, but still did not really perceive it as bullying.

[109] Aged 64.

For the other thirty-two respondents, building a masculine identity at school involved dissociation from 'gayness' based on perceived differences from 'hegemonic masculinity'. As I showed earlier, heterosexuality was the most important component of 'hegemonic masculinity' and those boys that were associated with 'cissiness' were labelled as gay, and subjected to repetitive bullying. They were 'publicly' unpopular and placed at the bottom of the hierarchal pile because they had failed to comply with the most fundamental part of maleness, heterosexuality and, consequently, they were subjected to repetitive bullying.

Researchers[110] have suggested that a hierarchy of masculinities within schools does exist and that it is related to popularity and bullying, but I did not find a straightforward relationship between them. There seemed to be *public* versions of popularity and unpopularity based on 'hegemonic masculinity', which could help a boy to offset bullying or expose him to it, and *subversive* versions of popularity and unpopularity. Ways of being 'publicly' popular included being tough or good at sports:

> **Kris (Aged 21) MM**
>
> *...I remember the first day I got there... one of the hardest kids in the school came and started on me... I knocked him down and everyone just started speaking to me then...and I was always respected after that*

> **Kieran (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...there was always a guy who was the star athlete...he could run, he could swim, he could play football, every single element of that physical thing....he was sports guy of the year...and he was loved and looked up to by the students, the teachers and by girls...because he was a good looking guy as well...so he kind of had everything and everyone loved him*

[110] Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Pheonix et al, 2002; Poynting and Donaldson, 2005.

Boys who were considered 'publicly' popular through being tough or good at sports included all of the 'Macho Men',[111] Alan and later Jeff and Trevor. Some boys were neither 'publicly' unpopular nor popular,[112] whilst other respondents were 'publicly unpopular'.[113] The following quotations provide an example of those given by respondents were not really hard or good at sport[114] and also show how boys tended to 'hang out' with others like themselves:

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...there was your in-group...there was the group that always got the piss taken out of them, then there was your ordinary group that no-one really bothered with - I was never in a group where all the tough guys were hanging out and stuff, winding up the teachers and going to fight boys at other schools...and I was never in the group where I was in Maths club after school, anything like that...I was in the ordinary type of group

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

...I just stick with my own crowd really...we're not really tough or the best at football or anything like that...we're not really clever at exams....we're just like normal kids

I suggest here that while there was clearly a perceived hierarchy based on 'hegemonic masculinity'; in numerical terms it could hardly be said that boys exhibiting a 'looser/softer' style of masculinity were subordinated.[115] Moreover, whilst thirteen older respondents did not recall a hierarchy of masculinity, they did not describe their younger selves in 'hegemonic' ways.

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[111] Mickey, Tony, Sean, Ricky, Kris, Danny, Craig, Troy, Lee, Gary.
[112] Harry, Dave, Andy, Woody, James, Vincent, Stephen, Brian, Warren, Richard, Kyle, Kelvin, Simon.
[113] Sid, Adrian, Ian, Dean, Kieran, Robbie.
[114] See Appendix Six.
[115] Given that only thirteen fitted into this category, the 'Macho Men', Trevor and Jeff eventually and Alan.

Moreover, whilst 'publicly' tough boys were 'popular', 'privately', they were not popular with other boys who did not exhibit this type of masculinity: [116]

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...I didn't like the tough guys there...none of my friends did....you just tried to avoid them really...but you said 'alright' to them, you know, so they wouldn't start on you

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

...you wouldn't want to be friends with the tough kids...they just weren't my type...most people found them dull... playing up in lessons and all that...it was tedious really... but you didn't say anything

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

...you had to be careful what you did and said at school...to avoid being singled out... I just tried to keep my head down and blend into the background so I didn't attract attention or anything

Therefore, in reality, the tough guys were only 'truly' popular with other boys like themselves; this means that, in numerical terms, they were no more ostensibly popular than some of the 'subordinated' boys. In reality, many of the respondents disparaged the boys who had allegedly 'hegemonic' characteristics and this was also the case in later life.[117] In this respect therefore, the characteristics of 'hegemonic masculinity' were interpreted in a negative way and were not truly valued by many of my respondents. Moreover, publicly 'subordinated' boys tended to hang out with others like them and were *popular* within this context whilst not high on the 'public' hierarchy of popularity.

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[116] Exceptions at school were Alan, Jeff and Trevor.

[117] Dave, Stephen, Adrian, Vincent, Warren, Stephen, Robbie, Ian, Dean, James, Andy, Woody, Richard, Kyle, Simon, Kieran, Kelvin, Sid, Harry.

Despite my aforementioned reservations about the 'reality' of popularity, my findings did suggest that to be 'publicly' popular usually required compliance with several elements of 'hegemonic masculinity' (see also Pheonix et al, 2002).[118] For example the majority of the 'Macho Men' were tough, but also claimed to be good at football:

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...we used to play a lot of football, you know, we were good at it...we used to play together

Another way of being publicly popular was being a joker (see also Willis 1977). However, Danny and Andy, two respondents who played this role successfully, were also associated with other popular aspects of hegemonic masculinity, such as sport and hanging out with tough boys:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I wasn't the hardest of the hard yet they were all close mates.... I never had one fight to prove that I was hard ...unless it was because I was known as a joker... perhaps they thought 'he's a nutter....what if he started on me?'...I never worked it out ...I was in the football team, I was in the cricket team, that was it, it's always amazed me actually

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...I was a joker...making my mates laugh and that

This association with several 'hegemonic' characteristics of masculinity made these respondents popular and kept them safe from physical bullying and/or verbal abuse. Conversely, as I will show shortly, other respondents who demonstrated compliance with

[118] Those who were publicly popular discussed this – see Appendix Six.

some aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity' such as heterosexuality and/or sport, but who were also associated with other unpopular aspects, ran the risk of being bullied.

During adolescence, bullying concerning relationships with girls came to the fore. Some respondents[119] suggested that they were expected to be having sex with girls. Because of this, the masculinity of boys who did not appear to be seeking or getting sex came to be questioned through their being viewed as not 'truly male'. This point has been afforded insufficient attention in the masculinities literature. Eight[120] respondents expressed anxiety over having been seen to have a girlfriend and/or being perceived as being popular with girls:

> **James (Aged 25) NM**
>
> *....I suppose one of my anxieties was meeting a girl...being single you were judged...if there were girls around you were expected to chat them up...I was choosy...I didn't find some girls who they liked attractive...they used to suggest I was gay...it was annoying*

Despite this, an obvious demonstration of heterosexuality through being popular with and/or going out with girls did not always mean that a boy would be 'publicly' popular and immune from teasing and bullying. Boys could demonstrate compliance with some aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity' such as heterosexuality and/or sport but still be bullied because they were also associated with some unpopular characteristics that were not and/or were perceived as different based on personal characteristics. Kieran and Ian were respondents who had been visibly heterosexual at school through being popular with girls and having lots of girlfriends but had been subjected to bullying by other boys:

> **Kieran (Aged 20) NM**
>
> *.... I always went out with the best looking girl...and everyone was like...we saw her with her ex-boyfriend...just trying to break it up really...it's not like 'Give us your pocket money', type of bullying*

[119] Mickey, Sean, Brad, Ricky, Gary, Lee, Simon, Kyle, Kieran, Dave, Andy, Warren.
[120] Dave, Andy, James, Stephen, Warren, Dean, Robbie, Kelvin.

but...it is hurtful...it's jealousy that's all I'd say it was...because some guys were always playing football...were very sporty and recreational but I wasn't...and I had boys say to me 'How do you do it?' and I was just like 'I dunno'...I think that if you're on that same wavelength with someone at that age and if girls see you as not trying to have that whole 'macho' image and being a bit more sensitive they find it attractive....but you did get a lot of grief, backlash

Kieran is suggesting that simply being 'truly' male did not make you popular with the girls. He also puts the attitude of other boys towards him down, in part, to their jealousy but points to how they could not understand why he was popular with high profile girls despite subverting the 'true male' image and being a 'publicly' subordinate boy. Ian provided another example of this ambivalence:

...I was a good looking kid if I'm honest...and also I was able to relate to girls better than boys....I got a reputation for being a bit of a lad... getting off with loads of girls ... I was going out with a girl when I was about sixteen ...but she was an Italian Catholic and wouldn't let me get near her so...all of the other boys were losing their virginity....and I wasn't actually having sex...boys realised that I wasn't and it became a thing to take the piss out of ...and then there were a group of lads who decided that they were gonna write horrible things about my girlfriend to get at me

"

As well as being popular with girls, Ian was also good at sport but none of this prevented him from being unpopular:

....I enjoyed sport...I played cricket, I was good at cricket, even at primary school and I used to enjoy that and I played football as well for a football team but I never fitted in

As I will show shortly, prior to adolescence, other boys had officially constructed both of these respondents as subordinate based upon differences such as speech, origin and appearance. This *contradictory* association with discourses around 'hegemonic masculinity' prevented them from being really popular and exposed them to bullying. Consequently, it appeared that for some respondents in contradictory positions, the 'subordinated' characteristics they exemplified came to override those that were 'hegemonic', the former becoming a 'master status' as in labelling theories (see Becker, 1963). Although having a girlfriend provided a potential means of 'resistance' through the opening of a 'discursive space' (Connell, 1995), for these boys, their girlfriends were not taken as a symbol of 'hegemonic status'. Indeed for Ian, it was the ridicule over his lack of sexual experience, which was used to close the space and reaffirm his subordinate status and in this way his girlfriend was used against him.

Differences in levels of 'hegemonic compliance' also affected whether other boys were perpetrators of bullying, victims, neither or both. For example, the ten 'Macho Men' demonstrated a high level of compliance with 'hegemonic masculinity' embodying toughness and an aggressive heterosexuality:

Kris (Aged 21)

...we were always fighting...and trying to get our legs over[121]

In contrast, other respondents[122] were less rigid in the formation of their masculine identities and drew on a wider range of discourses when building their masculine identities, conforming less to so-called 'hegemonic masculinity'. Three respondents who were not initially 'publicly popular' became so through showing that they were good at sport and hanging out with tough guys.[123] Other respondents[124] did not occupy a position at the top of the masculinities hierarchy but they did try to comply with sufficient characteristics in order to be viewed as being 'acceptably male'. Because boys were aware of the possibility for being bullied they

[121] Expression referring to sexual intercourse.
[122] From all the age groups.
[123] Trevor ,Jeff, Alan.
[124] See Appendix Seven.

carefully policed their own behaviour. For example, shared practices engaged in by those who engaged with 'hegemonic' versions of masculinity and those that did not were to avoid 'soft, feminised, displays of vulnerability and emotions' (see also Poynting and Donaldson 2005) and/or associate themselves with sport:

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...crying... it's difficult...like a son, I suppose as he was young it would be a good thing for him to cry, it would help in the long run, to let stuff out...but as he gets older and he's doing all that, then to other people, it's going to look dodgy

Dean (Aged 34) NM

....crying was out...you just didn't do it...it was taboo

There were also differences in the levels of engagement in the policing of others in the accounts of publicly 'subordinated' boys. For example, of the thirty-two respondents who knew something of homosexuality at school, the ten 'Macho Men' regularly bullied others and a further eleven respondents[125]admitted engaging in the abuse of effeminate boys. Interestingly, nine of these had been subjected to some bullying themselves: [126]

Kieran (Aged 20) SM

...if people thought that you were, you must have gone through hell....even I'm guilty of saying things....I can remember that I would sometimes do it as well

It seemed that boys sometimes joined in because of peer pressure; it was an accepted practice:

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[125] See Appendix Eight.

[126]This means that in addition to ten of the younger respondents, the 'Macho Men', a further eleven respondents admitted active engagement in bullying of effeminate boys (21 in total).

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...I dunno why I did it...you don't understand it as a child do you...unless somebody sits you down and gets you to examine it, what you're saying and why you're saying it...you just say it cos everyone else says it....it's like a peer pressure thing

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

...there was a teacher at school who everyone called a bender and I just did it too

However, it has been suggested that the routine bullying and humiliation of some boys may provide others with the opportunity to affirm their masculinities and to shift the focus onto others (see Poynting and Donaldson 2005). Two respondents did recall this:

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...to be honest you also hope that the focus will be on those that you are calling names and not on you

James .(Aged 25) NM

....your mates sort of expected it ..and I guess I felt like it was less likely that I might get it myself

However, as I will now show not all boys engaged in the bullying of other publicly 'subordinated' boys.

Responses to power: coping strategies; holding on to difference, resistance

Sixteen of the forty-five respondents recalled being on the receiving end of bullying/taunting,[127] and of these, six recalled receiving gay abuse and having their masculinities questioned because they did not like fighting or sport or weren't fashionable,[128] and one[129] recalled repetitive bullying because he was perceived as effeminate. In this way, their masculine identities were 'put on the line' (see Pheonix et al, 2002) through 'homophobic challenges' from other boys. Bullying was linked, therefore, to unpopular aspects of masculinities based on perceived deviations from a masculine ideal. In addition to bullying surrounding the juxtaposition of the 'true male' and 'gay', there were many other occasions of bullying including talking differently, having a different appearance and/or having a different origin.[130] These respondents all discussed feeling 'out of place' and that they 'did not fit in':

Trevor (Aged 36)

...I used to get a lot of stick about the way I talked...because I had a broad Brummie accent and people couldn't understand me...and I'd missed a lot of schooling...so I was behind and I used to get called thick and that and there was a lot of verbal abuse and intimidation...it could get physical sometimes

Dave (Aged 28) NM

....sometimes on physical appearance because I had braces as well...people do call you metal mouth and train tracks

Ian (Aged 29) NM

....I was bullied....I think it was partly to do with my stammer...just like a chicken and egg thing...at primary school, it was an Irish Catholic school ...I always ended up feeling like I was the posh kid cos my mom and dad were

[127] Sid, Dave, Andy, Adrian, Dean, James, Ian, Jeff, Brian, Trevor, David, Kieran, Kris, Ricky, Kelvin was claimed to be currently being subjected to racial abuse from Brad.
[128] James, Ian, Dave, Kieran, Dean, Adrian.
[129] Robbie.
[130] Dave, Ian, Jeff, Trevor, Kieran, Danny.

deemed English and lived in a nice house...and then when I went to secondary grammar school, I felt like the working class kid cos every one else was like really middle class... I got sent to Coventry... when I was about 13 or 14 [soft laugh] ...they just didn't like me...I had a couple of friends, but even by them I felt tolerated... I wasn't very popular

Another respondent, Andy, a New Man, was bullied because his sister had 'Downs Syndrome':

....I was dragged through the dirt with that...the other kids used to taunt me, shout 'Mongol' and stuff....one kid started what was effectively, eighteen months of abuse... you'd kick a ball wrong and it was 'Oh, it's 'cos your sister's a mong'

One respondent, Kelvin, had recently started to be racially abused by another boy: [131]

...he calls me Paki....stuff like that...he's always doing it now

Another form of bullying was that of 'rites of passage' bullying. This seemed to take two forms; firstly that of the bullying and/or challenging of new boys, those that had started a new school later than the official entry age. Two of the 'Macho Men', Ricky and Kris, had been subjected to this in infant school until they had stood up for themselves; then, it had stopped. Being new meant that you were subject to scrutiny; bullying based on perceived differences often began here, as in the case of Danny and his Irish origin. Rites of passage bullying also involved the bullying of younger boys by more senior boys:[132]

[131] Brad in the sample.
[132] Recalled by Jeff, Brian, Robbie, James, Dave.

Brian (Aged 32) TM

...older bullies....I mean when you join the seniors it's like head down the loo job isn't it, see the blue goldfish, that happened to me a couple of times and it happened to another lad in my class, he was a really quiet lad

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...I was hung out of the second storey of a building by my feet by older boys, I have had my head flushed down the toilet

At first sight it is difficult to discern whether bullying of this kind is related in any way to the constitution of gender. The bullying and/or challenging of new boys may have had some relationship to 'hegemonic masculinity' in respect of established boys proving themselves and their physical dominance and tough status. Other examples may relate to ranking (bullying of new boys) which may have been related to characteristics of 'hegemonic masculinity' and/or may relate to proof of being able to cope with it as a proof of 'true' maleness (initiation rites). Other forms were more ambiguous, bullying based upon differences such as speech and origin were unrelated to allegedly 'gay' characteristics and may have more to do with group solidarity than gender - except that such solidarity itself, choosing with whom one 'hangs out' may in itself be evidence of one's being a 'true male'. An example of this was Alan, who was not really 'tough' but who hung out with tough boys and, in part, put down his popularity and lack of victimisation to this.[133] Further examples of boys gaining popularity from association with other boys will be seen in the next section. In general boys tended to hang out with other boys like themselves. Therefore, it may well be that, in part, proving oneself as 'truly' male is based on with whom one 'hangs out'.

[133] See earlier quote from Alan at p55.

Coping with bullying

There were three strategies developed for dealing with bullying at school including standing up for yourself, hanging out with those who were also 'othered' or re-defining yourself which could include hanging out with 'tough' guys and/or becoming associated with 'hegemonic' characteristics.

Examples of the first strategy of 'standing up for yourself' can be seen in the following quotations from respondents that used it:

> **Ricky (Aged 19) MM**
>
> *...when he tried to do it again, I did hit him...and then after that he never did anything to me again...in fact he was one of my good mates through junior school ..I was amazed actually*

> **Jeff (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *...there was a lot of bullying that went on...I don't agree with bullying but there's two ways that you handle it, you either cower in a corner or you stand up to it and that builds character... and you learn things*

Indeed, Trevor had stood up for his effeminate brother even though he was irritated by him and bullied him himself:

> *...he used to talk like a girl and that, and it used to annoy me, so I used to hit him...but I wouldn't have him bullied at school, it was OK for me to do it but if anybody else did it at school, they used to get a slap, definitely...and then when I started hanging out with the tougher kids...we had our own group....and if anyone messed with anyone in the*

group...the whole group would sort em out...and if anyone picked on him, then I'd dive in and then the other boys would[134] *...so then it was like, 'well, we better not pick on him, sort of thing...everybody used to protect him then*

There are two interesting aspects to this; although by his own admission, his brother irritated Trevor because of his perceived femininity, his family values were more important to him and this was a factor in him using 'hegemonic resistance' on his brother's behalf. Moreover, Trevor suggested that his new 'tough friends' also began to stick up for his brother and defend him from other boys showing how even tough boys could choose to defend effeminate boys if they chose to do so i.e. through loyalty to other non-effeminate boys.[135]

The second strategy was hanging out with others that were perceived as different. This was a strategy used by Danny when he first arrived at primary school from Ireland. The third strategy was re-defining oneself by becoming good at sport and/or hanging out with the hard boys. This was a strategy used by Andy, Jeff and Trevor. However, in these cases the respondents had also stood up for themselves. Consequently these respondents employed more than one strategy:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

*....I sort of learnt to cope with that, cos as I got successful in sport...things sort of turned round...I played hockey for the county...I was in the football and rugby teams... I was in the newspaper for running... and it's like everybody wants to be your friend then...cos 'You're the man sort of thing'...*and *then after that I'd sort of hang round with those kids that were tougher then...so I could cope with it, do you know what I mean?*

[134] Note, Trevor's brother was not in this group but they would 'stick up' for him because of their allegiance to Trevor who was.
[135] To provide support to Trevor who chose to defend a member of his family.

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...on my first day... I was confronted by every black person in the school...they came up to me and warned me that if I stood out of line then they would sort me out....just because I was from South Africa...I stood up to the biggest guy who was obviously the leader ...as it happens .I was good at sport...the leader of the black kids, he was like the record holder for the school in the hundred metres and I beat him ....all my friends were black during that year because I'd stood up for myself and was good at sport

What is interesting is that these forms of 'resistance' took the form of behaviour associated with characteristics of 'hegemonic masculinity' such as being tough and/or being good at sport and I therefore label them as *'hegemonic resistance'*. For example, Trevor's protection of his brother appeared to be based on family values, but it did constitute a 'hegemonic response' and in using this he reinforced his own masculinity. In most of these cases the label of 'victim' and/or 'subordinate' boy was resisted and the bullying stopped. This was even the case for Trevor's 'effeminate' brother – even though the 'resistance' did not come from him but from Trevor and his 'hegemonic' friends. This is very important and provides an example of 'choice' based on competing values and shows what can happen when tough 'hegemonic boys' choose to defend effeminate boys.[136] Not all forms of 'hegemonic resistance' were successful however. One older respondent, Sid, who had fought back had not managed to prevent future bullying and provided an unsuccessful example of 'hegemonic resistance'.

Three brothers had bullied him[137] when he was at school and, despite attempts to fight back, this continued to be the case until he left.

---

[136] It shows how loyalty to friends based on values such as family loyalty can override strict compliance to 'norms' of 'hegemonic masculinity' such as homophobia and that even tough boys can resist homophobic bullying when they choose to do so. This could provide a topic for future research and could help policy initiatives in schools to reduce this and other forms of bullying between boys.

[137] Not his own.

In contrast, other respondents that were bullied did not employ 'hegemonic strategies' in 'resistance' and none of these respondents managed to resist their victimisation or 'subordinate' status. For example, Ian and Kieran, had not used 'hegemonic responses' to bullying, i.e., they did not 'fight back' or hang out with tough boys, and despite being good with girls, and in Ian's case also good at sport, the bullying had continued:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...well at primary school it was this one lad....we ended up having a fight...I'd got him in an arm-lock [soft laugh]...what I needed to do was just start punching him in the face but I couldn't actually do it...my mom had made me too soft really...so I pretended that I was doing it...and that was it ....I'd humiliated him and he just picked on me...and then I got quite frightened...it's bullying isn't it?...it's accumulative ...and I never fought back and I should have done and it ended up just going on and on

Robbie did not fight back either and he continued to be bullied but he was the only respondent who admitted being labelled as 'gay' and this would also have made it difficult to overcome this label.

Resistance to bullying, being a perpetrator

We have just looked at how some respondents managed to resist victimisation. Some of these respondents had also become involved in the bullying of other boys: [138]

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

....I was bullied at school and to a certain extent I became a bit of a bully...I'm not proud of it but you do

[138] See Appendix Eight.

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...but it [the bullying] sort of had an opposite effect, cos I was a bit of a bugger then, and I used to bully other kids a bit then as well...calling 'em gay and that and pushing them around

This meant that victimisation at school was sometimes circular in that boys who had been bullied would start to bully others, i.e., a victim sometimes became a perpetrator.

Despite this, as we have seen, even tough boys chose to resist bullying 'effeminate' boys in certain circumstances, as in the case of Trevor's new friends deciding to stop bullying his brother, and their preventing others from doing so because of their friendship with Trevor. Moreover, not all 'subordinated boys' engaged in bullying, and these 'resisters'[139] included boys who had been bullied[140] and others who had not.[141] The key distinction between those Publicly 'subordinated boys' who did and those who did not appeared to be based on empathy. These boys appeared to be more tolerant, less susceptible to peer pressure and seemed to make judgements based on their perception of the boy in question:

Woody (Aged 30) NM

...one kid in our class...he got picked on quite badly but I felt sorry for him...he was quite placid, he didn't go about to hurt people, that was just his way...he was born that way and there was nothing he could have changed....I weren't bothered about that at all

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

...I used to see him around and stuff and I just like said 'Hello' to him, cos he was alright as well, he was still alright to me ...even though he was a bit funny

---

[139] Seven of 32, Richard, Kelvin, Alan, Adrian, Robbie, Vincent, Sid.
[140] Adrian, Robbie, Sid, Kelvin.
[141] Richard, Alan, Vincent.

These boys were more willing to negotiate on aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity' and to challenge it. In the following quotation, Kelvin, who did not engage in the bullying of other boys, is expressing his 'private' respect for a boy who is willing to challenge a conventional 'hegemonic norm' and questions the 'norm' itself, although publicly he still conforms to it:

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

I've got a friend at school that like...if he's hurt himself, he'll cry...people take the mick, but in a way, I sort of respect him because I mean he lets people see him like that

Similarly, in the following quotation, Vincent recalls an incident where he verbally defended an 'effeminate' boy by challenging other younger boys who were boasting about having beaten him up. He does this despite the fact that one of his own friends bullies this boy, thereby emphasising choice and 'resistance' from peer pressure and 'hegemonic masculinity':

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...one kid in our class...he got picked on quite badly and one of my friends used to pick on him as well...and I remember the younger kids coming up and saying 'Oh, we beat up a kid in a higher grade' and then they said it was him and I turned around and said 'Oh yeah, well that's not much of a contest is it really?'

Vincent ridicules the actions of these boys in 'hegemonic terms' by suggesting that it is no real contest to beat up a subordinated 'effeminate' boy. He is contesting therefore attempts of these boys to shore up their own masculinities by bullying effeminate boys, on their own 'hegemonic terms'.

These findings suggest that some respondents chose to resist 'hegemonic masculinity', and also that boys who were subjected to 'gay abuse' were not 'privately' unpopular with all of the boys because these boys quite liked them and/or had empathy for them:

> **Sid (Aged 60)**
>
> *...I knew a lad like that...other boys picked on him...but I never did...I liked him...we used to walk home from school together*

Moreover, these boys were strong individuals. More attention needs to be placed on resistance because these boys made choices based on judgement and empathy, and used quite sophisticated techniques to resist peer pressure.

Finally, it was notable that thirteen of the older men did not recall their being bullied by other boys or engaging in bullying themselves. This does not suggest that it did not go on; respondents may have forgotten incidents through passage of time, or this may have reduced their impact. Interestingly, these were also the respondents who knew nothing about homosexuality whilst at school. I suggest, as homophobia was less prevalent, there may have been less policing of behaviour in line with 'hegemonic masculinity' and correspondingly, less bullying, or it may have been less severe. Another factor which may have contributed to less recollection of bullying was the harsh discipline from teachers which was recalled by some of these respondents;[142] this was more severe than that recalled by younger respondents who had lived through a period of no corporal punishment in schools. Ron, who was taught by nuns, provides an example of this:

> **Ron (Aged 60) RNM**
>
> *...Sister Edna shouted to me once 'How many quarters in a pound?' and I couldn't think... I said, 'I don't know'...my feet didn't touch the ground...I'm made to sit on this wooden bench outside her room and I'm terrified and it seemed like an eternity...you were there ten or*

[142] Sid, Tom, Ron, Albert, Seamus, Arthur, Martin, Tony.

fifteen minutes and your underpants are already going brown...because you know what's going to happen

Seamus (Aged 76) NM

...I hated my teacher...she was vicious ...she used the cane...have you seen the film ' Matilda?'.. My grandchildren have got it... the awful woman in that...that's what she was like

It may well have been that the severe treatment by teachers meant that respondents were less likely to categorise incidents with other boys as victimisation and/or recall them. These findings do suggest, however, that homophobia was less relevant to the schooling of these men, and that this had an impact of their experiences of bullying and popularity. This raises questions about differences in the experiences of older men and younger men, which could be examined by future research.

Conclusion

There are several important points to take from this chapter. The section on early home life, has shown how my respondents valued certain qualities in their parents, and that these were characteristics associated with 'women and mothering', like caring. These were not always associated with their mothers but did inform their preferences. I found that the family pattern for many of these respondents was nuclear, and that there had been a clear division of labour within the home as suggested by Chodorow (1978). However, I did not always find that men recalled distancing themselves from their mothers and identifying with their fathers. Indeed, many men recalled remaining close to their mothers throughout their childhood and adolescence, and distanced from their fathers. In the next chapter I explain whether this had implications for their current identities.

My findings on schooling suggest that whilst at school masculine identities were formed against the 'dual otherness' of females and/or homosexuals. What was important, therefore, was this emphasis on heterosexuality - on being seen as a heterosexual male who desires females and on not being seen as gay. I suggest therefore that it is this aspect of 'hegemonic masculinity' that was important, rather than compliance with other aspects. Indeed, this can help to explain why the dominant masculinity in numerical terms comprised characteristics more often associated with Connell's notion of 'subordinated masculinities', rather than those associated with popular aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity', such as being tough or good at sport because they didn't really value these characteristics.

Whilst a 'public' hierarchy informed by 'hegemonic masculinity' was in evidence, it was not related to 'popularity' in the straightforward ways that I had expected. I suggest that there were 'public' and 'private' versions of popularity, and that, in reality, many of those exhibiting characteristics associated with 'hegemonic masculinity' were 'privately' unpopular with other boys, whilst those that were 'publicly' unpopular, including effeminate boys, were not always 'privately' so.

Moreover, my findings suggest that a fear of bullying encouraged a certain amount of compliance with aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity', and that many respondents complied for the sake of an easy life without actually valuing or internalising the characteristics, whilst others engaged in active resistance to it.

I suggest therefore that the concepts of 'hegemony' and 'popularity' as used in the literature need to be questioned because there is a 'public' side to popularity and a 'private' side. The view from *below* can tell us a lot about masculine identities, and more attention needs to be paid by future research as to why boys continue to pay lip service to 'hegemonic masculinity' when they do not value the characteristics that it promotes.[143]

[143] This could help us to develop policy initiatives to reduce the bullying of boys in schools.

Chapter Four
Current Masculine Identities

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with how masculinities can change over time. Work by writers such as Goodey (1997) and Gardiner (1992) has suggested that a developmental conceptualisation of gender would help develop new insights. My research has drawn upon Goodey's (1997) concept of a 'hegemonic masculine biography' and with this in mind the purpose of this chapter is to establish:

- What sorts of lifestyles my respondents had;
- What sorts of men my respondents saw themselves as;
- Whether the masculine identities of my respondents did change over time;
- If so, which factors were implicated in these changes;
- How the self descriptions and changes were related to 'hegemonic masculinity';[144]
- Whether or not 'hegemonic masculinity' had changed and if so, how and which factors were implicated.

In later chapters, I will show how these points relate to the concerns of respondents around incivilities and crime. This current chapter is in three parts: the first looks at the routine activities and current identities of the respondents and the discursive choices they made when describing themselves. We saw in the last chapter how, during schooling, 'hegemonic masculinity' as delineated by Connell (1987) had been an important exemplar of masculinity, albeit that the majority of respondents had neither conformed to it nor internalised its values. In this chapter, I show how 'hegemonic masculinity' was even less important to my respondents in later stages of life. I suggest therefore that the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' needs to be reconsidered. The 'dominant' masculinity that I discovered was defined by an association with roles such as being a partner, a breadwinner, a father or grandfather, and included an emphasis on qualities such as being 'caring'. Therefore, it

[144] As traditionally defined.

appeared that whilst my respondents were aware of 'hegemonic masculinity' as a popular discourse, it was not a 'hegemonic' form of masculinity because it was not adopted or internalised by the majority of them.

The second part of the chapter explains the relevance of experiences of early life[145] to current identities and how the findings were different to those anticipated at the outset of the research. What appeared to be important for current identities from early home life was not 'role models' in the traditional sense i.e. which 'gendered' parent one had associated oneself with, but rather the qualities that men had valued in the adults around them such as kindness and empathy.[146] These qualities re-emerged in their discussions of their masculine identities. As I will explain, schooling was also much less relevant to current identities than may have been expected. The most significant factor here appeared to be the level of engagement with 'hegemonic masculinity' whilst at school and the associated rejection of the schooling process. Nine of the ten 'Macho Men' who had exemplified a tough masculinity whilst at school, being heavily involved in fighting and verbal bullying of others, were involved in gang membership and expressed the same 'Macho' type of masculinity after leaving school.[147] As I will explain, the only exception to this was Danny, who had managed to break free of the group and who had made a transitional change in his masculine identity to a softer style. In contrast, the remaining thirty-five respondents of forty-five in the overall sample had engaged to a certain extent with school, were not involved in gang membership and were either at college, had a full time job or had recently retired from one.

The third part of the chapter looks at key events in the formation of masculine identities. From the research findings three types of change were identified:

[145] See Chapter Three.
[146] See Chapter Three.
[147] Mickey (Aged 16), Brad (Aged 16), Sean (Aged 18), Ricky (Aged 19), Kris (Aged 21), Craig (Aged 17), Troy (Aged 18), Lee (Aged 20), Gary (Aged 21).

- Transitional moments when men moved from one type of masculinity to another;
- Changes connected to individualised events within a man's life;
- Changes in lifestyles that were connected to social and physical aspects of ageing.

The changes that I found were either 'dynamic' or more 'subtle'; the former included transitional moments involving a shift from one type of masculinity to another whilst the latter included life course changes, physical and social aspects of ageing and individual events. These changes were experienced in different ways; sometimes they were 'empowering' and sometimes 'disempowering'. Both change and lack of it involved restrictions on agency and opportunities. In general, masculine identities remained stable for long periods of time; therefore, dynamic changes were fairly rare. I also found examples of reflexive moments, which involved men expressing regret at earlier life choices, indicating a desire for change.

Descriptions of selfhood

Men were asked to describe themselves, to tell me what sort of man they saw themselves as. The first thing of note is that two respondents were uncomfortable with the question[148]and seemed embarrassed and/or at a loss as to what to say. This was possibly because being asked to describe themselves was something outside of their experience. Therefore, these respondents did not really answer the question and it appeared that these questions could not encourage them to talk about their identities:[149]

> **Seamus (aged 76) NM**
>
> *...I've never thought about it actually....no, I can't think....I don't know*

> **Craig (Aged 17) MM**
>
> *...just normal, a normal kid...what does everybody else do....playing football and that, normal*

[148] See Methods Chapter.
[149] Identities were constructed from their answers to other questions.

With the exception of these respondents, other respondents did answer the question and their accounts of selfhood were grounded within the daily realities of lived existences; men described themselves by talking about their current lifestyles in terms of what they did and/or aspects of their personalities. As discussed in the Methods Chapter, I developed several categories based on how the respondents talked about themselves. These included 'Macho Men'; 'New Men'; 'Reluctant New Men', 'Softer Men' and finally 'Traditional Men'.[150] Importantly, I found no 'Macho Men' in the middle and older samples. Within age categories, there were some similarities in routine activities and identities, some overlapping amongst age groups, and also a few differences within and between age groups. The following table details the breakdown of the respondents by their current identities:

Table (2) - Current Identities [151]

Type of Identity	Total	Younger	Middle	Older
Macho Man	9/45	9/15	0/15	0/15
Softer Man	7/45	6/15	0/15	1/15
New Man	15/45	0/15	11/15	4/15
Reluctant New Man	10/45	0/15	3/15	7/15
Traditional Man	4/45	0/15	1/15	3/15

The 'Macho Men'

The current self-descriptions of nine of the younger sample,[152] the 'Macho Men' were based on their routine activities that involved 'hanging out' on the street in the area with their mates. The 'Macho Men' are those respondents described as 'Macho Boys' in Chapter Three on early life. In that chapter, I discussed how during schooling, the masculinities of these respondents were based on toughness and not being gay. These factors were used in their talk about their current lifestyles and the sort of men they were. A further factor mentioned by all nine of these respondents was loyalty to mates, including sticking up for them and lending them money:

[150] See Appendix Nine for a breakdown of these identities by name.
[151] For breakdown of identity by name see Appendix Nine.
[152] Aged 16 – 25.

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...I'm safe [a good person]...with all my mates and that...if they're in need, I'll sort them out ..if they need backing up, I'll back 'em up...in fights and that

Sean (Aged 18) MM

..I've got a sound personality, I'm loyal to my mates... I stick up for them if they've got trouble and that with other blokes

These respondents demonstrated the most defensive masculinities because they continued to be subjected to peer pressure through gang membership and being policed by others and selves within a group context based on the rules of the playground,[153] such as homophobia:

Lee (Aged 20) MM

....my mates all hate gays...we always have really since school...we still call each other gay and that ...just to piss each other off...I mean no-one in the group acts like a gay or anything....'cos they just wouldn't be in the group...if anyone came on to you or anything like that...then they would be six feet under

The narratives of these respondents were rooted in the past (i.e., schooling and discourses from that period) and the present (i.e., time spent on the street) because their future opportunities were limited. These boys were unemployed as a result of the choices they had made during and after school, their lack of engagement with the schooling process and the physical practices they had engaged in around fighting and/or crime. At the time of the study all nine respondents had a criminal record or several cautions from the police. As I will show later five of these men[154] expressed a desire to change their lives but because of their earlier choices and behaviour they were experiencing problems in doing so, and this can help to explain their continued association with boys who exemplified a tough masculinity and their investment in discourses around identity that were familiar and accessible.

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[153] See discussion of grassing and rules of gang membership in Chapter Five on risk constructions.
[154] Kris, Craig, Lee, Ricky, Sean.

'Softer Men'

Six men in the younger sample[155] and one older man were categorised as 'Softer Men'. These men were not involved in childcare or the home but discussed 'softer' aspects of personality, which have been associated with the concept of the 'New Man': [156]

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

...I'm a young black man...I'm easy going... I can get on with just about anybody....my vibe is just laid-back, just chilled, I take it day by day

Arthur (Aged 60) SM

...I'm caring, friendly, gentle....not a big tough macho man...just a caring person

'New men'

Eleven of fifteen respondents in the middle category and four of the respondents in the older category described themselves as 'New Men' by emphasising an identity that conformed to descriptions of 'New Men'.[157] These respondents talked about involvement with children and/or housework.[158] For those men with children still at home[159] fatherhood was a central component of their masculine identities; albeit these men also used discursive chat around home ownership, being a partner and a breadwinner:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

....I would say that I am sort of or near as dammit what they say is a new man or a nineties man....I like being at home with the family and the children...I don't mind doing the cooking and a bit of cleaning and things like that...so I would say that I'm basically what they're classing as a new man

---

[155] Danny, Kieran, Simon, Kyle, Richard, Kelvin.
[156] See work of Frank Mort (1996)
[157] See Appendix Nine for breakdown of men.
[158] James (Aged 25), Adrian (Aged 29) did not have children but helped out equally with household tasks.
[159] Alan (Aged 37), Dave (Aged 28), Andy (Aged 31), Richard (Aged 30), Ian (Aged 29), Jeff (aged 37), Robbie (aged 30), Trevor (Aged 36), Harry (Aged 60).

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...I'm a New Man...I suppose...I do cooking and that...I think men's roles are changing, it has to change...I feed the baby and change her nappy, men never used to do that

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

...I'm more sensitive than most men... I have quite a negative view of men because I'm not a typical man...I don't see myself in the same way as I view other men because they're all taller than me, probably a bit wider... I think it's also probably something to do with the way they behave...they don't behave properly ...I'm not a big fan of violence, aggressive behaviour...and there's an inability to communicate that you see a lot of in men....I tend not to be so judgemental about women because I'm not a woman but I do feel quite judgemental about men, I don't consider myself to be a man like some men....because I'm just not a lad

As well as emphasising 'New Man' type identities, eight[160] of these respondents also used 'softer' aspects of personality when describing themselves, which were similar to those used by respondents categorised as 'Softer Men' and emphasised in the literature on 'New Men:[161]

Andy (Aged 31) NM

..I would like to think that I could be as close to being a woman as a man could be, but still be a man... to have the understanding, the sympathetic nature of a woman along with the strengths of being a man...I'd say I'm probably more flexible than most men...I'm quite tolerant of most things to be honest

[160] Alan (Aged 37), Dave (Aged 28), Andy (Aged 31), Robbie (Aged 30), Adrian (Aged 29), Richard (Aged 30), James (Aged 25), Harry (Aged 60).
[161] Those men categorised, as 'Softer Men' were not involved in shared household tasks and/or childcare with women.

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...I have a gentle nature....I'm a Pisces....I am loving and tender and all that

However, there was evidence that conforming to 'non-hegemonic' forms of masculinity involved power struggles both with others and selves. Although ten men[162] used 'New Man' type discourses when talking about themselves and their lives, some of them demonstrated a certain amount of reluctance about involvement in household chores[163] and felt that they may be doing 'too much' in the home or did only certain household tasks. These respondents were termed 'Reluctant New Men':

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

...I'm a liberated man...I'd say I do more than my fair share around the home, I can operate the washing machine, I do all my own ironing...the vast majority of men I've talked to are amazed that I do any ironing at all.. I think it's just more normal now, in some homes that's what happens...I am very involved with my children when I am there

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...I do everything.... I probably do more now than my wife, I go to work, that pile of washing... I washed it in the washing machine... if you look on the carpet...there's dog hairs on it, I'll be the one that sweeps it up...me and my mate reckon that women nowadays are lazier...if you take my mom and dad.... she cooks his tea, she washes up, does the washing, ironing... even Sunday she's out there with the iron

---

[162] Vincent (Aged 28), Stephen (Aged 37), Warren (Aged 31), Ron (Aged 60), Tom (Aged 70), Reggie (Aged 65), Sid (Aged 60).

[163] Vincent (Aged 28), Stephen (Aged 37)

What was clear from the talk of these men was that there was now an expectation from women that men would be involved with their children and help out in the home.[164] There also appeared to be an expectation that men would help in the home as well as earn money and still do the 'traditional' male jobs of mowing the lawn and DIY:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I think that there are more expectations coming from women...I've noticed that men of my dad's age...on Sundays, the wife cooks, the bloke goes to the pub, he comes home, the dinners done...he has his dinner and goes to sleep, nowadays it's more shared... I think if you go out, you go together and I find a lot of my friends and me as well do housework...I do most of the cooking

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

....I read articles...saying that men are lazy...that men are still useless in the home, that they do DIY but they don't do anything else ...Who does these surveys?...it is annoying.... I do lots in the house and my wife still expects me to mow the lawn...she says 'You're a bloke, you mow the lawn, you wash the car'

Another seven of the ten respondents[165] who were categorised as 'Reluctant New Men' expressed aspects of being 'New Men' but also retained some 'male privileges' associated with 'Traditional Masculinity' and/or did less housework than the 'New Men'. For example, Warren had some involvement with decision making and playing and taking care of his children at weekends but he was not involved in their care during the week. He felt that women were better at this than men. Moreover, whilst Warren accepted women's right to work, he preferred his wife at home:

[164] Discussed by Alan (aged 37), Dave (aged 28), Andy (aged 31), Adrian (Aged 29), Richard (aged 30), James (Aged 25), Vincent (Aged 28), Ian (Aged 29), Stephen (aged 37), Jeff (aged 37), Robbie (Aged 30), Warren (aged 31), Trevor (Aged 36), Harry (Aged 60). Albert (aged 66), Seamus (aged 76), Martin (Aged 60), Ron (aged 60).
[165] Warren (Aged 31), Reggie (Aged 65, Tom (Aged 70), Ron (Aged 60), Sid (Aged 60).

...I've tried to stay at home and look after the kids for a bit, that isn't for me, my partner does that much better than I do...that's my opinion, I think women are better with children than men are

The only older man who had tried looking after his children whilst they had been growing up was Tom and this had only been during the evening. However, he had not enjoyed it, and so had gone back to his old life of work and socialising, leaving the children and housework to his wife.

....the (wife) had an evening job, so I was at home, babysitting, whilst she went out in the evening....but I got fed up and when she went to go back at the end of the holidays I said, 'Do you have to go back' and she said 'Do you really feel that badly about it?', and she gave it up

Tom admitted that he found it difficult relating to children:

.... I probably didn't devote as much time to the lads, as I should have done, probably because I'd got my own interests...I'm a bit like my dad in this respect, I probably found it difficult to communicate with children...I'm not the sort of person that wants to spend too much time with them, whilst they're very young

Consequently, Tom did not have much involvement with his grandchildren, but he did do housework. Reggie had not been involved with the children and housework while he was at work and, despite retirement, he retained aspects of the man's role in the home.[166] Like Warren he retained the role as head of the house and made the decisions:

...I've got the final decision, whatever happens...I'm the man of the house...although we discuss everything together, I make the final decision

[166] The wives of Reggie and Tom had worked part-time once the children were older but continued to do the domestic chores and childcare.

This had also been the case for Francis until his wife had died a year earlier. However, since retiring, Reggie spent a lot of time looking after his grandson with whom he was very close. All of these men did some tasks around the home,[167] although fewer than the other respondents including the 'New Men' and the other two 'Reluctant New Men'. Ron did selected household tasks when his wife was at work, and helped look after his grandchildren, as did Martin. Finally, Sid, who had no children or grandchildren, did selected household tasks, particularly since he had retired.

It may well have been the case, therefore, that if these men had not helped out with the children and in the home this may have caused problems. It would appear therefore that for men in relationships with women it is harder now to be a deviant expressing tough masculinities and resisting engagement with women and the home. Indeed, therefore, for these respondents being a 'New Man', even if reluctantly, was the norm and was not really 'new' at all. At the time of the study, all of the partners of the eleven 'New Men' with young children were at home and only one planned to return to work in the near future. Andy's wife was a schoolteacher and he hoped to give up work when she returned to it and become a househusband. Despite the fact that these men were the only breadwinners there was still some expectation that they would be involved with children and the home. In short, therefore, these new forms of masculinity can help to serve the interests or desires of women (see Collier 1998). The findings provide an example of the relational aspects of gendered identities and can help us to see how formations of masculinities are affected by new configurations of women's identity and practices especially amongst the girlfriends, wives and partners of respondents in middle category but also of some in the older age category.[168] The aforementioned factors on changes in expectations and practices can help to explain why only a minority of respondents in the study appeared to have a 'Traditional Masculinity' (see below).

[167] Reggie and Tom only since they had retired.
[168] To be discussed in conclusion where I will discuss work by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005)

In addition to their discussions about being caring and involved with their children and the home, family men[169] also emphasised their roles as providers for their families:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...I tend to worry very little about myself .at the moment the paramount worry is the little fella ...I'm more worried about what we do about nursery and I want him to go to a good school.... to have a good education, I want to be as supportive as I can to him...so it's more of what can I do to get myself and my wife into the situation where we can provide the best for him

A further factor emphasised by these men was that they viewed themselves as protectors of their children:

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...I ain't worried about my possessions...the only thing I worry about is being a father and making sure my kids grow up fine, and I think every parent does that don't they?

A related aspect of male identity, which was discussed by these men,[170] was staying in control:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I wouldn't like to think that someone could get the better of me...either defensively or otherwise

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...I like to keep a handle on things

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...well if you're a man...you're supposed to be resilient...to stay in control

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[169] Including 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' with young children.
[170] Discussed by Alan, Dave, Ian, Jeff, Andy, Warren, Stephen.

I discuss the relevance of these factors for risk constructions in Chapters Six and Seven.

'Traditional Men'

Only a handful of men can be defined as traditional, i.e., they were not involved in household tasks[171] or with childcare and they held traditional attitudes about men and women in the home and at work.[172] Nonetheless, these men did acknowledge changes in men's identities and realised that other men were much more involved in the home and that their own masculine identities were therefore somewhat different to those of other men that they knew. Brian, one of the respondents without children, who was recently separated, discussed a traditional masculinity that was bound up with hanging out with his male friends and going out drinking. This was similar to that of the 'Macho Men' although less aggressive because he was not constantly involved in fights; he had, however, experienced confrontations in the recent past and stated that he would not 'back off' from a confrontation because his manhood would be on the line. Brian was a homeowner and was awaiting a divorce having split from his wife, he did not recall being involved in housework when he was married:

> **Brian (Aged 32) TM**
>
> *"I'm just a typical bloke really.... I like having a laugh and a good time basically...generally blokes do go out and have a drink and a laugh"*

Similarly the other three traditional men, from the older age group, did not recall ever being engaged in housework or childcare. These men had a fairly fixed sense of women's roles, and although they discussed cultural changes for women, they still took a traditional view:

[171] For Frank and Roy, who were widowed, at least whilst their wives were alive.
[172] Roy (Aged 70), Tony (Aged 60), Frank (Aged 76), Brian (Aged 32)

Tony (Aged 60) TM

....my son and me...we call my wife the old fashioned lady...she looks after us.... does the housework and the cooking ...some of my son's friends are married and they don't look after them, like my wife looks after us....basically they've got their partners under the thumb, that's the way me and my son look at it... if I want to get up at four o'clock tomorrow to go fishing, my wife will be up at four o'clock doing me something to eat and a cup of tea...we're an old fashioned couple like that....I'm the man and she looks after me and my son

Frank (Aged 76) TM

...I would describe myself as a bit of a male chauvinist ...I like being a man...I think women have taken over all the jobs that men had before....I think it causes men to resent women

One has to acknowledge that the relationships between these men and their partners appeared to have been different to those of other respondents. For example, Frank, Roy and Tony suggested that they had very traditional relationships with their wives,[173] where the woman did everything in the home. Therefore, in part, the 'Traditional Masculinities' of these men were formed against the 'Traditional Femininities' of their partners, unlike the identities of the 'New Men', whose wives expected more of them. Brian did not discuss his former relationship in any detail but admitted that he had not done housework. We can only speculate as to whether that and his practice of continuing to regularly go out drinking with his male friends had contributed, in part to the breakdown in his relationship.

Despite their more traditional masculinities these four respondents showed softer aspects of their identities, which were more in line with those discussed by the 'Softer Men'. Tony when discussing his affection for his son, Roy and Frank when discussing

[173] Frank and Roy were widows and were talking in the past tense here.

their affection for their late wives and Brian when discussing his affection for his nephew, parents and siblings. An example can be seen in the following quote:

> **Frank (Aged 76) TM**
>
> *... I lost my wife...that really creased me up...[eyes fill with tears, stops talking and gets out a handkerchief]...we were married for 54 years...I'm still struggling to come to terms with it now, and it's been fifteen months*[174]

As I have shown, only a minority of these respondents, the nine 'Macho Men' described themselves in 'traditionally' 'hegemonic' ways such as being tough, and four other respondents were categorised as 'Traditional Men'. Others drew on 'softer' discourses around being "New Men" involved in childcare and housework; and/or by using descriptions of personalities based on being caring and friendly and for men in the younger and middle age groups, also on their plans for the future. The fact that a female researcher was interviewing them may *have had some bearing on* these discussions of identities as explained in the Methods Chapter. Importantly, because the sample is not random[175] no generalisations about changes over time can be made. However, as I will show shortly, some of my biographical data do suggest that, in hindsight, some of my respondents regretted earlier life choices and would have changed these and possibly also their identities i.e. older men who wished they'd got to know their children better and men in all three age categories who wished that they had engaged more with the schooling process.[176]

Finally, a factor, which was emphasised by men in the middle and older age groups when discussing their identities, was that of home ownership which was considered to be a reflection of one's status as a wage earner:[177]

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[174] See Methods Chapter.
[175] See chapter on Methods.
[176] Importantly five of the 'Macho Men'.
[177] Discussed by Alan, Dave, Andy, Robbie, Trevor, Vincent, Warren, Brian, Gerald, Tony, Reggie, Ron.

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...if you a working man you may as well buy your home...it makes you feel that you're doing better in life ...makes things more secure for your family

Brian (Aged 32)

...I'm buying the house...it's an investment isn't it...you might as well have something to show for working

I will discuss the implications of these factors for risk constructions in the following chapters.

Routine Activities

The routine activities of the respondents were connected to their identities and life stages. As explained earlier, younger respondents were categorised into two groups based on their routine activities and current identities. The first group of men were categorised as the 'Macho Men'[178] because of their engagement with a tough version of masculinity at school and beyond, whilst the second group were categorised as 'Softer Men'. Six of the nine 'Macho Men' were unemployed,[179] one was at school,[180]whilst two of them[181] were on government training schemes[182] spending two days a week at college outside of the area, although one boy rarely attended. The other man was a visible presence on the streets with the other 'Macho Men' at nights and weekends and the days when he did not attend. These men were always together, and their identities were tied up with the area and their membership of the gang within it. The main activity for all of these men both during the day and at night was hanging out on the streets with daytime visits to the youth annexe where they would play pool. The following quotations are typical of all these respondents:

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[178] See Chapter Three.
[179] Sean, Ricky, Kris, Craig, Troy, Gary.
[180] Brad.
[181] Mickey and Lee.
[182] For plumbing and carpentry.

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...basically I wake up...watch telly for a bit, come out, play pool down here till about four o'clock most days ...I ain't got the money to go anywhere else...so we just get some cans from the shop and sit down and drink them somewhere

The only thing that all nine of these respondents disliked about the area was the lack of facilities for young people. In three accounts,[183] this was connected to length of time in the area and over-familiarity with it:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...there's not a lot that I can say that I don't like...it's boring like...years of doing the same sort of thing, same mates, same place, everything's the same....there's not much to do really

All of these respondents were very attached to the area and had a shared history of lengthy residence and of growing up in it. Their familiarity with the area through length of residence was strongly associated with feelings of attachment to it. Indeed, all of these respondents claimed that they liked the area and felt at home there describing a sense of belonging:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...you just think of it as your area...where you were born... you know loads of people .. the parks and the shops and all that

Lee (Aged 20) MM

.it's your roots isn't it?....it's what you know and who you know

Part of this sense of belonging discussed by these respondents was having friends and/or family in the area, which again contributed to feelings of attachment:

[183] Sean, Ricky, Kris.

Gary (Aged 21) MM

....I wouldn't like to move because I've grown up in this area and all my family is around here and I've my mates here and that

This sense of belonging was also evident in discussions around spaces, which implied ownership of some areas:[184]

Craig (Aged 17) MM

....I like the annexe because it's like our place to go, you know, in the daytime...it's where we hang out

The identities of these young men therefore were closely bound with the geographical area in which their identities had been formed and in which they continued to 'do their masculinity'. Indeed, due to their lack of involvement in college, employment or leisure pursuits there was little other space and opportunity for these boys to do their masculinity. I suggest that their continued membership of a gang within a particular geographical space, backed by length of residence, helped to provide these men with a sense of empowerment.

In contrast to the 'Macho Men', the identities of the remaining respondents in the youngest group categorised as 'Softer Men' were not centred on gang membership within a geographical area. Moreover, although two of these respondents[185] had always lived in the area they did not discuss familiarity and its association with a sense of belonging.[186] Indeed, all of these young men claimed to dislike the area and stated that they wanted to leave it and claimed that they did not spend time hanging out in it. Reasons for disliking the area included threats from other youths, crime, racism and incivilities, which will be discussed in Chapter Five. The routine activities of these young men were also different. All five of these respondents [187] were engaged in the educational process. The activities of these young men

[184] All of the 'Macho Men' provided examples of this.
[185] Kieran and Simon.
[186] Kyle, Richard and Kelvin had lived in the area for less than five years.
[187] Kyle (Aged 19), Richard (Aged 17), Kelvin (Aged 16), Simon (Aged 20), Kieran (Aged 20).

involved attending school, college, music groups and visiting pubs and nightclubs outside of the area. Although three of these respondents[188] associated with a couple of boys and girls from inside the area; overall these men mostly socialised with a mixture of boys and girls from outside the area. The routine activities of these young men, therefore, were different from those of the 'Macho Men' and included hobbies, entertainments and a focus on college/careers. Typical responses about how they spent their time and whom they spent it with were as follows:

Richard (Aged 17) SM

....I hang out with a mixture...there's about five black boys, two mixed race and two white boys...we're all friends anyway, so there's no colour thing, they're just the people that you're with...most of my friends are from outside the area....I see different groups of people....some from college...some from the band

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

...I go to college. play in a band...go to the music hall...cinema...I go to clubs to DJ.....most of my time is taken up with college and socialising really...I do the DJing stuff because I want to be a sound engineer when I leave college

It appears somewhat ironic that so many years on from Whyte's (1941) study the youngest members of the sample divided into 'corner boys' and 'college boys' depending on their level of involvement with the schooling process.

Another 'Softer Man' in the younger sample was Danny. As we saw in the last chapter, he had been a member of the 'Macho Boys' whilst at school. However, as I will show later, he had made a 'transitional change' in his masculine identity by breaking away from the group after leaving school. Therefore, rather than becoming a 'Macho Man' like the rest of the group, Danny currently exemplified a masculine identity that was more like that of the 'Softer Men' and was engaged in similar sorts of activities. However, Danny's previous association

[188] Kyle, Richard and Kelvin.

with the 'Macho Men' and his length of residence contributed to a feeling of familiarity and, unlike the other 'Softer Men', he did not wish to leave the area. I will examine this in more detail in the next chapter when I show what the implications of this were for Danny's concerns around crime.

Lifestyles and Routine Activities of the Middle and Older respondents

The lifestyles and routine activities of the middle and older respondents are summarised in the following tables:

Table (3) - Lifestyles of Men in the Middle Sample

Type of Man	Numbers	Cohabiting	Owner Occupied *Accom*	Rented Accom	Children	No Children	Socialising Pubs/Clubs
New Man	11/15	10/11	9/11	2/11	8/11	3/11	3/11
Reluctant New Man	3/15	3/3	2/3	1/3	3/3	0/3	0/3
Traditional Man	1/15	0/1	1/1	0/1	0/1	1/1	1/1

Table (4) Lifestyles of Men in the Older sample

Type of Man	Numbers	Cohabiting	Owner Occupied Accom	Rented Accom	Children	Grandchildren	No Children	Socialising in Clubs
New Man	4/15	2/4	3/4	1/4	3/4	2/4	1/4	0/4
Reluctant New Man	7/15	6/6	6/7	1/7	5/7	5/7	2/7	3/7
Softer Man	1/15	0/1	0/1	1/1	0/1	0/1	1/1	1/1
Traditional Man	3/15	2/3	2/3	1/3	3/3	2/3	0/3	0/3

The routine activities of those men with children at home included full-time employment, time spent with children and doing household chores. In particular, the eleven fathers of young children[189] had little time and money for socialising.[190] Retired men mostly spent time with

[189]Alan (Aged 37), Dave (Aged 28), Andy (Aged 31), Richard (Aged 30),Vincent (Aged 28), Ian (Aged 29), Stephen (Aged 37), Jeff (Aged 37), Robbie (Aged 30), Warren (Aged 31), Trevor (Aged 36).

[190] There were exceptions, Andy who spent a few nights a week at the local social club associating with men there and also, Ian who was a musician and sometimes played gigs at pubs outside of the area.

partners and grandchildren shopping, or going out visiting friends or relatives in the car[191] or partaking in hobbies.[192]

Links between current masculine identities and earlier selves

There were three findings here regarding early home life and the connection to current identities. Firstly, I had expected to find that there might have been some relationship between whether respondents had identified with a female or male parent and their current identities. However, I did not find a link between parental preferences per se and the current identities of the respondents in terms of whether they were 'Macho Men', 'Softer Men', 'New Men', 'Reluctant New Men' or 'Traditional Men'.[193]

Rather, the relevance of early home life for these men seemed to lie in their later reflections on experiences of parenting. There appeared to be two ways in which reflections on experiences of parenting were relevant. Firstly, parental preferences, whether maternal, paternal or for grandparents, were based on who had been most caring and as I have shown, being caring was emphasised by the majority of my respondents in talk about their own identities including the 'New Men', 'Reluctant New Men' and 'Softer Men'.

Secondly, men also thought about their own experiences of parenting when discussing how they would parent children. Those men who were 'unhappy' with their experiences of parenting during childhood said that they would parent differently from their own parents; whereas those that were happy with their experience said that they would parent in the same or a similar way to their parents.[194]

I also expected to find a correlation between how the parents of the respondents dealt with emotions and how they dealt with their own emotions as men. However, my analysis did not

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[191] Three older respondents did not have a car; Fred, Gerald, Seamus and they used public transport during the day and taxis at night. Gerald sometimes caught the bus at night.
[192] Hobbies were discussed by Reggie and Tony (fishing), Ron (photography), Harry (cycling), Fred and Albert (dancing).
[193] See Appendix Six.
[194] See Appendix Ten.

reveal any significant relationship here.[195] This might suggest that the expression of emotions in my respondents had more to do with their experiences outside those in the home, such as social conditioning at school[196] and in the public arena. It also shows that the prevailing effects of the notion that boys and men are resilient and that 'big boys don't cry' (see Goodey, 1997). Men from all of the categories, including those of 'New Men' and 'Softer Men' suggested that they still found it difficult or impossible to open up about their feelings and to cry:[197]

> **Ian (Aged 29) NM**
>
> *...I don't really cry or anything like that I learnt quite quickly that I didn't want to do that...something just happened when I was a young boy ....the messages that you pick up when you're growing up... I just decided that it was poncey to cry*

This is an important finding in relation to the literature on the 'Fear of Crime' because it suggests that men may be reluctant to own up to feeling emotions such as 'fear' in crime surveys albeit as this research has shown men might discuss 'fear' when qualitative interviewing is used (see also Stanko and Newburn, 1993). The fact that I was a female researcher might have had the result that men were more willing to admit fear and/or anxieties to me than to a male researcher as was discussed in the Methods Chapter; although this does not mean that all of those that were concerned about something actually expressed it.

Finally, although schooling experiences may have remained relevant, in part, to the expression of emotions in the form of dominant discourses about boys being resilient and not crying, the hierarchy of popularity at school discussed in Chapter Three did not appear to have much bearing on the current identities of the respondents. There were similarities in the identities of those that had been bullied, those that had not and those that had engaged in bullying.[198]

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[195] See Appendix Eleven.
[196] In Chapter Three we saw how the expression of emotions was considered 'taboo' at school.
[197] See Appendix Eleven.
[198] See Appendix Seven.

What appeared to be most important about schooling for current identities therefore was the level of engagement with the schooling process. All of the 'Macho Men' had been 'Macho Boys', and as a consequence had not engaged with schooling and had been suspended and/or expelled from school, leaving with limited qualifications. At the time of the study these men also had criminal records or cautions. This partly explains why they still exhibited a 'Macho' style of masculinity. In contrast, the remaining thirty-five respondents had all engaged to a certain extent with the schooling process and did not discuss 'Macho' type identities. The exception to the rule was Danny who had been a 'Macho Boy', had been suspended several times and had left school with limited qualifications despite being clever. I will shortly show how he made a 'transitional' change to a 'Softer Man' style of masculinity.

Life changes and masculine identities

The findings documented several types of changes in men's lives; including transitional moments, individual events, life course changes and/or physical and social aspects of ageing. I am firstly going to look at 'transitional moments' of change experienced by five respondents, two of who[199] were men with young children from the middle sample.[200]

Transitional moments – choice/resistance

This type of change involved men making a shift from one style of masculinity, i.e. 'hegemonic', [201] involving fighting, drinking and/or having lots of girlfriends to another 'softer' type. The following quotation comes from Trevor who used to work at the wholesale market and who spent his evenings and weekends drinking and larking about with other guys:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

..I was a bit of a rogue [laughs]... women didn't ever figure in my concept of

[199] Trevor (Aged 36) and Warren (Aged 31)
[200] Aged 25 – 45.
[201] i.e. hegemonic as described by Connell (1987)

reasonable people, they were always there if I wanted them and I just got rid of them if I didn't...my life revolved around my male friends really...women were there as an accessory... I was emulating my dad, the time I used to spend in the pub, but I sort of managed, with the help of my wife to break away from that...when I had the responsibility of children come along...my wife already had a young son when I met her

Upon meeting his wife, Trevor gave up this lifestyle and settled down becoming a devoted father and husband who rarely went out socially. Another example of a respondent who had made an active choice because of 'settling down' which had affected his masculine identity was Warren. Although Warren was not a 'Macho boy' whilst growing up but rather a boy that 'went along' with things[202] he had become involved in crime as an adult. He stopped this involvement once he met his wife, thereby making a 'transition' from a criminal identity to a non-criminal one by giving up his involvement in 'car ringing' schemes': [203]

Warren (Aged 31) RNM

...I've never nicked anyone's car or anything like that cos I wouldn't have had the balls to do that...I've been involved in organised car crime at one stage... as an investor...I stopped when I met my wife...it was just too risky and I didn't want to do it when I had settled down

A further example of a respondent who made the transition from one type of masculinity to another was Danny. Not long after starting school he started to hang out with the 'Macho Boys' and continued to do so after he had left school; although bright at school, he had rejected the schooling process. Despite this, after leaving school he had managed to find employment with Royal Mail; had stopped hanging around with his former friends and had avoided gaining a criminal record. In the following quote, Danny discusses how he distanced himself from the rest of his gang:

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[202] See Chapter Two.

[203] Similarly, Danny was involved in lots of fighting and assault on other boys.

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...I think there was three of us, that didn't go on the heroin, out of about thirty....we decided that we didn't want to take that path, so we just went off by ourselves then and the fighting kind of stopped...but then you realise that it wasn't really you that was starting it in the first place ...it was people that would go and rob a car, a house, then people would find out that it was them... they'd get out of the cars and we'd stick up for them, and that's where most of the fights started, so when I stopped hanging about with them...the fighting stopped

Danny's decisions not to get involved in 'proper crime' [204] and hardened drug taking [205] were related to his parents and his upbringing:

...I didn't want to go joy-riding, stealing cars and speeding on the roads...and I didn't want to take heroin ...it was just that my mom and dad brought me up not to be like that... I've had the police at my door but it's never been for like, burglary, car theft, heroin, anything like that, it's was always, 'You were with so and so, on such a date and they were involved in, and we want to speak to you

Although Danny was currently unemployed[206] he only met up with his former friends occasionally at the annexe where he went to use the computer and/or play the drums. He had a girlfriend and at night he socialised with her and/or his former friends from the Royal Mail in a pub outside the area. At a later point in the interview, Danny reflects on his choices and says that he is glad that he made them because his life is much better now than it could have been because he has more options available to him:

...I'm quite happy with how things are going... I've got ideas for a business... I kind of wish that some of my other friends chose to knock the crime on the head because

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[204] He had been involved in fighting and shoplifting at an earlier age but did not consider these proper crimes like 'burglary' and 'car theft' – see Appendix Fourteen.
[205] He had smoked cannabis but drew the line at anything harder like heroin.
[206] Due to absence through ill health.

everybody that we hung round with apart from three of us that didn't take the heroin, have all spent time in nick...so I'm kinda just happy that I was big enough to say 'No, I don't want to go down that path'...even if I were to end up with nothing, I'd still be a winner really, compared to everybody else

Danny has drawn upon the positive experience of his older brother in thinking about his future:

...my brother - he was bad like that...but when he was about nineteen he got himself a job...now he's a supervisor in a computer company....he's on like £40,000 a year now...he's got to be one of the success stories really ...especially when you look at some of his old friends...they're riding around on mountain bikes....and my brother's got a Golf GTI ...he could have easily been like any of them

Two other respondents[207] discussed a change in their masculine identities that had come about through 'non-active' changes based on chance. At their junior schools they had been heavily involved in fighting. The decision to change schools was made by their parents and the schools but had consequences for the respondents. Following the change of schools they had stopped fighting and whilst at secondary school had exemplified a 'publicly' subordinate masculinity; after leaving school they ended up with a 'Softer' style of masculinity rather than a 'Macho' one:

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

....I didn't get on with some of the Asians at the school...I was always fighting....but then I moved schools and I stopped fighting

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

... I used to beat people up ...I'd been suspended a couple of times, so my mom wanted me to go to a better school...and then I didn't fight anyone when I was there

[207] Kyle (Aged 19) and Kelvin (Aged 16).

The remainder of the respondents did not report these changes.[208] However the narratives did provide examples of how individual choices, including discursive ones, could affect life course trajectories and masculinities. In the following chapters I suggest how these shifts to a 'softer' style of masculinity had implications for the risk constructions discussed by these men.

Reinforcement of non 'macho' and/or 'middle class' tendencies

The changes here involved respondents who had gone to university and reported a change in their class moving from a working class to a middle class type of identity.[209] However, three of these respondents[210] did not experience complete transitional changes in terms of their masculinity, as did the above respondents. Rather these respondents were not 'macho' at school or beyond and going to university simply enabled them to exemplify and develop their 'latent' 'non-hegemonic'[211] tendencies:

> **Ian – (Aged 29) NM**
>
> *... I like to maintain that I'm a working class hero, but in reality... I've changed... I love going to the football which is a very working class sort of environment .....but I went to a grammar school, I went to university....I like cultural things that possibly a working class person would think was a load of rubbish...theatre, classical music.... jazz...arty films ...I think my socio-economic class has changed and I think my tastes have changed*

> **James (Aged 25) NM**
>
> *...I used to be really anxious when I was out with my friends...not as much now I'm mixing in better circles...I don't drink in dodgy places anymore and I try and avoid dodgy areas... I stopped hanging around with them, it was circumstantial...I went to*

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[208] Therefore I could not apply Goodey's (1997) notion of a 'hegemonic masculine biography' to those respondents.
[209] Three of these respondents were categorised in terms of their current identities as 'New Men' and one as a 'Reluctant New Man'.
[210] James, Ian, Harry.
[211] As traditionally defined by Connell (1987)

college and university...I met my girlfriend...I moved out of the area... although I did want to socialise with other people

Another respondent that had experienced a shift in his lifestyle was Warren who had been clever at school but had left to earn money. He had gone to university as a mature student and was now an accountant. Unlike the three other respondents here he had *also* experienced a transitional change as I showed earlier because he had been engaged in criminality before settling down. He chose to stop this, and then went to university part-time after meeting his wife and this had led to a change in his lifestyle:

...I like my job...I do enjoy being in business and I earn a good wage...we have a good lifestyle...nice car...holidays...we eat out a lot...I see men round here that I grew up with...and they're on the dole or in dead-end jobs.... if I hadn't given up the crime ...I could have ended up in prison...or unemployed....meeting my wife and going to university turned things round for me

One of the older respondents, Harry,[212] had also experienced a shift in his life style when he left his factory job and retrained as a social worker. He then met and married a teacher and as a result they lived in the more affluent part of the area and both of their children had gone to university. The changes for these men therefore were in the opportunities available to them and the effects upon their current life styles and identities. The experience of going to university had reinforced their 'latent' non-macho tendencies at school and contributed to their current identities as 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' who had *careers*.

Philosophical men

Some respondents underwent life experiences that led to them re-evaluating their feelings and views. Four men reported experiencing this type of change including two from the older

[212] Aged 60.

age group and two from the middle age group.[213] Ron, a married 60-year-old working father of four children[214] who had served and fought in the Navy and narrowly escaped death provides an example. He was extremely grateful about the fact that he had survived and this made him more philosophical about life generally:

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

...I got blown up, when I was in the Navy... I was twenty-one... I was lying on my back... I could just move my head and I could see these red fountains, not realising that it was me bleeding to death, but when reality started to kick in, you know, I said 'Oh, please God, please don't let me die, I'm far too young

Tom a married retired father of two boys[215] provided a similar story. He had recently experienced a heart attack and was also grateful for his recovery:

Tom (Aged 70) RNM

...I was having breakfast here one morning, last April, and I had a pain up here...I saw the Doctor ...he gave me an ECJ...I was straight up the hospital and I had a quadruple heart bypass... I was so lucky... I think God must have been looking over me that day

These near death experiences meant that these men were more philosophical about life generally and saw themselves as being fortunate men. Dean, a single self-employed homeowner who had recently become a 'born again Christian', provided another example of becoming more philosophical:

Dean (Aged 34) NM

...once when I went on holiday....I put the tent up and went away for a bit and came back and the whole lot had been stolen...the thing is today I find it easy to forgive

---

[213] These men were categorised as 'Reluctant New Men', Tom and Ron and 'New Men', Jeff and Dean.
[214] Who were grown up and had left home
[215] Who had grown up and left home.

people where I never used to...then I wanted to sort of get revenge [.laughs] but now I'd have to forgive and I find I can do that

As well as experiences that made men more optimistic about life generally, some experiences and aspects of the ageing process made men less judgemental about others. For example, Jeff had grown up in South Africa and had moved to England as a teenager. This experience of changing countries and schools had made him less judgemental about people generally:

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...I went to a school in Africa...I was there during the apartheid and you were brainwashed into being a racist...by the teachers and your parents... it's only when you get older...and you start to think for yourself and you realise how wrong it is ...I'd been in this country for a couple of years and I had experiences at school and it hurt...to think I'd been brainwashed... it made me angry

At later point in his interview he referred to another experience that had made him less judgemental:[216]

...I've always been kinda homophobic....it wasn't until I read this book, ...and it explains about gays...it's to do with genes ...for example, you'd get like a real girly girl child... but those genes can also be in a boy and he'd become gay...so my attitude has changed in the last year

These personalised experiences and reflections on them gave these men a new perspective on issues, which could be described as 'empowering'. In Chapters Five and Six I will examine the implications for risk constructions. I am now going to discuss other events, which were experienced as either 'empowering' or 'disempowering'.

[216] See earlier reflections of two of the 'Macho Men', Ricky (Aged 19) and Danny (Aged 20).

Disempowerment and re-empowerment around life stages and the ageing process

I argue here that the ageing process and life events within it, such as becoming a father and retirement, could be perceived as either 'empowering' or 'disempowering' which could have implications for self conceptions and perceived vulnerability. For example, all eleven of the fathers with young children[217] and two of the three fathers with adult children still at home discussed the pleasure of being a father:[218]

> **Andy (Aged 31) NM**
>
> *...being with my wife and son.... that really makes me happy....just knowing that everything stops when I'm round them*

All of these respondents discussed the huge impact that fatherhood had made on them and their self-conceptions of identity; being a father provided respondents with new ways of being a man and a certain amount of status. In this way, it provided opportunities for personal growth. These factors could contribute to increases in overall feelings of well-being and changes in perceptions of identity:

> **Dave (Aged 28) NM**
>
> *...well the way I think about myself has changed obviously since we had the baby...I used to see myself just as an ordinary bloke with a job and a girlfriend...whereas now I see myself as a responsible father...a family man...that's who I am now*

However, as the aforementioned quotation suggests, becoming a father also involved increased responsibilities such as restrictions on finances and individual freedoms that reduced discursive choices whilst at the same time providing a new set of expectations and benchmarks for self-evaluation. Therefore, for all of the fathers of younger children, and for

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[217] Alan (Aged 37), Dave (Aged 28), Andy (Aged 31), Richard (Aged 30), Vincent (aged 28), Ian (Aged 29), Stephen (aged 37), Jeff (Aged 37), Robbie (Aged 30), Warren (Aged 31), Trevor (Aged 36).
[218] Harry (Aged 60), Tony (Aged 60).

three of the fathers of grown up children at home,[219] it was also, in part, a 'disempowering' experience, which involved a new set of anxieties and risk constructions:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

..when my daughter was born I started to get some really wicked headaches.... I went to see my doctor... the bottom line was that all of a sudden I was panicking because now I was totally responsible for three people... as a young man.. the pressure of that hits you

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

...the man's always been looked on as the breadwinner... that can be hard at times...being the only wage earner when you've got a family... it was for me

I shall revisit these points in Chapter Six on 'incivilities' when I show that these men exhibited high levels of altruistic concerns about 'incivilities' and finances.

Another important life event was retirement, which had physical and social connotations; for example it provided a reminder of one's chronological age and passage into 'senior citizenship'. It also involved a period of adjustment to a general slowing down of life and reduced opportunities to engage with discourses around manhood such as 'being a wage earner and/or a breadwinner'. For some respondents this also involved worry about how they would cope financially. Consequently, ten men[220] anticipated and/or experienced retirement as 'disempowering':

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

...I'm sixty this month and with my company...you're supposed to retire at 60... I couldn't just retire on my pension alone, cos it's not going to be a great deal, so I'd have to find a part-time job... to keep me going

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[219] Harry (Aged 60), Tony (Aged 60), Martin (Aged 60).
[220] Gerald (Aged 64), Roy (Aged 70), Martin (aged 60), Fred (aged 68), Sid (Aged 60), Francis (aged 68), Ron (aged 60), Tom (Aged 70), Frank (Aged 76), Albert (Aged 66).

We saw earlier how fatherhood could be experienced as 'disempowering' because it involved a new set of standards to evaluate oneself by. In a similar fashion, the ageing process itself brought increased anxieties for some respondents because of their perceptions of benchmarks to do with their age. For example, Adrian was concerned about turning thirty because he felt that he should have achieved certain things in life and have become more responsible; in other words, his expectations of himself increased. He also suggested that he was more aware of his own mortality and these experiences were 'disempowering"; lowering his overall levels of well-being and making him more anxious generally:

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

....I'm more anxious than I used to be...I'm twenty nine now...you start to become aware that you are getting older...I think it is something to do with reaching thirty. you become more aware of your mortality...you start to question what you are doing in life...asking yourself questions....like What you have achieved?...Are you in the right job?...The right relationship?...*When are you going to settle down? Are you paying enough into a pension?, those kinds of things*

Consequently, Adrian had recently obtained a mortgage because he felt that it was 'about time' that he invested in 'more security' and, as I will show in Chapter Six, this increased his concerns about incivilities in the area.

Another respondent in his twenties who experienced similar anxieties was James:

...I'm always worrying about my relationship with my girlfriend... I'm not sure that she is the one to settle down and have children with....I'm twenty five now....I do think about settling down at some point [221]

[221] Adrian and James provided examples men without children that worried about social incivilities in the area. This can be contrasted with Dean who did not because he was more relaxed about things and put this down to his religious beliefs.

A further way in which ageing could be experienced as 'disempowering' was to do with recognition of physical changes, which involved restrictions on one's agency. For example, five respondents[222] discussed decreases in physicality as a result of the ageing process, which meant that they saw themselves as less physically capable and more vulnerable than they had been when they were younger. This meant that these men realised that they could no longer be 'tough guys' or if they did attempt to defend themselves it could come at a cost:

> **Albert (Aged 66) NM**
>
> *... I'm conscious about the fact that I could go walking out of here and be mugged ...you think on the bravado basis, if he tackles me, he's met his match [laughs] it doesn't happen like that ...I'm fully aware that they'd hit you and you'd go down*

Ron who had been a war hero and a 'have a go hero' in life more generally realised that he was no longer young enough to do these things:

> **Ron (Aged 60) RNM**
>
> *...I knew that things had changed, probably because I was getting a bit older.... when the Falklands War started... I applied to fight for my country...but I was turned down because of my age*

Ron also described an incident when he was younger where he had defended a woman who was being attacked by her husband in the street. However, he stressed that he was less likely to tackle people now, partly because of his age and his realisation that he would 'come off worse'.

Their awareness of their decreases in physicality also meant that these men perceived themselves to be more physically vulnerable to potential assaults because they were less able to fight and to stand up for themselves:

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[222] Roy (Aged 70), Ron (Aged 60), Sid (Aged 60), Albert (Aged 66), Francis (Aged 68), Fred (Aged 68).

Fred (Aged 68)

...well you do feel more easily intimidated if you pass a group of kids on the street...or a dodgy looking chap on his own...because you are aware that they know that you are older...that you're more vulnerable...and you feel it

These points are important and need to be kept in mind when considering the masculinities literature and that on the 'Fear of Crime'. For example, older men did not describe themselves as being tough, and this can help to explain why they did not see themselves in this way as well as having consequences for risk constructions. However, whilst these older men did not feel that they would 'have a go' now, Sid was the exception providing an example of resistance. He became very angry about incivilities and crime[223] and his sense of injustice and anger overrode his concerns about his own declining physicality (see Hollway and Jefferson, 1997; 2000; Tulloch, 2000). I will return to the latter point in Chapter Six on risk constructions. Suffice to say here, however, that Sid realised that his behaviour posed risks for him and this was something that he worried about:

Sid (Aged 60) RNM

...I had an incident a couple of years ago, some kids tinkering with my car outside... I jumped at them and shouted .I was absolutely shaking... I felt terrible....I thought I was going to have a heart attack

In a similar fashion seven older men were much more aware of health issues and their own mortality than were younger men:

Tony (Aged 60) TM

...I worry about my health because I'm sixty ...I've got angina

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

...I worry about dying and not leaving my wife secure

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[223] See Chapters Six and Seven.

These findings show how developmental ageing is important to understanding conceptions of masculinities. For example, the aforementioned quotations show us how men may have been less able or willing to invest in particular discourses at some stages in the life course than others. Therefore, discursive choices were sometimes limited, men were no longer able to exemplify toughness or invest in discourses around it or maybe they simply didn't want to because they were less relevant to their current circumstances as fathers or retired men. In this respect, therefore, there is some support for Gardiner's (2002) idea of the 'feminisation' of masculinities over time as men became aware of their changing circumstances and adapted to them (i.e. becoming a father or retirement).

The quotations on retirement also show us how incidents in the life course, which are normalised, can really involve power relationships between the state, family and the individual (Gardiner, 2002), such as having to retire and live on your pension at a certain age whether you want to or not and, as a consequence, losing your role and ability to invest in discourses around being a breadwinner/wage earner. In my conclusion, I suggest how these experiences may have affected the risk constructions that are discussed in later chapters. However, not all aspects of getting older involved 'disempowerment'; for example some respondents anticipated and/or experienced the freedom and increased choice over time represented by retirement as liberating and 'empowering': [224]

Arthur (Aged 60) SM

...I suppose I'm happy that I've reached retirement...I don't have to work, that's better

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

...I used to love to go to work, every night...but the last two years...I didn't want to go...they brought in new technology and I didn't understand it....I made mistakes.....it made me anxious...I was glad to finish

[224] Arthur (Aged 60), Albert (Aged 66), Tony (aged 60), Roy (Aged 70), Tom (Aged 70), Reggie (Aged 65), Albert (Aged 66)

Moreover, six men who had been dreading retirement found that they adapted and enjoyed it:[225]

Tom (Aged 70) RNM

...we like gardening and go to garden centres....I'm in a photographic society ... . basically it's gardening and photography,... sometimes we go for a meal with friends...we're having a pretty good life

These examples suggest that although some of respondents anticipated retirement with anxiety; they had adapted and begun to enjoy it. This shows how anxieties can fluctuate and that those around retirement could be *balanced* by other factors. For example, a life event for some men as they got older was becoming a grandparent. We saw earlier that becoming a father could be experienced as 'empowering' and/or 'disempowering'. However, becoming a grandfather was an aspect of getting older that empowered some men in a way that becoming a father had not. Older respondents had worked whilst their children were growing up and had not been involved in their daily care and had been much less involved with their children than 'New Men' or 'Reluctant New Men' in the middle sample were. Albert and Seamus who has been involved in childcare and the home provided exceptions because their wives had both suffered with regular bouts of ill health.[226] Four respondents[227] reflected that although this was a 'sign of the times' they regretted this. Spending time with their grandchildren and looking after them provided them with the opportunity to demonstrate the closeness and love that they had not experienced with their own children, and that men in the younger age group were experiencing. Indeed, four of the 'Reluctant New Men' would have been categorised as 'Traditional Men' in their younger days but suggested that they could have been categorised as 'New Men' if times had been different:

[225] Gerald (Aged 64), Roy (Aged 70), Fred (Aged 68), Tom (Aged 70), Albert (Aged 66), Reggie (Aged 65)
[226] These men were categorised as New Men and had also looked after grandchildren.
[227] Reggie, Martin, Ron and Francis.

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

...nowadays at my age...what makes me happy is to think that I've actually got all these beautiful grandchildren.... I'm really chuffed about that... I never used to let my emotions go, as much as I should ...but now when I see them, I really I do let my emotions go... I had two grandchildren here over the weekend and I spoilt them terrible...and it's absolutely lovely... 'Come on granddad, let's go down the park'...I wish that I'd have let myself go earlier...given my wife and children more love ...I want to make up for now... I've got a lot of catching up time to do

Reggie (Aged 66) RNM

... I've got a grandson...we go out on our bikes...we play football....I took him fishing last week...I'm spoiling the grandson rotten...I spend more time just being with him than I did with my son...I'm really enjoying looking after him

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

...I look after my grandchildren a few times a week for my daughter....take them to playschool and that...I like being with them

Many men[228] also discussed their enjoyment at being able to spend more time with their wives since retirement and emphasised companionship:

Albert (Aged 66) NM

...me and the wife have always done everything together...and being able to spend more time together has been great....we have some good times....we go dancing several times a week, visit my daughter, play tennis

[228] Albert (Aged 66), Reggie (Aged 65), Fred (aged 68), Tom (Aged 70), Ron (Aged 60).

These nuances in levels of 'empowerment' and 'disempowerment' show the complexity of the ageing process. Suffice to say here that the current masculine identities of the respondents had been formed as a result of these experiences and changes and influenced their constructions of risks to be discussed in the following chapters.

Levels of Contentment

We need to centre masculine identities and concerns about incivilities and/or crime within levels of contentment and desire for change. Respondents did not always want to change their lives and certainly not in dramatic ways.[229]

Older men stated that they wished they had better health and had not experienced bereavement. Men of all ages suggested that they wished that they had done better at school. Indeed, in terms of reflection, five of the 'Macho Men'[230] were reflecting upon their current lives and how their own lack of engagement with school and/or involvement in criminal activity had hindered their prospects and choices:

> **Sean (Aged 18) MM**
>
> *...would I change anything? ...my attitude towards people ...I wouldn't have been cheeky and that ...I'd have tried harder at school...got qualifications...I might have more prospects now*

> **Kris (Aged 21) MM**
>
> *... I was in a lot of trouble when I was growing up...I wish I'd never done it now... I wouldn't be a fun lover, I wouldn't go and do things cos my mates are doing them and that....I don't want my son to go the way I've gone*

It was not possible to say whether the 'Macho Men' would become more like other respondents because this was not a longitudinal study. However, the aforementioned

[229] See Appendix Twelve.
[230] Ricky, Kris, Craig, Sean, Lee.

reflections suggested that there was hope for change in these respondents albeit at the time of the research their ability to construct their identities around the future was limited and speculative, not least because of their lack of employment. These findings can help us to understand factors which are involved in making subjective discursive choices around identities, including material constraints, which can be partly a result of previous actions and discursive choices, and in doing so deal with some of the criticisms around 'hegemonic masculinity' in terms of its failure to account for how men psychologically relate to it (see Collier, 1998; Jefferson, 2002; Walklate, 1998; Whitehead, 2002).

Another change as a result of the ageing process was that four respondents changed their attitudes on homosexuality becoming less homophobic. We have already seen an example of how Jeff became less homophobic because of a recent event. However three younger respondents[231] had become less homophobic since leaving school and as a result of becoming more mature:

> **Ricky (Aged 19) MM**
>
> *...most of my mates now... they still hate 'em [homosexuals] ...but I ain't really bothered as long as they all stick together like*

> **Kieran (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...when you're young... if someone called you gay. it really used to make you paranoid...anyone could say it to me now and it wouldn't bother me... I have gay friends now... and I hug them and that...but years ago, God, you couldn't admit to knowing someone gay, let alone being friends with them*

This is important because these men were still young and had only left schooling fairly recently. All of these men had engaged in the bullying of effeminate boys whilst at school and their changing attitudes prove that outside the context of the playground homophobia became much less relevant for some respondents, and that its effects were not necessarily long-

[231] Also included Danny whose discussion was similar to that of Ricky see above.

lasting. The quotation from Ricky is particularly important because he was still a member of the gang of 'Macho Men'who continued to emphasise homophobia. This shows that privately he did not really share this view.

Finally, I showed earlier how four respondents were relishing their involvement with their grandchildren. These men expressed regret at their more limited contact with their own children: This regret and the issues involved in it can be seen in the following quote:

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

...I broke down in tears once ...it was the only time my sons had seen me cry... my son said that his brother felt that I wasn't really there enough for him as a child ....the tragedy is that I didn't feel I could be...I saw my role as the breadwinner...I think in reality I gave up on some of my own desires for the family...sometimes I was miserable about it....I think in those days....there was a fatherhood role....I always dealt with the discipline and their mother was always the caring, sharing type ...I think then I had a very clear idea of what being a man was, and I think now that's much more muddy because of what women are expecting of men... it is good for my sons in some ways....their roles as men are more loose... my son has a better relationship with his child because he is more in touch him and more open with his feelings than I would have been able to be... I am pleased for him...but I also envy him in a way as well

There were suggestions here, therefore, that some of the older respondents may have been more like 'New Men' at an earlier point in their lives had ideas about masculinity been different.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained how the experiences of earlier home lives and schooling were less important to current identities than had been anticipated. Early home life became important again through reflection, and there were connections between men's descriptions of selves and of qualities they had valued in carers; this was particularly important when men became fathers or were contemplating becoming a father. What appeared to be most important about schooling in terms of current identities was that those embodying a 'tough masculinity' at school had not engaged with the schooling process and that this affected the later discursive opportunities of these respondents and they had continued to exemplify a tough masculinity after leaving school.[232] Although five of the nine 'Macho Men'[233] were trying to change, they were finding opportunities to do so were restricted.

My research has found that certain modes of being masculine appeared to be dominant at different life stages. In all of the age categories and at all stages of life there were many examples of respondents identifying with 'Softer' forms of masculinity. It would appear then that these are forms of masculinity, which have replaced other more traditional forms, which are more rational and less emotional continuing the types of masculinities that emerged during schooling in the previous chapter. Forms of masculinity appear to have changed and this was particularly so as men matured[234] and it would appear that, in large part, the masculinities of many of my respondents were in response to men's changing relationships with women.

The dominance of 'new' to 'old' masculinities in the sample would question the 'hegemonic', most valued nature of masculinity as previously defined by Connell, even if future research should reveal large numbers of men in this age bracket still adhere to it, as the 'Traditional Men' still do. In my research, the 'Traditional Man' is still the limiting case, and even the

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[232] All of the 'Macho Men' were unemployed and nine out of ten were still using the same version of masculinity as they had been at school.
[233] Ricky, Kris, Craig, Sean, Lee.
[234] See examples of fathers and grandfathers.

'Reluctant New Man', who at the level of values still yearns for the good old masculinity, which did not expect and would not have tolerated ironing was outnumbered by the 'New Man'. This is particularly important given the fact that the research was set in a predominantly working class area. However, the question remains whether this involvement with the home and children stems from more men being nurturing in the first place, or whether men become more nurturing because of this involvement. The findings do suggest, however, that the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity' requires reconsideration.

There is also some support here, for Gardiner's (2002) suggestion of the 'feminisation of masculinities' over time; a softening of masculinities as these men got older and progressed through the life course. Changes in masculine identities were reported as being due to education and social mobility or marriage and family life; or (less frequently) a conscious or personal moment of choice. The findings have suggested that life stages are important in terms of the formation of identities because respondents drew from the discursive choices that were available to them at that time and that were relevant to their circumstances. Different discourses became available and unavailable throughout the life course; for example settling down, gaining employment and having children provided respondents with the discourses of breadwinner and father in order to define themselves. Just as retirement and/or physical ageing reduced the opportunities to engage in discourses around being a breadwinner, a tough guy, a hero. Therefore, some ways of being male, such as being tough, were no longer available or attractive at certain times in life.

I have also shown how such changes through developmental ageing could be 'empowering' and/or 'disempowering' for individual men. These examples provide evidence of the material opportunities and constraints involved in making discursive choices around 'hegemonic masculinity'. They also help us to understand the non-discursive aspects of such choices involving other material components of power relationships such as those involving human bodies and/or social relationships (see Wetherall & Edlley, 1999; Whitehead, 1998). Fatherhood was experienced as both an 'empowering' and a 'disempowering' experience, as was retirement. I suggest that one of the more 'empowering' aspects of getting older for

some men was that they were no longer expected to be breadwinners, providers and protectors of their children, in this respect they no longer had the sorts of pressures that younger men still had. These findings can help us to understand the nuances in the ageing process and can also help us to understand the differences in the concerns of the younger and older respondents in the following chapters.

Chapter Five
Risks Constructions of the Youngest Sample

Introduction

The following chapters focus on constructions of risk from crime and incivilities. The chapters seek to answer the following questions posed by the literature:

- Were young men really 'fearless' about crime?
- Were older men really 'fearful' about crime?
- What sorts of factors were implicated in the concerns discussed?
- Did men discuss 'incivilities' and what sorts of things were identified as such?
- Were the identities and lifestyles discussed in Chapter Four relevant to the constructions of risks around crime and 'incivilities' and, if so, how?
- How did men discuss experiences of victimisation and what effects did these have?
- Did men develop behavioural strategies to manage risks and if so what were the implications of these?

Routine Activities

Routine activities provide a starting point for this chapter because lifestyle and routines are central to an explanation of actual and/or perceived risks. I suggest that they affect risk in two fundamental ways: firstly, the types of crimes from which people will be potentially at risk are heavily affected by routine activities (Felson, 1996) and/or material resources and therefore these factors will have some bearing on the types of crime that people worry about. For example, if you do not own a car you are unlikely to worry about having it stolen and/or vandalised. If you rarely walk the streets you are less likely to worry about street crime. This is not to say that people are never concerned about a particular risk unless they have been actually victimised and/or threatened. However, levels of concerns are likely to be connected to perceptions of risks, which are affected by lifestyles and routine activities and incorporate knowledge gained as a result of these.

The routine activities and current identities of the respondents were discussed in the last chapter. The identities of the 'Macho Men' were bound up with length of residence and gang membership within the area. In contrast, the identities and routine activities of the six 'Softer Men' in the youngest sample were not, despite three[235] of them having long residence. This chapter focuses on the risks identified by these younger respondents and the behavioural strategies developed to deal with them noting similarities or differences between the two groups.

Constructing people and places as problematic

In terms of 'incivilities', five of the respondents categorised as 'Softer Men'[236] claimed to really *dislike* the area and stated that they wanted to leave it. Physical incivilities were mentioned by two of these young men who had long residence[237] and these were symbolic for them because they were perceived as being indicative of *living within a deteriorating area*:

> **Simon (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...its just going downhill from when I was a kid... there wasn't graffiti everywhere, there wasn't telephone boxes smashed in, groups of lads hanging about*

As I will show in the following chapter physical incivilities were also a source of concern for many respondents in the middle and older age groups because they were linked to perceptions of 'social incivilities'.

Three younger respondents were of ethnic minority origin[238] and they discussed racism:

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[235] Kieran, Simon, Danny having lived in the area for most of their lives.
[236] The exception was Danny.
[237] Kieran and Simon.
[238] Kyle, Richard, Kelvin – Kyle was mixed race (Afro-Carribean/White), Richard was Afro-Carribean, Kelvin was mixed race (Asian/White).

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

...I dislike the racism... a boy on the end of my road, he said something racist to my mom, he called her a wog...he was giving us dirty looks and that

In contrast, the 'Macho Men' did not mention physical 'incivilities' or racism and the only thing that they claimed to dislike about the area was the lack of things to do.[239]

The main problem that was discussed by both groups of these young men was that of other youths and this was because they were perceived as a source of potential assault:

Richard (Aged 17) SM

....I just feel a funny atmosphere around this area...it can be threatening, ...there are kids hanging around here, want to start fights and that...and you don't get that so much in other areas

However, as I will now show, the pattern of these risks was different because it was linked to the masculine identities of the two groups of respondents as either 'Macho Men' or 'Softer Men'.[240] The 'Macho Men' perceived themselves to be at high risk of physical assault from men who adopted similar versions of masculinities which valued toughness and/or group loyalty including those within their group, those in other gangs within the area and men outside of the area. These concerns were embedded within the many experiences of victimisation that they discussed. In short, being attacked by other young men on the streets was an occupational hazard for these men and, as I will shortly show, managing such risks was part of their daily routines. The following quotations about these risks show how they were posed by other gangs of youths that valued being 'tough':

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[239] Which was mentioned by all nine of these boys and Danny (Softer Man).
[240] See Chapter Four.

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...it's other groups of lads in the area...they're like us really but they're not part of our gang...if they pass you on the street ...they start hassling...mouthing off ...to get something started ...it's not as bad if you're with your mates...'cos you feel more able to handle it....it's worse if you're on your own

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...we do it ourselves really...if you're with your mates and you pass a kid on his own...you push into him or ask him what he's looking at or something...and it's the same with other groups of kids...like they'll do it when they're passing us like...or they'll try and get you upset especially if you're on your own...if you're with your mates they'll start mouthing off

The factors that were implicated in actual risks for these men were i) their lifestyles including the amount of time spent on the streets ii) the embodiment of a 'tough' masculinity within a gang whose continued membership demanded compliance with certain moral codes iii) inter-group rivalries/grudges and grassing iv) girls v) being out alone vi) the problems of having/losing a reputation vii) retaliation and reprisals viii) lack of alternative solutions i.e. the police.

The important thing to note here is that, for the 'Macho Men', there were also links between increased risks and the behavioural strategies that they used in order to deal with risks. There was no easy division between those factors that increased one's chances of assault, and those taken to reduce them.

The masculine identities and routine activities of these men involved long membership of a gang and hanging out on the streets.[241] Continued membership of the gang necessitated compliance with its moral codes of toughness and loyalty. The respondents claimed that they

[241] See Chapter Four.

expected loyalty from their mates and this meant lending them money, standing up for them against other young men, not grassing on them to the police and engaging in retaliation on their behalf:

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...if you've got trouble with other lads or the police...you expect your mates to be there ...to fight and to be loyal to you

Gary (Aged 21) MM

...loyalty is standing up for your mate.. if one mate is in trouble then we're all game to help him...it's like that innit?

Grassing was particularly 'taboo' to these boys and they suggested that the consequences for a group member would be severe; that a 'grasser' would be subjected to physical attacks and banned from the group:

Troy (Aged 18) MM

...if anyone was to grass then they would be battered and we'd kick 'em out of the gang

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...doesn't happen really...as everyone knows that they would be in big trouble

Craig (Aged 17) MM

...we'd give 'em a good kicking...we wouldn't let it go

Continued internalisation of a tough masculinity within the context of gang membership meant that men were also expected to put on 'bravado'.[242] There were

[242] A tough image.

two aspects to this, the first required group members to put on a 'tough image' when passing other men on the streets as we have seen in previous quotations. Secondly, this 'bravado' also involved the expectation that gang members would get involved in the fights of someone else in the gang and possible retaliatory attacks which was deemed to be part of 'loyalty' to other gang members.[243] As I will show shortly, retaliation was one of the behavioural strategies around physical victimisation, which was used by these men. The expectations of this type of behaviour from within the gang increased risks of physical assault from men within it for non-compliance and also increased risks outside it by reducing potential behavioural strategies:

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...you get two choices really...you help your mates out by backing them up...or you get a beating from them

Failing to show loyalty exposed men to the risks of assaults from their own gang and also meant they could become ostracised from the gang losing their support in physical confrontations. This point will be discussed in more detail under behavioural strategies.

These respondents also suggested that exposure to risks of assaults from gang members could be increased through inter-group rivalries and resentment such as being considered as being too 'flash'[244] or too boastful:

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...they say I'm spoilt, that my mom and dad spoil me... they buy me trainers and clothes ....they think that I get what I want... it's just the way they see it...and it causes arguments sometimes

[243] As seen in earlier quotations.
[244] Having more expensive clothes and trainers.

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...you have to be careful...if you boast...like your mates might think that you are getting too big-headed....if you were boasting about being harder than someone else....that could cause trouble

Another factor that was implicated in inter-group rivalries was the issue of girls and this could increase risks of physical assault from men within their gang and/or those outside it. The discussions of the 'Macho Men' suggested that they had double standards when it came to women. Firstly they suggested that as a man, having sex with lots of women was acceptable although women who did this were 'sluts'; secondly, that although they might have sex with sluts, their own girlfriends were sexually exclusive to them. The labels of 'bird' or 'the missus' were used to signify that a woman was a girlfriend. There was a distinction made here between 'birds' and 'sluts', girls that men had casual sex with who were not girlfriends. The category of 'bird/missus' was based upon sexual exclusivity to a boyfriend. This sexually territorial aspect over women could even extend to 'ex-girlfriends' and was well understood within the gang. The men suggested that making an approach to or becoming involved with someone else's 'bird' was 'taboo' and that this could lead to the risk of physical assault:

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...well you wouldn't make a move on a mate's bird

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...it's just expected that you respect that...you don't try it on with your mate's missus or even his ex-missus...not unless they'd been finished a long time and you'd talked it over and he was OK with it

This 'territorial' attitude towards girlfriends extended outside of group membership and it was suggested that it could be difficult to avoid situations because men often had no knowledge of a woman's past relationships:[245]

[245]Kris provides an example later in the chapter.

The 'Macho Men' also discussed the inherent dangers of being out with girlfriends because of receiving provocative suggestions and advances from other men. They suggested that they knew how provocative such comments could be because of their own involvement in such behaviour with the girlfriends of other men:

Gary (Aged 21) MM

....you're wary if you're out with a girl on your own...cos you know what it's like... I've done it before... you're with a few lads like, you've got some nice bird walking down the street with some geezer, you're gonna say, 'Alright love'...pissed out of your face, and make a grab for her and then he goes mad and you're gonna do him

Lee (Aged 20) MM

....if you are passing a bloke and he is with his bird, you might say something about her....'nice arse'...anything like that to get him going

This territorial nature of women's sexuality posed real problems for men and they suggested that they would always respond with violence if another man made an advance to their 'bird'. Such advances posed a double-edged insult by suggesting that a girlfriend might not be sexually exclusive and that men may have been mistaken about their girlfriend's sexuality. It also provided a reminder that men did not always own women's sexuality and that a girlfriend could break free of her boyfriend's control. These advances posed challenges therefore, to the masculine identities of the 'Macho Men' themselves, as well as in keeping their girlfriends exclusive and defending their honour. Consequently, relationships with women posed dilemmas for the heterosexual and hard masculinities of the 'Macho Men'.

A further factor behind increased risks of physical assault for these men was their investment in gaining tough reputations and reliance on these to ward off potential perpetrators. However, it was suggested that this was a factor that increased their

exposure to actual risks of assault because other hard men often wanted to fight and defeat men with hard reputations in order to enhance their own:

Gary (Aged 21) MM

...if you've still got a reputation...people will always want it...they'll want to take you on to prove that they're harder than you

If you had a reputation for being very hard other gang members would be even more likely to expect you to engage in retaliation, which was a behavioural strategy for dealing with violence and victimisation. The fact that retaliation was used as a response and indeed expected by other gang members meant that men could become locked in a cycle of violence because other men used this same behavioural strategy:

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...they beat you up or your mates...you go looking for them and beat them up or one of their mates...and then they come back... it's like never ending really....unless one of you got killed or something

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...it's frightening sometimes...cos even if you get them and beat them up....when they're on their own or something...you know they're still gonna keep coming after you...and they're gonna just get more people and use weapons or something

Kris had long held a tough reputation; he was considered to be the 'hardest' member the 'Macho Men' and also had several criminal convictions for car theft, burglary and violence. Kris had expressed a desire to leave his past behind since becoming a father.[246] Despite this, his reputation for toughness and his connection to past incidents exposed him to current

[246] See Chapter Four.

attacks through 'bravado' and retaliation and this meant that he was finding it extremely difficult to make the break with the gang and/or to find employment:

> *...it can take months, years to sort out and it just keeps going on...it's like everything's reversing around...I used to do it when I was younger... I was always starting fights...and its all coming back on to me now...people still want to come back to retaliate*

This can be contrasted with Danny, a former gang member, who had not been the hardest member of the gang and had managed to make a break from them before gaining a criminal record: [247]

I suggest that a lack of alternative solutions could be a factor in the continued use of violence. As I will show shortly, these men had a problematic relationship with the police and this contributed to their view that the police were not a legitimate resource for dealing with such issues:

> **Troy (Aged 18) MM**
>
> *...well, you wouldn't go to the police would you...if you've got a record ...like the police aren't going to be interested in helping us*

> **Ricky (Aged 19) MM**
>
> *...they wouldn't help you anyway...cos you won't grass to them on your mates*

Moreover as we have seen grassing was not seen as a legitimate practice because it was considered weak and disloyal. Informing on people to the police was considered as grassing. There was also a suggestion that if you grassed on other boys in the area, outside *of your*

[247] See Chapter Four.

gang, who had mugged you or beaten you up then you were risking more retaliation because they too would consider you a 'grasser':

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...there's a name for it, they call it grass...say if I went to the police and said 'I've just been jumped by some kids... if you're out on the streets you'd get terrorised like...cos they would come back to sort you out

Therefore membership of a tough gang and its codes of behaviour were implicated in views about appropriate behaviour including responses to victimisation such as involving your friends through retaliation. Outside of strategies for dealing with violence the preferred tactic for dealing with other worries was keeping it to themselves:

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...I do worry...but men just prefer to deal with it themselves don't they?

I will shortly consider the experiences of victimisation within which risks as discussed by the 'Macho Men' were grounded and then I will examine the behavioural strategies for managing them in more detail. Firstly, I will consider the risks of assault as discussed by the 'Softer Men'.

Risk constructions of the 'Softer Men'

Again, the biggest threat discussed by the 'Softer Men' was that of physical assault from other young men. Five of these six men[248] stated that society was more violent which concerned them. These men discussed how they sought to distance themselves from violence except as a last resort:

[248] The exception was Danny.

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...there's too much violence around...lads who think that they are tough and all they want to do is fight ...it's not what me and my friends are about

Richard (Aged 17) SM

... the world's gone mad....people are getting shot and stabbed and all that....I've seen people going on bad with other people...for no reason or cos they want to rob....there's too much violence, blokes fighting with each other...it worries me

As we have seen, the 'Macho Men' were also concerned about escalating violence but feared other boys like themselves and were also part of the increasing violence; in contrast the 'Softer Men' were worried about assaults from strangers, men unlike themselves.[249]

The factors involved in discussions of risks for these men including i) walking the streets and catching public transport: ii) visiting pubs and iii) being out with girls. These respondents discussed a sense of vigilance when walking the streets and how they used cues to assess danger (Tulloch, 2000):[250]

Kieran (Aged 20) SM

....if you're walking on your own and you see a group, the first thing you think is that you're outnumbered and you feel intimidated by that... you know that you're a target if you're on your own...you either get people eyeballing you...or they say something....to try and spark a reaction from you... when you see a group of people that aren't that friendly you just realise ...from mannerisms....how they are standing...how they look at you... if you're with a group of people you have a better sense of security...if I'm with a friend....I can talk to that person whilst I'm going past this group of people...and hopefully avoid trouble....although you're still aware...you still worry

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[249] See Tulloch (2000) – in-groups and out-groups.
[250] See Tulloch (2000).

Simon (Aged 20) SM

...I'm on my guard with gangs of lads I don't know...I've noticed if I've walked past a group of lads that I don't know in the area... they begin play fighting with each other or messing about...doing that whole physical routine in front of you

Pubs were places that these men associated with physical assaults and they were more concerned about assaults in pubs than the 'Macho Men' because they visited them more frequently (albeit outside of the area):

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

...I've been in pubs in town, I've seen the aftermath of people being glassed...I've seen fights kick up out of nothing...it's not comfortable...you can't drink in a place like that...you might knock someone's drink by accident and if someone's going to react like that, then I don't want to drink there basically

Another risk factor mentioned by two of these respondents was about men making a move on their girlfriends. As we have seen this problem was also discussed by the 'Macho Men', albeit the latter admitted provoking such incidents themselves. Whilst the 'Macho Men' said that they would always respond with violence, the 'Softer Men' stated they would attempt to avoid it but realised that it might come to that:

Simon (Aged 20) SM

....the only fights I've ever got into have been about girls...if you've got a nice girl on your arm...you do find that there is a lot of jealousy when it comes to going out to a pub or whatever....if a guy talks to whoever I'm with at the time, it doesn't bother me...but guys read into situations with women a lot...and men try to move in on your territory...if you go over and try to say

'hang on it's my girl that you're trying to'...they'll just get a bit dodgy about it and then it kicks off

Kieran (Aged 20) SM

...some men have made a move on my girlfriend...she's not interested and she clearly shows them...and then they'll start getting a big aggressive, 'no, come and have a dance or whatever'...and then girls do say 'Get off me' and it becomes physical...and it escalates into having a fight...because it's the whole masculinity thing, if a guy comes on to your girl...it's just one of those things...not many guys will easily walk away from it...it's just, you know, a man thing [laughs], if a guy steps on your territory, then you have to defend yourself and the woman you're with, some guys might see it differently...but that's how I see it, that's my experience

Altruistic concerns

Three younger men mentioned altruistic concerns including those about the health of parents or grandparents.[251] As I will show in the next chapter, many of the men in the middle sample expressed altruistic concerns about their children and partners. Here, concerns about parents and grandparents were purely altruistic (i.e. on behalf of that other person). However, Ricky and Danny had put themselves into the role of 'male protector' of their girlfriend and mother respectively and took behavioural steps to reduce perceptions of risks around them. As I will show in the following chapter, these altruistic concerns were therefore connected to conceptions of selfhood and were similar to those discussed by older men:

[251] Craig, Brad, Simon.

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...I worry about my girlfriend... if she is going out...she works down the hairdressers...in the morning she'll walk to work....if she finishes, say, after six and it gets dark, I'll have to meet her or she'll get a taxi, I mean, it's only a ten minute walk but I wouldn't let her do it...I like to protect her

Ricky (Aged 19) SM

...I'm a bit worried now about my mom...not long ago my old man passed away and she's on her own a bit now, so that's why I stay in a lot now, as well...in case of break-ins and that

Experiences of victimisation

When assessing risks of personal assault the 'Macho Men' drew on experiential knowledge based on their own behaviour and that of other boys like themselves. The enemies of these boys used the same discourses of toughness and loyalty and the same risk management strategies including retaliation. Moreover, their perceptions of violent physical attacks were grounded in concrete experiences of recent (and often violent) victimisation. All of these respondents had been assaulted and/or involved in assaulting others in the recent past. In fact, assaults were so common that these boys did not view them as crime in the same way as they did thefts and muggings and this can be contrasted with the views of the 'Softer Men' who did see such incidents as criminal assaults:

Danny[252] (Aged 20) SM

...well I've had loads of fights...and being jumped on and that...but I've never had anything stolen from me or property of mine damaged or anything

The accounts of victimisation provided by the 'Macho Men' involved high levels of violent behaviour:

[252] Discussing his past experiences as a 'Macho Boy'.

Craig (Aged 17) MM

...I've been stabbed recently...there was three or four of us...and there was a bit of trouble with some lads that used to hang out [in another part of the area]...we went back up there and I got stabbed in my ankle...my mate got it worse...he got stabbed in the arm and it was a bad wound

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...there's a few blokes who had just come out of prison who are looking for me like...that bothers me...but I just have to wait till it comes...one of them...I did something with his missus [sex] while he was inside...but I didn't know he was going out with her...but my friend had done it as well, with another bird he was seeing before he was inside...and he kidnapped him...we were walking down the road and he jumped out of a car with a knife and put it to his throat and forced him into the boot and he drove him up to the reservoir...opened the boot, smashed a glass in his head and then shut the boot and reversed the car into a wall a few times with my mate still inside...then he rolled the car into the reservoir...my mate got out ...he kicked the back shelving off... the window was smashed because of him [the perpetrator] reversing into the wall...so he managed to get out of the window in time...but if he hadn't then he would have been killed

Accounts of victimisation for the 'Macho Men' included binary examples[253] but more frequently involved a process (see Bowling, 2003) within which these men were both victims and aggressors. Moreover, the aspect of retaliation meant that the process of victimisation and the overlapping of victim and offender status were circular. These men were at risk of attacks from individual men within and outside their own gang, and other gangs of men that they either knew by sight or reputation and also those that were complete strangers.

[253] Such as being mugged on buses.

In contrast, experiences of victimisation discussed by the 'Softer Men' were all binary in that they had direct and indirect experiences of actual and attempted assaults within and outside of the area from men who were strangers. The exception to this was Kelvin,[254] a 'Softer Boy' who was still at school with Brad, the youngest member of the 'Macho Men'. The first quote refers to an incident with the 'Macho Men' who are known visually to Kelvin, as being friends of Brad (see above) with whom he has had verbal arguments at school and whom he feels is currently threatening him:

> *...one of them in their* group*...brushed past this mixed race boy who was in my group...I reckon it was done on purpose...then he's stepped forward.. I could see a shiny thing and it was a cosh...and he's like asking 'Who pushed into me' and he was walking round and then the geezer with the cosh turned round then and pointed at this boy ...who was with us, and he ran, straight up the road, he didn't stop...and then after that there was a scuffle with a white boy in my group ...and this boy was trying to use his cosh...but he was too drunk and then we all just ran off*

The remaining incidents recalled by the 'Softer Men' concerned unknown perpetrators:

> **Simon (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...I used to work in a bar and I finished work...but the local bus doesn't run that late...so I was walking home...and some kids ...a group of about eight...they were about 15, 16...started to follow me and than they just jumped on me from behind and I fell over... and they started punching and kicking me on the floor....I was scared and then quite angry and I was thinking 'How am I going to get out of this?... I just managed to get up and break away and run....it happened to my brother too, pretty much the same thing, he was just walking down the road and he was jumped on by a gang of*

[254] Kelvin also provided binary accounts of threats and assaults.

kids...it was just for the hell of it...he just managed to find the strength to push one off and run away

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

....it was .six, seven o'clock, but it was like dark... there were these guys one was black and one half caste[255]*...I got sprayed with CS Gas, was kicked till I dropped to the floor, they dragged me round the corner, they tried to stab me in the rib cage and slice my throat for my phone...they got my phone...I was really scared....people are willing to take someone's life for a phone, that's just terrible*

During their recollections of these incidents, the boys discussed how they had felt fearful at the time, providing examples of 'fearful moments' in response to immediate threats. Four of the 'Macho Men' recalled experiences of being mugged when they were younger[256] and one in the recent past.[257] Some of these incidents had taken place on public transport:

Lee (Aged 20) MM

....I was on the bus and a group of blokes tried to get my phone off me...one of them grabbed hold of me as I was passing ...and another one punched me in the head....I managed to push them off and get down the stairs and off the bus

For both groups of men, therefore, constructions of risks were grounded in actual experiences of victimisation from men that used violence and these informed the behavioural strategies they developed to deal with such risks. This can be contrasted with many of the older respondents for whom constructions of risks of personal assault were largely hypothetical and provides support for suggestions that younger men are more at risk of assault and, moreover, contradicts the argument that they are 'fearless' but shows how they recalled times when they

[255] This boy who was mixed race used this term.
[256] Sean, Ricky, Craig, Troy.
[257] Lee.

had felt fearful and that their concerns therefore were realistically grounded which explains their high levels of concerns over assaults.

However, whilst the 'Macho Men' were familiar with such masculinities because they engaged in them themselves, the 'Softer Men' were unfamiliar with them and, as I will show, in the next chapter, their risks around personal assault were similar to those of the single men in middle sample. In this respect such risks involved fear of the *known* and the *unknown* respectively.

Effects of experiences of victimisation and behavioural strategies

In terms of muggings, all of the 'Macho Men' and 'Softer Men' stated that they had been more vigilant following an incident, had avoided being out alone, had avoided certain spaces and/or had often removed or hidden personal items when they were out and about. Men were particularly vigilant about this if they were alone on public transport: [258]

> **Brad (Aged 16) MM**
>
> *.if I ever go on a bus and I've got rings on, I take them straight off and put them in my pocket....then I turn my phone on silencer if it rings....and then if I see loads of blokes at the top of the bus, I just sit at the bottom*

The behavioural strategies of the 'Softer Men' for dealing with potential physical attacks outside of muggings also involved vigilance/or and avoidance:

> **Kieran (Aged 20) SM**
>
> *...I've had a friend that was beaten up on [xxxxx] road...I've known a lot of crime that's happened on the local common...muggings...violence ..you see burnt out cars and stuff...so those two areas I would stay away from*

[258] Mickey, Brad, Sean, Ricky, Kris, Craig, Lee, Kyle, Richard, Simon, Kieran.

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

...I avoid going up the road by the park...the [xxx] they're known as a racist family...the main guy, he's someone in my class and I know what he gets up to...he's been charged three times for racist attacks ...he's got a skinhead and that...I don't really like that area because of that family...they've all got their coshes and everything ready

I showed earlier how Simon had been subjected to a recent physical attack. Despite this, he had not avoided walking alone at night. This provides an example of resistance where men did not always alter their behaviour despite victimisation and perceptions of risks:

....I still take short cuts through alleyways and the park and that at night really....I'm more vigilant...but I sort of think if it's gonna happen then it's gonna happen[259]

In terms of actual or threatened assaults themselves, the 'Softer Men' discussed the use of violence as a last resort when no other option was available, suggesting that they would firstly try to talk the perpetrator around and/or calm the situation down:[260]

Kyle (Aged 19) SM

...violence don't need to be the first strategy...I use my mouth, I'd try and talk him round...and then I'd try and walk away and not look back, I don't try and start fights, I don't like fights...if a man's hit you, there's no way you can stand there or walk away, because he could kick you in the back and then you'd get crushed, so you'd have to stand there and fight, so you're going to have to fight but first you'd try to talk them around

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[259] Note older respondents also employed this around burglary. Simon's brother had recently been attacked in a similar way but Simon told me that he *had* altered his behaviour and now rarely went out. Members of the Catholic social club confirmed this account.

[260] Note this strategy was also used by Danny now he was outside of the 'Macho' gang.

For the 'Macho Men', there were several responses to managing risks of assault within the area and these included; i) staying vigilant ii)) self presentation, iii) carrying a weapon, iv) change of lifestyle, staying in, not going out without mates vii) retaliation/reprisals, relying on reputation and/or drawing on their knowledge of the reputations of others.

As I showed earlier, respondents suggested that groups of men were a potential threat when they were out on their own because they might be perceived as a target for potential attacks and they would have no one to help them to defend themselves. Consequently, as I will show shortly, the 'Macho Men' often tried to avoid going out alone. However, in situations where this was unavoidable they would employ strategies such as vigilance and/or a 'careful presentation of behaviour' when passing other men or groups of men:

> ***Sean (Aged 18) MM***
>
> *...you're on your guard...you have to try to look not bothered...you try and look ahead....like you're not frightened...but you don't look at them, cos that might start something off*
>
> **Ricky (Aged 19) MM**
>
> *....you don't look down cos then they might think that you're scared....but you don't look at them either cos you know they might ask what you're looking at ...to get a fight going*
>
> **Troy (Aged 18) MM**
>
> *...if you drop your head , they see a weakness in you ...and they think 'Ah, we'll get him'...so you have to try and keep your head up without looking at them*

The 'Macho Men' suggested that they also had to be careful about how they acted when being introduced to new men for the first time:

Craig (Aged 17) MM

...say your mate goes to introduce you to those other people that he knows, you'll get there and everybody just goes all quiet ... and everybody looks at you...it's like a test innit?...it's how you put yourself across to people ....if you come across as all posh and that and they're all there with no money, they ain't gonna like that...and if someone comes shouting to you like, best thing you can do is ignore it...not get bothered...show them that you ain't scared sort of thing

Another strategy when out on your own was to remain vigilant for potential sources of attacks:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...you have to be alert...kids round here are always ready to start on you...they're moody....they'll be looking at you... there's always a threat of trouble...you're always looking over your shoulder, paranoid

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...you have to be really careful...be on your guard....suss things out...it is frightening cos you could walk around the corner and you could get killed or anything...you're always worried because you never know when it's gonna come

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...a few times I've been worried ...if I've got into a fight with my mates before and then someone's been after me...if you are out on your own its worse...if I had to go to the Doctors say, I'd be watching. I'd be looking to see who's about

Carrying a weapon was a strategy that was considered helpful by six respondents[261] particularly when out alone but it was also used in conjunction with the other strategies mentioned:

Gary (Aged 21) MM

...I carry a weapon with me...a knife

Brad (Aged 16) MM

...I've got a cosh and I always take that out with me[262]

One of the most important strategies for dealing with actual and/or potential threats of attack was drawing on the physical support of mates when out and about and or for taking revenge/retaliation. For these reasons all of the 'Macho Men' stated that they tried to go out with their mates as much as possible, especially after confrontations with other youths:

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...if you've got a spot of bother with other lads you try to just go out with your mates for a while if you can

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...apart from having fun with your mates they're also your security aren't they...cos if there's like a gang there and you're by yourself, what you gonna do, if you've got your mates there as well, they can help you...it's that sort of thing, your mates are your security as well, that's how I see it

Even in extremely violent situations these boys expected their mates to provide physical support, as the next extract from Kris suggests in terms of how he plans to deal with the proposed violence from the man mentioned earlier:

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[261] Mickey, Brad, Sean, Troy, Gary, Lee.
[262] This confirms Kelvin's claim that Brad carried a cosh.

...he's phoned up and sent letters out whilst he's been in prison...saying he's gonna kill me...and he's phoned me since he's been out of prison saying he wants to stab me...as soon as he comes I'm just gonna have fight back ain't I?....I'm rarely out on my own anyway....especially now...I've asked my mates to help me when it happens and they've said they will

Note Kris's comment that drawing on his friends and fighting is the only thing that he can do; friends within the gang were part of the behavioural strategy of retaliation. One of the main reasons for adopting retaliation as the way to deal with attacks was bravado. I showed earlier how the presentation of oneself as tough was part of 'doing masculinity' for these boys and was also necessary in order to remain part of the gang you had to retain a 'tough' image. Consequently, this image of 'toughness' had to be preserved:

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...these blokes that are after me now have come back from the past...they've been inside and now they're out and after me...say I did something three years ago...that bloke could drive past and then jump out of a car and start on me...it always comes back to you

This shows how the perpetrators of violence against these boys also relied on retaliation and this meant that acts of 'bravado', standing up for your friends, carrying a weapon and retaliation itself were all likely to be met by retaliation from others and could easily involve an escalation of the violence. Consequently, by agreeing to help Kris when the time comes his friends are exposing themselves to the risk of serious and escalating violence.

Relying on reputations

Reputations were important in several ways, firstly in terms of knowing about the reputations of others because they helped boys to make assessments about how serious a risk other men posed and informed the behavioural strategies that they would take. In this way

however, knowledge of reputations could make men more anxious about perceived risks. If they had crossed someone with a reputation then they would be more anxious than if they had crossed someone without. This is demonstrated in the next quotation from Kris, because he knows of the violent reputation of the man who is after him, he has to be sure that he does not go out alone:

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...I've got trouble coming myself and because I've seen him kidnap one of my mates already....put a fucking glass in his head...I know what this guy can do...I know he is dangerous

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...I would be anxious if I'd got trouble with a few people round here...the one's I'd worry about... they've got reputations...some people round here have kidnapped people....so I'd be more anxious of blokes like that than of others

Having a reputation oneself or being associated with someone who had a reputation for toughness could help men to feel safer. Some respondents felt that they were less likely to be picked on through having a reputation and/or an association with others with reputations[263] such as families, because potential perpetrators would be worried about possible retaliation:

Brad (Aged 16) MM

....my family...most people are scared of them... they've got a reputation for being a hard family because of them...trouble won't even start

Troy (Aged 18) MM

I've got an uncle...he's really hard...a proper schizo...he's on medication and everything...about two weeks ago someone knocked his wife and

[263] Brad, Troy, Lee, Gary, Craig, Danny.

daughter over...he's planning on doing something to them....and since they've found out it's my uncle's family they won't come out of the house...they're too scared

However, for these two cousins who were part of the same tough family having a 'tough reputation' within the area did not prevent victimisation outside of it, and this was why Brad took preventative action against being mugged when catching buses.

Finally, for the aforementioned reasons, having a reputation was also connected to the problem of retaliation because men would want to retaliate to repair any damage done to their own reputation after being defeated in a fight or attack and/or to undermine the increase in status that the victor had gained as a result:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

....if two people are fighting... basically whoever loses is gonna think 'Well, he's took me for a cunt, he's smashed me so I'm gonna go back and smash him as well' and it will just carry on like that

Therefore damage to reputations was connected to retaliation and having a reputation could be a hindrance because it had to be preserved and/or repaired.

In contrast, the 'Softer Men' did not have reputations for being 'hard'. Despite this, Danny felt that he did benefit in this respect from his former association with the 'Macho Men', even though he admitted that he no longer engaged in such violence himself:

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...there's nothing that would make me worry in (this area), people beating me up or anything like that...I know too many people....there's those that might beat people up but know me....so they're not a threat....and others that know that they[members of his former gang] might do something if they heard I'd

had been beaten up...might go after them....cos I used to be their friend....I still speak to them

In this quotation Danny perceives that the benefits of retaliation and reputation could extend outside of the gang to ex-members. Those men outside of the group who might be likely to assault him would know of his former association with a 'tough' gang and be aware that that they might be likely to retaliate on his behalf.

In contrast, other 'Softer Men' did not discuss 'tough' reputations because they neither had them nor associated with those that did. However, the youngest respondent, Kelvin[264] did discuss retaliation in terms of getting his cousins and their friends from another area if he or his mother had a potential problem and he had used this recently to deal with racist threats against his mother:

Kelvin (Aged 16) SM

....I went to this area where we've lived before...where our friends and family live, where we know people and I got my nephew and my cousin and brought them up here and he's [cousin] like from this big group of guys and he was pushing this kid up the wall and he was saying 'What you talking to my auntie like that for?'... then the boy was crying and he went home

Kelvin stated that if his current problem with Brad (discussed above) continued then he would have to ask his cousins to become involved. He also discussed how he had recently taken a knife into school because he was afraid of Brad, whom he considered to be a racist and with whom he had recently had verbal confrontations. Although Kelvin did not consider himself to be violent and constructed himself as anti-violence in his discussion about identity, he believed Brad to be violent, and so felt that he had to be extra vigilant. This provided an example of how 'Softer Men' could be drawn to the more extreme methods of the 'Macho Men' and thus could become involved in the cycle of retaliation:

[264] Aged 16.

... the boy that's in my class [Brad]...he's turned round and started swearing at me... he didn't say anything else during the school day, and then I came here [music group at Annexe] but I know that all them lot [the 'Macho Men'] come here, so I had a little knife on me, just in case....I wasn't planning to start anything...but it was in case he tried anything...in a way, security... I was taking my money out of my pocket and it just fell out ...and a woman who works here...she was asking me if I need help or anything

Finally, five of the 'Softer Men' [265] suggested that they had called the police to incidents in the *past* but did not always call them. One respondent, Simon, had been disappointed in how the police handled an assault against his brother and another against himself because they had attended well after the events and never found the perpetrators.[266] However, the other 'Softer Men' suggested that they were reluctant to call the police because they knew from experience that without witnesses the police could not always help:

Richard (Aged 17) SM

...if there's no-one else about at the time....then they can't really do much

In contrast, the police were not a resource for the 'Macho Men' as I will now show.

Constructing other groups as problematic

The 'Macho Men' constructed other groups of people in the area as problematic as well as youths per se. The police were a group of people whom the 'Macho Men' depicted as 'other. The men discussed a mutual dislike between them and the police because of their interactions

[265] Kyle, Kieran, Richard, Simon, Kieran.
[266] This incident is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

with them and the fact that they perceived the police to be harassing them based on their previous convictions and/or cautions: [267]

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...we hate the pigs...cos we've done a bit of crime...they just blame us for everything.....they'll pull up and come over and start asking us about a burglary or something and we've just been sitting down doing nothing

Gary (Aged 21) MM

...they're scum aren't they ...just trying to hassle us all the time....we hate them and they hate us...that's how it is

As the previous quotations suggest, the 'Macho Men' felt harassed by the police and claimed that they tried to control social space used by them. Examples of this are provided in the next two extracts where men describe how the police responded to incidents where they were perceived to be 'hanging out' in social spaces where they were unwelcome:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...here's an example, a few nights ago it was raining and we were standing in the flats over the road....then about twenty minutes later the 'Old Bill' turned up and straight away they were like "What you up to lads, you're causing trouble aren't ya?"..and all we were doing was sitting there out of the rain...but they made us move out, that's just what they're like

Indeed the 'Macho Men' had regularly tried to hang out in places where the police would move them on. The reason for this was that a more powerful group was connected with the space such as the British Legion. The men discussed how they used to hang out at this spot but had become involved in confrontations with club members who tried to move them on, the police were then called and the 'Macho Men' were arrested:

[267] Mickey, Sean, Ricky, Troy, Craig, Lee, Kris, Gary had just been in court or were awaiting a trial for their recent involvement in assaults.

Danny (Aged 20) SM

...we used to sit outside the legion... and they'd [the members] would tell us to move on...but we still used to sit under there....we never thought we were doing harm...and then they'd try and force us to move and it would normally start a fight and then we had quite a lot of fights there....and then the police would always come and arrest us [laughs]

The 'Macho Men' claimed that the police would always turn up to incidents at the British Legion. Within these incidents, the police were perceived to be supporting the other inhabitants. For these two reasons the men eventually surrendered the area to the more powerful group, the members of the British Legion, for whom the police were a legitimate and viable resource. Another hangout, which was surrendered for this reason, was an alleyway on a residential estate.

A further group that were 'othered' by the men were bagheads (heroin users). Six of the men [268]in the group admitted knowing others that took heroin and one of the boys admitted a former heroin addiction.[269] However, the respondents that mentioned 'bagheads' as a source of concern stated that they would not personally take heroin; they made a distinction between this drug and those like cannabis and alcohol that they did take because they were concerned about becoming addicted to heroin. They constructed other men in the area who did take these drugs as being potentially dangerous for two reasons, firstly because they were not familiar with them and secondly because they saw them as being unpredictable because of their drug taking and as being likely to attack them or mug them in order to fund their habit. For this reason these men had abandoned a former hangout once heroin users had started to gather there:

[268] Mickey, Sean, Ricky, Kris, Lee, Gary.
[269] This boy had been in prison for stealing to fund his heroin addiction and because of violent incidents. He claimed to be off the heroin at the time of the interview although I suspected that he was still taking some sort of substance – see Methods Chapter.

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

...the local outdoor...there was a lot of bagheads...all on heroin ...just waiting to mug you....there was a lot of muggings up there...we used to hang out there ourselves like...but once they started going up there...we stopped

Kris (Aged 21) MM

...I stay away from one of the local shops because that's where the bagheads hang out and I'm not keen on them...cos they're dodgy...you dunno what they're gonna do...they're off their heads most of the time....so you have to watch your back...they could just attack you...mug you...so I avoid it

A further group of people that were considered as problematic and 'othered' by the men were Asians. The boys claimed to dislike Asians in general but in particular they disliked Asian shopkeepers. The following quotations show their concerns about being engulfed by another culture or race. The men drew upon exaggerated claims that Asians were taking over 'their' area and used this to justify their hostility:[270]

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

...it was probably better when my dad was growing up...cos there was no Pakis...I don't like 'em ...Asian people....there was none in this country then...now there's loads

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...they're taking over aren't they?....they have so many kids and that...they'll be more Pakis here than white people soon

The most visible Asians in the area were the shopkeepers who owned the local supermarkets, off-licences and newsagents. The following quotations show how the boys constructed Asians as non-white and unwanted inhabitants:

[270] Despite the suggestion of the boys that Asians were invading and taking over the area, there were very few Asian inhabitants in the area at the time.

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...they're trying to take over...they don't belong here...this is a white area....they should stay out of it

Gary (Aged 21) MM

...this is a white area and that's where I want to live....they should live with other Pakis

These men perceived Asians as posing a threat to their ownership of a social space, which they had defined as 'white'. 'Because the 'Macho Men' constructed Asians as outsiders they considered that their business activities in the area were 'illegitimate'. The following quotations show how they were particularly aggrieved that Asians owned businesses in the area, 'making money' from the 'less well off' white people who were their customers:

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...if you want to shop at a white shop now...you have to go miles away...to Tesco or something...most people can't be bothered to go there...so they are getting rich because white people have to shop there

Troy (Aged 18) MM

....a lot of white people round here are on the dole or they've got crap jobs...and they are spending their money in the Paki shops, making them rich

I suggest that the Asian shopkeeper represented a 'visibly' alternative view of masculinity, which was diametrically opposite to that of these men. As the aforementioned quotes demonstrated he was brown not white and constructed as a 'stranger' within their social space. Moreover, he had things that they did not have such as a wife, a family and a business. His version of masculinity was based on independence, hard work and success, three concepts, which were unfamiliar to these men. He was providing for women and

children, which these young men were unable to do. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter Four, these men were not able to provide for themselves; they were dependent on their parents and had little opportunity of gaining independence in the near future. Therefore, the Asian shopkeeper posed a threat on several dimensions to their senses of masculine selfhood. The following quotations demonstrate the hostility and resentment felt by the 'Macho Men' towards the Asian shopkeeper:

Mickey (Aged 20) MM

...this is England but you've got white men on the dole and Pakis running shops....it's not on is it?

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...we're on the dole and they are earning loads of money...it makes me sick

The discussions of the 'Macho Men' were also indicative of paranoia about being talked about in an alternative language that was unfamiliar to them:

Troy (Aged 18) MM

....he stands there and talks in his language....they should speak in English man...he could say anything about you, you ain't got a clue what he's saying, he could be really slagging you off....I don't wanna do French...that's no good to me...why do French? I'd like to learn Paki language though...cos I'd want to know what they're saying about you, cos I could walk in the shop and he could say something about me but then I'd know and I could say 'What are you saying you fucking prick?'

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...they could be saying anything about you couldn't they?...calling you a queer, a puff...and you wouldn't know about it

The fact that this perceived ridicule came from men, who were brown, magnified the significance of their assumptions. I suggest, therefore, that their dislike of Asians was not simply fuelled by racism, but was premised on the ontological challenge that they posed to their precarious conceptions *of* selfhood. This was because the Asian shopkeeper challenged the foundations of their senses of control discussed in Chapter Four, namely their right to define masculinity, which included their claim to territory and/or ownership of social spaces and in doing so, questioned their constructions of 'real' masculinity based upon hardness, heterosexuality and being white. In an attempt to constrain the threat posed by the figure of the Asian shopkeeper the 'Macho Men' disparaged his version of masculinity by ridiculing his long working hours and his provision for his family:

> **Lee (Aged 20) MM**
>
> *...they think they're great don't they? Businessmen and all that...working all day and night in a poncey little shop, who would want to do that?*

> **Gary (Aged 21) MM**
>
> *...they think they're great cos they've got a big car and a wife and loads of kids and that....I wouldn't want to be tied down like that and working all the time anyway...what a crap life*

These men also discussed their involvement in acts of vandalism and theft against Asian shops and having fights in the premises themselves. However, the men underplayed their culpability in these incidents which was part of their discursive strategy of depicting the Asians as legitimate victims:

> **Brad (Aged 16) MM**
>
> *...I had a fight with one of them in there....they had banned me and I went in and they tried to get me out and I punched one...he asked for it*

Craig (Aged 17) MM

...me and my mates had a scuffle with them in there...we had nicked some cans of larger....they're loaded anyway...so why make them richer....they were telling us to get out...and one of them kept pushing my mate....so he whacked him and then we all started fighting with them

In short, the construction of Asians as illegitimate inhabitants meant that they were seen as legitimate targets/victims. Within the following accounts the men also reaffirmed their masculine identities by using their own norms to evaluate the behaviour of the Asian shopkeeper, suggesting that he fell short of them he was a 'grasser' and a weak man:

Troy (Aged 18) MM

.....the shop owners, I don't get on with none of them....I've had fights in there like.... arguments with the owners...and then they call the police....they got me arrested....they're sad....they can't deal with it on their own...so they just grass

Sean (Aged 18) MM

... he's grassed on me ain't he [Asian shopkeeper] he got me took to court....it's just not right...he could have got me an extra twelve months on my sentence....they arrested me for affray and assault in the shop...he just couldn't deal with it himself ...cos he's a wimp

As I have shown, 'grassing' was a practice that these men claimed to despise. However, the men also used these 'undermining' strategies when they discussed Asian shopkeepers drawing on behavioural responses such as self- defence and/or retaliation, which were legitimated by the 'Macho Men' as being the required and appropriate strategies of 'tough/real' men. Despite this, attempts by Asian men to use these strategies were undermined and ridiculed:

Mickey (Aged 16) MM

....I don't like any of them shopkeepers...they're just all nobs ain't they, just twats...they think they're hard and that...they try and mouth off at you....they tell me to get out of the shop...they get together and say 'Get out of the shop'...but they're not hard really, they just get loads of 'em together and mouth off....they don't do anything else...if they were really hard then one of them would take me on wouldn't they?

Lee (Aged 20) MM

...they've tried to throw me out of the shop before...they got a load of them to try and do it...about ten or something...cos they can't fight

These constructions of Asians as weak men, unwanted non-white inhabitants and legitimate victims can be contextualised within the backdrop of the decline of English imperial power and the contemporary proliferation of multi-cultural discourses (see Katz, 2006).[271] I suggest therefore that the intensity of the racism of these boys towards Asian shopkeepers was fuelled by their insecurities as white, unemployed, and dependent men who were desperate to be seen as confident and successful males. Katz (2006) has referred to the underlying fears and anxieties about being seen as humiliated that motivate many white, working class men today. Through these discursive practices of constructing Asians as weak men, the boys were projecting their own anxieties on to them in order to deal with the ontological threat to their masculine identities that the Asian shopkeepers represented (see Freud, 1963, Hollway, 1989).[272] In doing so, they were depicting themselves as successful in contrast to the Asian men because they were 'real white tough men', whilst Asian men were weak, non-white men - despite their outer appearances of having money and businesses which may have established them as more powerful in terms of successful definitions of masculinity. Therefore, these discussions around Asian men and confrontations with them provided examples of 'doing masculinity' within the context of the interview itself where they

[271] Parallels can be drawn with research on football hooliganism.
[272] Chodorow (1989) has made similar points about how the establishment of masculinity involves the projection of femininity onto women and/or gays.

emphasised notions of territory and its association with whiteness that were so important to their constructions of masculine identities.

Willis (1977),[273] Sewell (1997) and Messerschmidt (1993) have referred to how men can construct masculine identities in order to resist structural disempowerment. In this way, men utilise cultural norms that are available to them to develop and assert masculine status by demonstrating toughness and putting down others. Although, this would appear to be the case here there are problems with these arguments, not least because they can sometimes involve simplistic accounts of power. Skeggs (1992:) has referred to a legitimation and articulation of power and domination - a notion drawing on the more fluid, Foucauldian conceptualisation of power. This seems to be a more appropriate way to theorise the complexity of the power relationships within the Asian shop. The issue of power within this location was more complicated than that involved in the location of the British Legion because it was racialised. Unlike the British Legion,[274] this social space continued to be contested, in part because, as the men explained, the police did not always come out to incidents, and therefore the space had not been secured by a more powerful group, such as a white group with the backing of the police.

The boundaries of power involved in the incidents between Asian shopkeepers and the men were also more blurred. The shopkeepers were more powerful than the men in that they owned thriving businesses in the area, which were used by white people. Indeed, one of the shops singled out for abuse also employed white staff. The men asserted power in their verbal and physical attacks, acts of theft and vandalism. For the aforementioned reasons, the Asian shop continued to provide these men with the opportunity to exert power through these acts and in doing so to assert their masculinity, contest territory and deal with the ontological threat posed by the figure of the Asian shopkeeper. These power relationships were complicated by their location within a predominantly white working class area. These boys

[273] In his study Willis (1977) focused on the structural disempowerment of working class youths in schools. He noted how young men dealt with this disempowerment by forming peer groups with their own moral codes and values. There have been many sub-cultural accounts of these sorts of peer groupings.
[274]Which had a white, working class membership.

were both powerful and powerless in relation to these incidents within the Asian shop and their constructions of masculine identities fluctuated between these two polar opposites.

Another criticism that can be made of accounts that show how men can resist structural disempowerment through their construction of masculine identities is that they can detract from the negative impact of such resistance. Resistance here took the form of violent, racist, homophobic and misogynistic masculinities, which had negative and serious implications, both for others and the boys themselves. There were obvious disadvantages here for inhabitants like the Asian shopkeepers who had to cope with incidents of racial abuse, theft and vandalism. However, there were also huge costs for these men themselves,[275] the irony was that the more the men invested in these forms of masculine identities the more powerless they became.

Factors that increased feelings of safety

The 'Macho Men' gave familiarity with the area as a reason for feeling safer which their lengthy residence informed. In terms of safety they emphasised having knowledge about social spaces in the area, those that used them and what happened there:

> **Kris (Aged 21) MM**
>
> *....you know all the different places really...and who hangs out there and that...what goes on*

> **Lee (Aged 20) MM**
>
> *...I know every place in this area really...so I know everything there is to know about it*

This knowledge of social spaces and who used them within the area was therefore a particularly important aspect of familiarity. These reasons contributed to the claims by these young men that

[275] Examples of their recognition of this were provided in Chapter Four.

they would not want to leave the area:

Sean (Aged 18) MM

...well I wouldn't want to live somewhere else...why would I want to live where I don't know no-one or know nothing about it....I'd rather live here

Ricky (Aged 19) MM

....I don't think I'd wanna move...if I went to a different area, where I didn't know anyone...I'd be a bit cautious then ...that's why I'd like to stay in the area where I know everyone as well...I know most of the people round here so I feel a lot safer like

This aspect of familiarity was also emphasised by Danny, the ex-member of the 'Macho Men' and as we have seen earlier he discussed feeling relatively safe in the area because of his knowledge of others and being *known* by them.

Therefore, the notions of *attachment* familiarity as discussed in Chapter Four and *safety* through *familiarity* were linked for the 'Macho Men'. This helps to explain why these men did not want to leave the area despite their high risk of assault within it. As I will show in later chapters, some older respondents also expressed a reluctance to leave the area because of familiarity. However, familiarity was not discussed by five of the six 'Softer Men'[276] who expressed a desire to leave the area, as did many men in the middle age group for reasons to be discussed in due course.

[276] Kyle, Kelvin, Richard, Kieran, Simon but not Danny.

Conclusion

This chapter answers several of the questions that arose from my review of the literature. The younger men in my sample were not 'fearless' about crime; indeed all of the youngest sample could recall 'fearful moments' in responses to recent actual or threatened experiences of physical victimisation.[277] This shows why the biggest concern for all of the younger respondents[278] was the risk of physical assault from other young men and that these concerns were grounded within their experiences of victimisation. Therefore, my research supports that of other researchers[279] who suggest that those who are most at most at risk of physical assault are younger rather than older men. It also shows that my respondents were not reticent to talk about fears, as even tough men discussed recollections of feeling 'fearful'.

Secondly, the masculine identities and routine activities of the respondents as discussed in Chapter Four were implicated in their discussions about recollected incidents of victimisation, risks of assault and the behavioural strategies to deal with these. I have shown how the 'Macho Men', who engaged with the 'hegemonic norm' of toughness within membership of a group, perceived themselves to be at very high risk of physical assault. I argued that doing a tough masculinity on the streets had become a way of life for these men but it was a lifestyle that trapped them in this tough version of masculinity and a corresponding cycle of violence and victimisation. Gang membership did provide some benefits; it provided them with opportunities for 'doing masculinity' through fighting and retaliation which could earn them respect from other group members and cement friendships. This meant that their friends were more likely to be 'loyal' to them and to support them in physical confrontations.

However, there were several negative consequences of continuing to engage with a tough style of masculinity within a gang that relied on 'loyalty'. Failure to conform to group norms could expose these men to risks of assault from other members of their gang and also men outside of it by reducing some of their risk management techniques such as going out with

[277] Which contradicts the assumptions generated by crime surveys.
[278] In the 16 – 21 age group.
[279] BCS surveys.

friends and/or retaliation leaving them feeling more exposed to risks. Therefore, deviation from the norms of the group became extremely difficult[280] because of the consequential risks posed by members of the group and others outside of it. Moreover, the construction of alternative masculinities and the changing of life opportunities were thwarted through continued friendships with men who constantly policed behaviour by these standards. A commitment to these standards meant that the men could only 'legitimately' engage in certain activities and this shaped the risks that they faced and the risk management strategies that they could use. The strategies used to deal with risks and victimisation included retaliation and carrying weapons; the flipside of which were that risks were often escalated, so there was a convergence between these behavioural strategies and the risks themselves.
These factors contributed to the patterns of victimisation reported by these men, which involved a process (see Bowling, 2003) within which the men were both perpetrators and victims.[281] Moreover, this process often took a circular pattern because the boys drew on reputations and retaliation as part of their identities and behavioural strategies for dealing with threats and so violence was often ongoing.

The concerns of the 'Softer Men' were also focused on physical assault from other young men. However, these men engaged with a form of masculinity, which disparaged violence except as a last resort and so they constructed those who used violence outside of this as 'different'. These differences in their constructions of masculinities meant that the risks and behavioural strategies that they discussed were dissimilar to those of the 'Macho Men'. Whilst, the 'Macho Men' constructed themselves as being at risk of attack from known and unknown perpetrators who engaged with a tough version of masculinity, like themselves; the 'Softer Men' constructed themselves as being at risk from unknown perpetrators, or certainly men outside of their social circle, including the 'Macho Men' and others who engaged in 'tough' style masculinities which were different from their own. Indeed, recollected experiences of victimisation discussed by the 'Softer Men' were binary (see Bowling, 2003).[282] Whilst, both groups of men shared the behavioural strategies of vigilance and avoidance, the

[280] Albeit not impossible – see Danny's transitional change in Chapter Four. He was not as fully involved in crimes as the other boys in the gang however and this may have made it easier for him to make a break from it.
[281] In contrast, although the 'Macho Men' were exposed to binary victimisation, the patterns of victimisation they discussed were also circular because they were both perpetrators and victims and engaged in retaliation as a behavioural response.
[282] See Literature Review.

'Softer Men' did not use the more dangerous strategies of retaliation, reputations and carrying weapons. Consequently, the behavioural responses of the 'Softer Men' and their lack of tough reputations meant that their responses to victimisation were less likely to increase risks.

This research has shown therefore that Connell's (1987) conceptualisation of 'hegemonic masculinity' can be strongly associated with risks; those men that conformed to a tough style of masculinity reported more incidents of victimisation and perceived themselves to be at higher risk than those that did not. Part of the reason for this is that the 'Macho Men' considered themselves to be at risk from known and unknown perpetrators and discussed both binary[283] and circular victimisation. In addition to this, the 'Macho Men' constructed other people in the area as risky, which were not discussed by the 'Softer Men', including heroin users, Asian shopkeepers and the police. I suggest here that, ironically, because of the violent and racist masculinities that these boys adopted, they perceived that they were at risk from every quarter; from other boys like themselves, including friends, the police who they felt were trying to harass and 'frame' them and Asians shopkeepers who represented a threat to their racial and masculine identities.

As I showed in Chapter Four, these men were acutely aware of their structural disempowerment and realised that some forms of masculine identities[284] were unavailable to them. However, I suggest that they were also aware that they could fail to live up to the one form of masculinity that had been accessible to them. In short, they ran the constant risk of being seen as a 'double failure' and this fuelled their high levels of anxiety about others in the area such as Asians and 'Macho Men' both inside and outside of their group. Indeed, I suggest that these men even represented a source of threat to themselves because they realised that they could betray their own masculine identities as 'tough' men if they succumbed to an attack from another man. Therefore, for the 'Macho Man', everyone represented a threat and no one could be fully trusted.

[283] Examples provided were of muggings on buses involving unknown perpetrators.
[284] Such as being a wage earner or breadwinner.

There were two exceptional respondents whose experiences were slightly differently and so did not fit exactly into either of these two patterns. Firstly, Kelvin, a 'Softer Man' [285] suggested that he was prepared to ask other men to help him retaliate such as his cousins who lived outside of the area[286] and who were 'tougher' than he was. Kelvin had also recently carried a knife out with him as 'security'. This latter strategy was chosen not because he engaged with a tough style of masculinity but rather because he was very scared of one of the 'Macho Men' [287] and felt that this practice might be necessary in order to deal with the 'severity' of the risk that he perceived. This provides an example of how 'Softer Men' could potentially be drawn into more 'Macho' type responses, which might increase their risks.

Finally, Danny, was an exceptional respondent because he had formerly been a 'Macho Man' and gang member but had left the gang and currently engaged with a softer style of masculine identity.[288] This choice and transitional change in identity meant that he perceived himself to be at lower risk of assault than the 'Macho Men' or 'Softer Men' in the sample. This was because he perceived that his current lifestyle and his softer form of masculinity no longer exposed him to the group norms of bravado, reputation and retaliation and long periods of time spent on the streets. However, he also considered that he benefited from his former association with the 'Macho Men' in that he felt he was not at risk of physical assault from them[289] and felt that he was also potentially less at risk from others that might have known of them and their reputations for violence. Moreover, for Danny this formed part of his familiarity with the area gained through long residence, in that he knew perpetrators and was known by them. The combination of these factors meant that Danny was the least concerned of the fifteen younger respondents.

The rest of the 'Macho Men' also discussed this familiarity and it made them feel safer despite their exposure to high levels of risks within the area. The remaining five 'Softer Men' did not discuss familiarity and did not have a former association with a tough gang and so these were not factors that helped them to feel safer.

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[285] Kelvin was only 16.
[286] Although the example given did not involve physical assault but rather the threat of it.
[287] Brad (Aged 16)
[288] See Chapter Four.
[289] As Kelvin and the other 'Softer Men' felt they were.

Chapter Six
Risk Constructions of the Older and Middle Age Groups: Incivilities

Introduction

The following two chapters look at the 'risk' constructions of the men in the middle and older groups around 'incivilities' and crime. These chapters take the same format as Chapter Three on the younger men. I firstly look at 'risk' constructions, secondly look at the factors involved in 'heightened concerns' and finally consider the behavioural strategies developed to deal with 'risks'. The chapter includes a focus on the factors of masculine identities, routine activities, ageing and life events in order to see whether they were connected to the concerns around incivilities and crime. This chapter is concerned with the topic of 'incivilities' (see Wilson and Kelling, 1982) [290] because for respondents in the middle and older age groups they were as important as concerns around crime.

The following tables show the breakdown of masculine identities of the middle sample and older samples. An important point to note here is that there were no 'Macho Men' in the middle and older groups.

Table (6) -Middle Group of Men – Breakdown of Masculine Identities

Type of Identity	Number of respondents	With children	Without children
New Man	11/15	8/11	3/11
Reluctant New Man	3/15	3/3	0/3
Traditional Man	1/15	0/1	1/1

Table (7) - Older Group of Men – Breakdown of Masculine Identities

Type of Identity	Number of respondents	With children	Without children
New Man	4/15	3/4	1/4
Reluctant New Man	7/15	5/7	2/7
Softer Man	1/15	0/1	1/1
Traditional Man	3/15	3/3	0/3

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how there was a clear connection between the identities of my respondents and the 'risks' that they discussed. In this chapter I show how men in all of the age categories talked about 'incivilities' but that for those men with young children at home, their concerns took an altruistic shape. I suggest that in terms of my

[290] For a definition.

typology of masculine identities the categories of 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' were helpful in explaining the altruistic concerns of those with young children but that the additional factors of having dependant children and engaging with discourses about being a male protector and provider were also important.[291] Outside of these examples, however, the masculinity categories were less useful because there were similarities between the concerns of 'New Men', 'Reluctant New Men', 'Softer Men' and 'Traditional Men'. Notwithstanding, the factors of age and conceptions of selfhood were still relevant to the 'risks' discussed by respondents, as were more personalised experiences.

This work extends the concept of 'incivilities' beyond 'physical cues' to include 'social 'incivilities' such as financial constraints and/or interpretations of physical cues that led to the labelling of self, places and others. The chapter places an *experiential* focus on incivilities (see Willmott, 1987)[292] and explains how the respondents linked 'physical' and 'social incivilities' with their ideas about 'community'. I show therefore how discussions about 'incivilities' and 'communities' were personalised and related to ideas about selfhood and this provides support for the suggestions of Taylor (1991) that a *private* sense of 'community' may be as important as a *public* one.

As shown in the following tables, twenty men discussed 'physical incivilities', sixteen men discussed 'social incivilities' per se and eleven men discussed 'social incivilities' in an altruistic way. Concerns around 'incivilities' were most strongly associated with the life event of fatherhood, closely followed by the factor of home ownership, although one childless man who did not own his own property also mentioned 'incivilities'.[293] However, he was less concerned about 'incivilities' than fathers and/or homeowners for a variety of reasons to be discussed.

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[291] Therefore altruistic concerns were not explainable simply on the basis of having a 'New Man' style of identity.
[292] See the discussion of work by Willmott (1987) in the literature review.
[293] James (Aged 25)

Table (8)- Incivilities discussed by the Middle Age Group of Respondents

Respondent	Type of Man	Incivilities Physical	Incivilities Social	Incivilities Social Altruistic	Finances	Health	Job	Personal
Alan	NM	X		X	X		X	
Dave	NM	X		X	X			
Andy	NM			X	X		X	X
Woody	NM			X				
Ian	NM	X		X	X			X
Jeff	NM	X		X	X		X	
Robbie	NM	X		X	X			
Trevor	NM			X	X		X	X
Dean	NM				X			X
James	NM	X	X		X		X	X
Adrian	NM	X	X		X		X	X
Warren	RNM			X	X			
Stephen	RNM	X		X	X			
Vincent	RNM	X		X	X			X
Brian	TM		X		X			

Table (9) – Incivilities discussed by the Older Age Group of Respondents

Respondent	Type of Man	Incivilities Physical	Incivilities Social	Incivilities Social Altruistic	Finances	Retirement	Health	Health Altruistic
Gerald	NM	X	X					
Harry	NM	X	X					
Albert	NM	X	X				X	X
Seamus	NM	X	X					
Arthur	SM		X		X		X	
Fred	RNM		X		X			
Francis	RNM	X	X					
Sid	RNM	X	X				X	
Reggie	RNM	X	X		X	X	X	
Martin	RNM	X	X			X	X	X
Tom	RNM	X			X		X	X
Ron	RNM		X		X	X	X	
Roy	TM						X	
Frank	TM	X	X		X			
Tony	TM	X	X		X		X	

Note: an additional concern for one older respondent, Tony was that of dying and not leaving his wife financially secure.

Chapter Four included a focus on the anxieties of some older respondents about retirement, declining health and bereavement and I argued that these events could be experienced as 'disempowering'. I suggest here that declining health and bereavement could also be conceptualised as 'social incivilities'. I will revisit these points in the conclusion. Suffice to say at this point that the financial concerns discussed by the older men around 'incivilities' were connected to their discussions of feelings of 'disempowerment' around retirement that were discussed earlier. In contrast, material pressures discussed by other respondents were

connected to fatherhood, buying a home[294] and/or 'social incivilities' in the area and these factors will be discussed at later points in the chapter.

Physical, social and altruistic incivilities

I made a distinction between 'physical incivilities', which included litter, vandalism, traffic, dog mess, youths hanging around and 'social incivilities', such as perceptions of bad neighbours, youths and financial constraints. Twenty respondents[295] discussed 'physical incivilities':

> **James (Aged 25) NM**
>
> *... there's litter, dog shit...the people around here...they're scruffy, don't seem to have any ambition...and their kids are the same...most of them are unemployed....so they don't care about dropping litter and letting their dogs shit everywhere*

> **Robbie (Aged 30) NM**
>
> *....if you walk down the road, there's old cars, old cookers and all kinds of things dumped...generally it looks a mess*

> **Alan (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *...when I first moved here, there was a car parked outside and it was at a funny angle...it's dumped...and the next day the windows are smashed and then the lights and then the doors are getting pushed in and gradually...it's torn to bits by the kids*

The following quotation[296] is indicative of the association made by respondents between 'physical incivilities' and social decline.[297] Respondents with long residence discussed the deterioration of the area over time, which was similar to Wilson and Kelling's (1982 notion of 'tipping'. The perception was that people had moved into the area that did not care about it and that this contributed to the lack of care shown by the council and the police:

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[294] Discussed by Adrian and Dean who had just obtained a first mortgage and James who was unable to.
[295] See earlier table.
[296] This respondent had lived in the area all his life.
[297] All of the respondents that discussed physical incivilities did this.

Tony (Aged 60) TD

...it's changed an awful lot....there's broken bottles all over the place, there's cans and rubbish...I get things thrown at me car by the local kids...it's not a brilliant area to live in at the moment...I don't think the council do an awful lot....it's looked upon as one of the old council estates and I think it's really quite neglected... by these people that are supposed to service the area....and then there's people that live here who don't really look after the area as well

Frank (Aged 76) TD

...I've seen changes in the area, in the time that I've lived here...the park at the back used to be lovely...well kept...now there's burnt out cars in the river, litter, broken bottles ....the bin men don't bother to clear up...they pick up the bags, but if they have split they just leave all the rubbish on the ground

'Social incivilities' were therefore also largely to do with perceptions of 'undesirable' residents such as 'unruly neighbours':

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

....the house next door is empty...the family that have just left, they wasn't a nice family....even though they've been moved out...we've still got people vandalising the place...that telephone box outside, it's all smashed up again for about the twentieth time

These 'social incivilities'[298] were linked to the perceptions of twenty respondents[299] that there was no sense of 'community' in the area. It was suggested that there had been a loss of 'community' and this was connected to perceptions of a breakdown in 'moral order'. Indeed,

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[298] Note that Ron and Dean, two respondents who had undergone philosophical changes did not mention social incivilities. Two other respondents that mentioned these changes did but Tom was less concerned than some other older men and Jeff was *less judgemental* about youths than other fathers in the research.

[299] Alan, Dave, Andy, Ian, Jeff, Robbie, Stephen, Vincent, Gerald, Harry, Albert, Seamus, Arthur, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Ron, Frank, Tony.

fourteen[300] respondents depicted themselves as living within and being engulfed by an 'alien culture' where everyone was out for him or herself. This is similar to perceptions of living within a risky society (see Beck, 1991) and is illustrated by the next extract where a respondent describes 'incivilities' and crime within the area as being indicative of a breakdown in English culture more generally:

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

....its difficult to quantify really, I think that the problems here are those endemic in our society...I think we're living in the fall of English culture...over the last forty, fifty years....it's been lost...there's a lack of courtesy, a lack of community feeling, there's no moral inhibitor anymore, that would hold people together so people do what they like, there's no social cohesion, so it's everyone for themselves...I think it's more prevalent here ...because people move out...a lot of people want to escape and there are so many people who pass through...my last place nobody passed through... you stayed there...there was the big town three miles away...and there were members of my last church who thought it's a big adventure to go to the town... they'd never been that far in their lives...because they stuck to the village, the social cohesion, the moral inhibitor was there because their identity was there in a bigger way...I suppose I've found it a culture shock moving here

There are elements of generational and geographical differences within this account. Stephen charts the decline in 'English culture' over time and depicts it as a breakdown in social cohesion. The account is informative and similar to the theories of the Chicago School (Park, 1915; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Burgess et al, 1967) on the development of criminality within inner city areas with 'transient' populations. Despite this emphasis on transience, many respondents, both older and younger, had a history of long residence within the area.

Stephen's narrative was a common one in that he constructed the culture and lack of community within the area as being different to that of his upbringing and his current values.

[300] Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, Stephen, Vincent, Albert, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Frank, Tony.

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

....I was born around here...it was very different...you never locked your front doors...neighbours went in and out...everybody helped each other...there was more community...without a shadow of a doubt

Frank (Aged 76)[301] TM

... the people were different ...the majority of people was always welcoming, they used to have the kettle on and make you a cup of tea and if there was a bit of bother... in the old days...if you were a known bobby in an area..people would pass on information to you, the police were seen as part of the community, helping the community... but nowadays...the police are totally different ...they have a different outlook and approach to people...but then you see it's difficult for the police today ....because they're not part of the community...if you don't know the people ..it's harder to get information...and so there's more crime and the attitudes towards the police are different...the kids of today...their parents say to them, 'You don't let that policeman talk to you like that, you know your rights' and all this business

These accounts hint at nostalgia for 'better times', wherein the respondents suggest that they had lived amongst a homogeneous 'community' with a shared set of values. In contrast, they suggest that the current composition of residents within the area was heterogeneous and that there was no longer a 'community'.

Three respondents also associated this loss of 'community' and perceived increase in 'incivilities' down to the migration of black and Asian people into the area. For these respondents, racial diversity and/or single parent families were associated with a loss of authority:

[301] Retired policeman.

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

...they've mixed bad people, with good people...there's more black now moving into the area ...so it is slowly going down

Francis (Aged 68) RNM

... they're loading the houses with one parent families...some of these single girls that have got half caste kids...they're the worst...and the mothers seem to be as bad as the kids...they couldn't care less

Frank (Aged 76) TM

...they're bringing into this country people that they should never have brought in..... the Asian community...if you have a shop .they start selling what you sell but cheaper and put you out of business...all of the shops in this area now are Asian

An interesting and isolated example of 'distancing' is provided by Ian, a 'New Man', who had been raised in the area, had recently moved out but continued to work there. He disliked the area and the youths within it because he perceived them to be racist. Notably, he was the *only* white respondent to mention racism as a problem:[302]

Ian (Aged 29) NM

....this is a majority white area and that's one of the things I hate about it... I work here as a youth worker and I get a lot of stuff with young people who are just violently racist...the ignorance and the attitude I just don't want to be around it

Respondents also associated the lack of 'community' and morals with 'youths' in the area. Youths were perceived as both a *product* of the problems in the area and also a *cause*. Twenty-four respondents[303] linked different 'incivilities' and/or crimes in the area and blamed the youths for them:

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[302] To be contrasted with the three ethnic minority respondents in the youngest sample.

[303] Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, James, Adrian, Warren, Stephen, Vincent, Brian, Gerald, Harry, Albert, Seamus, Arthur, Fred, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Ron, Frank, Tony.

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...it seems to be getting a lot scruffier...more gangs of children...more trouble...they sort of mingle into each other...kids messing around with cars and breaking into cars...you seem to get a lot of burnt out cars down the bottom pushed into the park and then they set fire to them

A further reason behind concerns around youths involved the practice of 'othering', and this applied to both the youths in the area and their parents. The youths were depicted as being from a *different* generation and culture and, therefore, as *unfamiliar.* As well as defining youths as different to their present selves, respondents also constructed them as different from their younger selves. In this respect, therefore respondents were discursively distancing themselves from these youths and constructing themselves as different men. Again, these accounts involved nostalgia for a better generation as respondents[304] stated that they had hung out in gangs but their youthful behaviour was simply 'high spirits'.[305] In contrast, the youths discussed are described as 'malicious' and their behaviour is depicted as 'serious':

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...kids in gangs today are out looking for trouble ...we used to hang out in gangs... mess about...play football ...but we were never malicious...we would never smash up a phone box just because it's got new glass in it

James (Aged 25) NM

...whereas we used to play football, they just hang around by the park or the shops...they dress the same...trainers, tracksuits, caps...they hang out on corners doing nothing...they're probably up to no good...I mean it they're not out there playing football or doing anything else what are they doing.....they're quite intimidating... being in a gang, going around spitting and drinking cans of beer

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[304] Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, James, Warren, Stephen, Vincent, Brian, Harry, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Tony, Arthur.
[305] One can compare this to work by labelling theorists like Howard Becker (1963), who claimed that behaviour of middle class youths was often described in such a way whereas similar behaviour by working class boys was labelled as deviant.

George (Aged 60) SM

...gangs of kids round here...they just don't care do they? .smashing glasses and bottles in the street....you never used to get that when I was a nipper

Therefore, for respondents in the middle and older samples young men are perceived as the problem, [306] young people are *different.* Importantly, as I have shown above, even relatively young men constructed youths in this way. [307] I refer to this practice of presenting youths as being different to one's current and younger self as 'generational distancing'. I suggest that these practices can result in the 'demonisation' of youths. It was notable that few men qualified this in any way and as I will show at a later point, this could help neutralise concerns.

The practice of 'generational distancing' involved the practice of 'othering', further examples of which involved respondents depicting some residents as 'unfit parents', forging a link between the breakdown in community, parenting and anti-social behaviour. The respondents that did this were fathers of young children[308] and the factor of fatherhood was implicated in the discussions of the family men about youths and 'incivilities', within which, they presented themselves as good fathers, and other parents in the area as bad parents:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...I do believe that it's the parents, they don't give a flying monkey's, they're happy to get the kids out of the door so they get some peace and it was never like that for me, it was play in the back garden

[306] This can be compared to the men in the younger sample who were also concerned about young men but from their *own* generation.
[307] Such as James (Aged 25).
[308] Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, Stephen, Vincent. The exception to this was Francis, an older respondent, who provided a racialised account about unfit mothers.

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

....you see them effing and blinding at the kids and smacking them....and then their kids become just like that....my son will come home and say 'Oh, so and so told me to fuck off and he punched me'...and you think 'What?!', obviously you're going to have playground problems but if you bring them up right they're not going to go that... I blame the parents for not giving a damn really...all they're doing, the kids, is looking for some kind of attention from someone and they're not getting it at home so they get attention by being a bit of a rogue

In this way, therefore, these men were also distancing themselves from what they discussed as bad parenting practices, such as allowing children to roam the neighbourhood. Interestingly, some of the fathers[309] that criticised other parents in the area for allowing this admitted that they had been permitted such freedoms when they were younger. However, they suggested that they were unwilling to allow such freedoms to their own children because of their concerns around safety:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

....when I was young I used to go out first thing in the morning and I didn't come back until night time...but I would let my son do it now...times have changed...society is different...there's too many things that go through your mind...danger from other kids and adults

The suggestion was that the changes in society meant that this was now a risky practice for their children and this acknowledgement of change also enabled these men to maintain that their parents were good parents. I suggest that the identities of these respondents as 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' with dependant children shaped their concerns around crime

[309] Alan, Dave, Jeff, Trevor, Robbie, Vincent.

and incivilities which took an 'altruistic' form because they constructed themselves as being providers for and protectors of their children.[310]

Their *altruistic* perceptions of 'incivilities'[311] involved concerns about children such as socialising with the wrong types and being led astray.[312] Therefore links were made between the irresponsible parents mentioned earlier, the children of these parents and the children of the respondents:

> **Jeff (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *... when a kid starts* school, *you see the people that are standing around the school gates, you tend to work out what type of people live in the area and you think well, my kids are going to school with her kids or his kids, I've taken my daughter to a play group....there were two women stood by the door with a young child who must have been about three or four and they stood just constantly effing and blinding...they weren't rowing, they were just having a conversation!...and you think 'God! This is the type of environment that I'm trying to bring my kids up in' and it's just not on*

> **Alan (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *...since we've had the baby, I always worry about everything...I'm worried about him growing up in the area, whether he'll be alright...I see the kids outside and the way they muck around and I think 'Do I want him associating with them?'...I would like to move by the time he's five and he goes to school, I don't know if that's being a parent and being over-protective*

[310] See Chapter Four.

[311] Although there is some emerging work on 'altruistic' concerns around crime there is none on incivilities. Moreover, the work by Warr (2000) and Snedker (2006) on altruistic concerns around crime does not include a specific focus on developmental masculine identities.

[312] Mentioned by all of those that mentioned altruistic incivilities except Woody and Trevor.

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

...I worry for my children's future in this society I suppose...before they're five, you've got them and you shape them...your morals are their morals and then they start school and you find out that not everybody feels the same way...some of the programmes that children watch at five years old, we think are appalling and the adverts...the food that they eat and the way they constantly demand...it's unacceptable for us... and.I fear because the influences upon our daughter are stronger than us...so that's a worry...how to stress our values without being dictatorial, without shouting all the time

The factors behind altruistic incivilities were implicated in the tendency of these men to construct even young children in the area as problematic:

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...I've had a few little run-ins with the neighbourhood children...there's a fair spread of them, anything from aged about three to sixteen...they always seem to hang out on the corner of the roads and you turn in and they're playing football and they decide that they're not going to move out of the way for the car or they try to kick the car

Another altruistic concern for fathers[313] was the possibility of the victimisation of their children through bullying. The following quotation is illustrative of the perceptions of some men that the damage caused by bullying could be accentuated if children did not speak out about it:

Woody (Aged 30) NM

...the kids, well you always worry about their safety don't you? like we wouldn't let them go to school without us...we wouldn't let them go to the park on their own in case they are picked on by children from other families

[313] Discussed by Alan, Woody, Robbie, Trevor, Vincent.

The following father worried about all of his children but one child in particular because he considered him to be more prone to bullying than other children and that he would also be less able to deal with secondary schooling:

> **Trevor (Aged 36) NM**
>
> *...we just won't let our younger son out because he's got "victim" written all over his head and kids will just use him as one....he has Asperger's Syndrome...we're really worried about him starting secondary school...he's got special needs, but he's coping at junior school, so they won't give him a statement...when he goes on to secondary school, it's a completely different environment, more intimidating, different teachers, moving around the school, he won't cope*

Living in a troublesome area meant that these men perceived they were exposing their children to risks presented by 'problematic' youths/children and this compromised their ability to *provide* the best for their children and to *protect* them. Therefore, I suggest that these sorts of threats were double-edged, because they presented an altruistic risk to others and a personal risk to respondent's senses of selves as 'New Men', fathers, male providers and protectors:[314]

> **Jeff (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *...I can't hold my hands up really and say I'm doing the best in my role as a father by allowing my kids to mix with the kids of these parents*

The following quotation is illustrative of the aforementioned links between different 'incivilities', including youths and a breakdown in 'community' values and demonstrates how they could be perceived as posing a threat to one's children and one's identity as a father and male protector:

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[314] See Chapter Four.

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

....I took the kids for a picnic...I picked them up from school, got a McDonalds and went to eat it in the park...I had to carry them across the car park because there was so much broken glass, I put them down and I had to tell them not to move because they'd tread in something dreadful, syringes, condoms, dog muck, an engine that somebody had stripped from a car...I walked them fifty yards and sat under a tree, we were bothered by stray dogs...there were four teenagers that were urinating in front of my children and so on and it was just really unpleasant...it's interesting that the local councillors were recently saying 'Look at the services we provide, the local parks are absolutely wonderful', well the truth is I don't want to take my young children to that park because it's a very unpleasant experience

In this account, the concerns previously expressed by Stephen about 'incivilities' are presented to him in tangible forms. This should be a pleasant family activity within a social space traditionally considered as child friendly. In reality, it turns into a very unpleasant experience resulting in Stephen defining it as a dangerous place for his children even when he is *present.* There is evidence of serious 'incivilities' in the quotation: used condoms, syringes, broken glass, stray dogs, dog mess and 'yobbish' behaviour. All of these present a physical danger to Stephen's young children and a threat to his role as protector of them. This is emphasised to him even more vividly by the display of disrespect shown by the youths, which represents a challenge to his status as a 'father' out with his young children. It is also a challenge that, in the circumstances, he can do little about, and this increases his sense of insecurity. Stephen's account is indicative of a 'heightened sense of vulnerability' and 'vigilance' which was described by nine[315] of these family men when they were out with their children in the area, particularly when passing groups of youths:

[315] Alan, Dave, Andy, Ian, Jeff, Robbie, Warren, Stephen, Vincent.

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...I always feel a bit more anxious when I'm out with the baby...it's a protective thing isn't it?...if I see gangs of kids I cross over...I think you're an easy target you know when you're out with your kids...because you're trying to look after them...keeping an eye on them...you're more vulnerable to an attack

Warren (Aged 31) RNM

...I take my baby son to the park...but I'm always on the lookout ...the thing is kids probably sense how stressed you would be if they tried anything...because you would be frightened about what might happen to your child...or what he might see...and so I always feel I need to be careful when I pass them...I suss the situation out and if they look dodgy I take steps to avoid them...if I can't, I try to look ahead...try not to look nervous...and get past them as quickly as I can

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...some lads pulled out recently in a car and nearly hit ours...I didn't approach them...nowadays if you got into an argument, you don't know if someone's going to pull out a knife or a gun...it's just not worth taking the risk so you just sort of let it go...and I mean my kids and wife were in the car...if your family is with you....you're always more careful...you don't want anything kicking off when they're around

These men were suggesting that they felt more vulnerable when out with their children because they wanted to protect them. The aforementioned quotations also provide examples of a 'generalised suspicion' of youths discussed by these respondents. I suggest that this suspicion was exacerbated by the fact that very few of them[316] knew any young people,

[316] The exceptions were Ian, Harry and Trevor out of all thirty of those in the middle and older age groups.

certainly in the area and this fuelled their suspicion. As shown in the following example, Alan who discussed having this suspicion was genuinely surprised on occasions where it proved unfounded:

> **Alan (Aged 37) NM**
>
> *....if I take the pram out .and there's a gang on the corner, it's like 'Let's walk quickly past this lot because they look a bit dodgy'...and you're worried...'cos you've got the baby with you...I must admit though sometimes...I've heard shouting and seen this bunch of lads and girls hanging out and you're like 'Oh here we go, we're gonna get hassle' and then one of them will go 'Watch yourself, there's a baby coming through' and then someone moves aside nicely and you go 'Eh?', [laughs]*

I argue that the concept of 'generational distancing' is important again here, in that my respondents tended to spend time with their own families or other people of the same generation. I will revisit this at a later point in the chapter, where as I will show knowing some younger people could help to lessen concerns.

Other perceived dangers involving children, mentioned by fathers included speeding cars:[317]

> **Vincent (Aged 28) RNM**
>
> *...my daughter[318] opened the front door the other night....I just went over the shop to get a box of matches... and when I came out she was standing there...so that's a worry...especially on this road because some people do zoom past and don't care who's about any time of the day*

Men with young children also mentioned the material pressures involved in raising them, which included general expenses and providing the best education/schooling. Indeed, all of the 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' with children and without worried about finances with

[317] Trevor, Vincent, Woody.
[318] Aged three years.

the exception of Woody who claimed that he made a conscious effort not to, albeit he acknowledged that he worked days and nights to make ends meet. A related concern was about jobs, with four of those men with young children relating their concerns about finances to whether they were maximising their earning potential and these concerns were connected to their masculine identities as breadwinners and providers:[319]

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

..it's becoming increasingly difficult to live on what we've got...just the general living expenses in terms of car insurance, house insurance, playgroup fees, that sort of thing...we want to give them the broadest education possible...we send our kids to ballet but it's blooming expensive...our kids are very musical...they don't take music lessons but they go to rhythm time for toddlers and so on...and it just eats away

Trevor (Aged 37) RNM

....I think when you've got young children and you're working class...life's a constant strain...a constant struggle

As we have seen, therefore, men with young families talked about providing the best upbringing that they could for their children and they perceived that a lack of financial resources could hinder their attempts at this. This provides an example of a limitation on behavioural strategies, which increased concerns about youths and 'incivilities' and I will discuss this shortly. I am firstly going to examine the implications of 'incivilities' for the use of social spaces.

[319] Alan, Andy, Jeff, Trevor, Stephen – see Chapter Four.

Constructing social spaces as risky and behavioural strategies

There were several social spaces in the area that were constructed as risky based on the 'incivilities' discussed.[320] These constructions were based on visual cues:

> **Adrian (Aged 29) NM**
>
> *...there is a very marked contrast in the standard of housing...some streets...there does seem to be a lot of property in disrepair...boarded up...it doesn't take a lot of imagination to draw a comparison with LA style situations...I think with a lot of these places, you wouldn't like to be there at certain times...when the pubs close...I would never walk through there....I have only driven past*

> **Dave (Aged 28) NM**
>
> *...down by the park is unpleasant...it's deserted...so it's great, dump a car down there... burn it out, and no-one can find it...there's all sorts of rubbish down there....old fridges, cookers, beds*

Other places constructed as threatening were based on perceptions of those using the space such as youth hangouts (see also Merry, 1981):[321]

> **James (Aged 25) NM**
>
> *....all the areas where teenagers hang out....I wouldn't trust them, my instinct is to avoid them*

> **Frank (Aged 68) - TM**
>
> *...the bottom end of (estate) which is a mile away...it isn't pleasant walking around there...you get groups of marauding teenagers ...there's always that*

---

[320] We saw earlier how Stephen constructed the park as a dangerous place for his children based on his experience of a trip there.

[321] Discussed by Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, Dean, James, Adrian, Warren, Stephen, Vincent, Gerald, Albert, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Ron Frank, Tony.

threat of trouble, you feel vulnerable with crowds of youths...so I've just learnt to avoid that area

Tony (Aged 60) TM

...I avoid driving around the corner of the next street because there are kids blocking the road and throwing stones

As the aforementioned quotations show the most common behavioural technique associated with places that were perceived as rough or frequented by 'rough' people such as youths was avoidance (see also Merry, 1981).[322] Moreover, two respondents also discussed a change in their practices of using social spaces resulting from negative experiences of 'incivilities':

Sid (Aged 60) RNM

....I don't want to be amongst the sort of people that you've got travelling on public transport now... I'd sooner pay for a taxi...I was on jury service recently at the courts and I had to get the bus every morning and back about four o'clock in the afternoon, can you imagine it?...all the kids coming out of school and college, society now, it isn't just teenagers, you've got a lot psychologically disturbed people out there...wandering the streets and using public transport... a kid sat next to me, smelling like a polecat and there he is reading a book about how to come off drugs...I don't want to be on public transport anymore

Dean (Aged 34) NM

...when I first moved to the area some years ago I'd often go walking around the park at midnight and I've had to start thinking I must be more careful...I've come to realise there are kids out looking for trouble and that...so I haven't done that for a long time

[322] Respondents also discussed the avoidance of pubs in the area but this is discussed in the following chapter because the main reason for this involved a concern around physical assault.

A lot of avoidance of areas and people was achieved by going out by car or taxi. Most respondents did not walk around the area at night and also used their cars during the day.[323] Although this may have also been for practical reasons, it did have a notable impact on concerns around youths. James[324] still had to use public transport and walk the streets because he did not have a car and this was a factor in his increased concern about youths in the area. James tried to use taxis sometimes at night and avoided some social spaces in order to control risks:

James (Aged 25) NM

...outside pubs, chip shops and kebab shops...I know from experience...people shouting ...aggressive...having a go at .others in the queue....so I avoid anywhere like that...especially on Friday and Saturday nights

Behavioural strategies around keeping children safe were connected to the perceptions of other children and youths in the area, albeit other considerations involved perceived dangers from strangers[325] and traffic. These strategies included keeping children inside, accompanying children when they were outside or telling older children to avoid certain social spaces and/or people: [326]

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...I'll be nervous of letting my daughter out...I'd be more inclined to keep her playing in the back garden until she's like thirty [laughs]...but no seriously.. I won't be letting her out to play around here

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

....I tell my stepdaughter to stay away from the shops where groups of lads hang out

---

[323] Some respondents did use public transport during the day(James, Gerald, Fred, Seamus, Arthur) but caught taxis at night. Gerald provided an exception and caught public transport at night and walked the streets and Francis walked his dog at night.
[324] 'New Man' from Middle Group without children.
[325] See Chapter Seven.
[326] Used by all of those men with young children.

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

....the shop areas...with all the kids that hang round out there...hanging round up to no good...I see it when I'm driving the buses...they're on and off the bus ...and I hear what they sound like and what they talk about, I mean it doesn't bother me..but .I wouldn't be happy about my wife or son going up there, but they wouldn't anyway because I've told them

A further behavioural strategy considered by family men was to suggest leaving the area:[327]

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...the kids that go to the school around here...they worry me, I just don't like their attitude...five year olds walking out in front of you as you're coming up the road, to make you stop, to prove to their mates that they're big...I don't want my daughter going to school with kids like that...so hopefully we will be in a position to move by that time...to an area with better schools and nicer kids

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...you drive past the schools around here and see the kids coming out...and it worries you...who your kids might be mixing with if they went to school around here...this is why I'm going to night school...trying to get another job so we can move house...so that we can be living in better area before he starts school

A final factor behind concerns about 'incivilities' in the area was that of home ownership. In Chapter Four, I showed how respondents raised this factor[328] when discussing their identities and that it was relevant to their status as breadwinners and employed men. Indeed, some respondents who were purchasing their own homes were very concerned about 'incivilities':[329]

[327] Alan, Andy, Dave, Jeff, Robbie, Stephen, Vincent.
[328] This was discussed as a sense of achievement for many respondents within this predominantly council area.
[329] Alan, Dave, Andy, Jeff, Robbie, Adrian, Vincent, Brian, Reggie, Ron, Tony.

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

....I think since we moved here I have become more aware of litter, vandalism and things like that because we are buying the house...you worry that you are buying a house in a rough area and that you might not be able to sell it on

The last two quotations show how limitations on behavioural strategies could increase concerns around incivilities. For those men that were not in a position to move house,[330] or who thought that they could not sell their homes,[331] these incivilities were particularly troubling.

There were also self-imposed limitations on taking action because respondents felt that it was a waste of their time:

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

....kids sitting around in gangs, drinking....that shouldn't be allowed...I've told them off myself before now...it doesn't get you anywhere, you just get a mouthful of language...it's a waste of time, saying anything really

Sid (Aged 60) RNM

....you step in and tell kids off at the bus stop...and they just give you a load of abuse...so there's not much point

Indeed, three respondents felt that taking action was not only futile but that it could escalate problems and that they would still have no course of action available to them. The following extracts demonstrate a concern over retaliation:

[330] Although some fathers discussed leaving the area this was not a viable option for Robbie, Alan and Vincent.
[331] Respondents felt that the value of their properties would be affected by the crime and incivilities in the area.

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...it's like there is a group of kids that hang around...they do mess about with the cars and that...and it's kind of difficult for you to say anything to them because you're frightened that when you're not around they're gonna put your windows through...and you have no control over the kids

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

....I sort of told the kids off once outside the front because they were messing around with our car...and then I got a load of trouble from their parents...you just feel that you can't do anything about them...messing with the cars or throwing stones at your windows...because you either go to the police who don't really do anything, you approach the parents and they don't seem to want to know, so you're sort of stuck, you don't really know what to do

Sid (Aged 60) RNM

...some kids were vandalising the wall in front of my neighbour's house....they went running off...I reported it to the police, and they said 'Well, there's not a lot we can do'...then for weeks after that I had trouble... the car windscreen was smashed, tyres let down...all that sort of thing afterwards

The last two quotations are illustrative of a sense of frustration expressed by respondents over the perceived lack of action taken by the police. Respondents stated that they wouldn't call the police because they weren't interested and/or wouldn't do anything.[332] Some respondents[333] recalled an occasion when they had called the police and were unhappy with their response and suggested that had reduced their inclination to do so in the future:

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...there's no point calling the police....they don't want to know

---

[332] We saw examples of this in the last chapter with the 'Softer Men' who often felt it was not worth calling the police over assaults.

[333] Alan, Jeff, Robbie, Vincent, Gerald, Fred, Reggie, Martin, Tony.

The local council were also perceived as being disinterested and as not doing enough:[334]

Ron (Aged 60) RNM

...I used to go to some of these council meetings, and raise points like people are bothered about litter...but nothing got done...a lot of these councillors don't care because they don't live in the area ...I stopped going...it was a complete waste of time

These quotations are illustrative of the feelings of futility expressed by these respondents because they felt that they had no control over incidents. I suggest therefore that these limitations on behavioural strategies were experienced as 'disempowering'. Moreover, the perceived lack of interest by the police and local authorities reinforced respondent's perceptions that there was no community in the area and that 'nobody cared' (see Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Other examples of restrictions on behavioural strategies involved those used to keep children safe. For example, the behavioural strategies of keeping children inside unless accompanied by an adult, and/or telling them to avoid certain people or places, were limited because they depended upon the co-operation of the child and they became increasingly difficult to implement as children matured:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...the main problem is in letting the children out to play...we keep the little ones in but as they get older...I can't see how we can keep doing that...they are going to want to go out...we've got it now with my twelve year old step-daughter...sometimes we have to let her out

[334] Tony, Ron, Frank.

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...we don't even like our fifteen-year-old son going out...he's been mugged...we've been taking him to and from school...we can't keep doing it, he's at an age now where we've got to let him go...he's sixteen this year

I suggest that these limitations on behavioural strategies meant that these respondents felt they had no course of action available and felt unable to take control of the situation. For some respondents with young children, this 'disempowerment' represented a challenge to their masculine identities, as discussed in Chapter Four, [335] which involved a personal sense of being in control. These respondents had described themselves as being more worried in situations where they felt 'out of control':

Dave (Aged 28) NM

....I think I could nail every fear I've every had down to the unknown...I like to be in control and I like to be able to influence what's going on and when I can't do that then I start to panic...it winds me up...it's difficult for me not being able to influence something at all

Therefore, I suggest that for these family men incivilities presented a threat to their masculine identities as resilient men and male protectors, particularly where their options to take control of threats were limited and that this undermined their feelings of well being.

Neutralising the effects of incivilities

I have just discussed the factors that were involved in concerns around incivilities. However, some men managed to neutralise the negative effects of incivilities through a focus on things that they liked about the area such as friendly neighbours and familiarity. These were connected to feelings of well-being and could help respondents to feel safer. Indeed, one

[335] See Chapter Four.

respondent drew on his perception of friendly neighbours in order to suggest that there was a sense of community in the area:

> **Dean (Aged 34) NM**
>
> *...it's a very good neighbourhood for community spirit in a way...I mean one of the things I did when I moved here...there was a six foot fence all around, half falling down, but I took that down and I never put it up again because I noticed that all this block have got low fences about three foot and I'm sure that's what makes it more friendly...people who are hanging the washing out say 'hello'*

This extract is interesting because Dean was the only respondent in the whole sample of forty-five to suggest a feeling of community within the general area. However, as I showed in Chapter Four, Dean was very religious, and this had made him more philosophical about life and by his own admission he was more likely to see people and situations in a positive light including the youths in the area:

> *...I know that people complain about the youths...but I'm not that bothered really...I think it's because I try and give people the benefit of the doubt...to see the best in people*

In contrast, as we have seen, other respondents mentioned the *lack* of community in the area and viewed it as a homogeneous group with a shared set of morals and values[336] and also appeared to view it as a wider *geographical* area covering a neighbourhood.[337] This is in accordance with discussions of academic writers on the topic including the writings of the Chicago school (Park, 1915; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Burgess, 1967).

In contrast, Dean's conception of community is extremely narrow. He simply assumes a 'sense of community' from saying 'hello' to his immediate neighbours. Indeed, Dean did virtually nothing within the area itself and did not socialise with anyone, so he was not in any

[336] The work of Etzioni (1997) provides an example of a traditional sense of community.
[337] Like a council ward.

real sense involved in a 'community' as defined by other respondents and academic writers (see Etzioni, 1997). [338] For the remainder of respondents[339] a sense of 'community' was not gained by simply knowing a few people and/or neighbours:

> **Dave (Aged 28) NM**
>
> *...the close is nice, the people are friendly enough and we keep an eye on each other's houses*

In the aforementioned quotation Dave feels familiar with his neighbours and this helps him to feel better about the immediate geographical space in which he lives,[340] but he does not perceive a sense of community in the wider area, which he describes in negative ways. In contrast, Dean develops his concept of community from having 'friendly neighbours' and this helps him to feel better about the area as a whole.

However, whilst not providing a sense of community, friendly people and neighbours could help respondents to feel better about the area because it provided a sense of 'familiarity' with inhabitants.[341] For example, Trevor compared his current area to his last area where he had not been happy. Friendly neighbours were particularly important to him because he had previously lived in an area where he had perceived the people to be unfriendly and 'stuck up':

> *....the trouble in that area was that we lived in a council flat but the area is a middle class area really...expensive houses and that ...but the middle class people there are fine...it's the people that sort of move out there trying to compete with the middle classes, keeping up with the Jones...thinking they're something that they're not...just looking down their noses at you...at the end of the day, they're just working class...the same as everyone else...they complain about the silliest things...we had a lot of trouble with people having a go at our son...a bloke hit our son because he said he was bullying his son...we reported it to the police, the police came, they*

[338] Or a traditional community as discussed by academic writers such as Etzioni (1997).
[339] Who discussed the concept of community.
[340] A circle of houses.
[341] Discussed by Alan, Dave, Woody, Trevor, Gerald, Arthur, Ron, Tony.

interviewed him and they let him off...it wouldn't stand up to a prosecution, that's what they said anyway'

This is an important quotation because it shows how people can be perceived in very different ways within particular geographical and demographic neighbourhoods. It also demonstrates how people can feel shunned by those that they perceive to be of their own 'class', and how this can undermine feelings of well-being:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...there's nothing worse than living in an area where you feel like an outsider

I showed earlier how other respondents used discourses around 'in groups' and 'out-groups' (see Tulloch, 2000) in their discussions about incivilities. This involved making comparisons between two groups of 'working class people' within the area, the 'decent' working class, (themselves) and the 'lower' working class (those who were problematic). However, despite discussing his concerns about his current neighbourhood, Trevor did not make these negative comparisons between himself and other members of the working class within his current area. This was connected to the fact that he had personally suffered from being the 'subject' of such categorisations himself. For Trevor, therefore, his familiarity with other working class residents, *ordinary people like himself,* gave him a sense of belonging in terms of shared class, and helped him to feel better about his current area despite noting its problems.

Other aspects of familiarity that were discussed involved a personalised sense of history.[342] In this way, historical length of residence helped respondents to feel comfortable within the environment. Indeed, three respondents[343] stated that they would not really want to leave the area because of this sense of history and familiarity, even though they acknowledged that the area did have problems:

[342] Warren, Woody, Vincent, Gerald, Tony.
[343] Woody, Gerald, Tony.

Tony (Aged 60) TM

...it's difficult for me... I've watched the area deteriorate over the years...but it's just basically my roots, I was born here and all my family lived round here for years ..... I suppose I'm familiar with it...I don't particularly want to move from round here, this is what I'm saying... if they tidied the area up a little bit and people had a little bit more respect for the older people, ...it wouldn't be so bad...this is how I see it

Woody (Aged 30) NM

...I still feel very comfortable here because I've spent so much time here...it's probably familiar surroundings I expect really

As I showed in Chapter Three, the 'Macho Men' also discussed historical residence and often linked this to knowledge of people and places, which was an important component of feeling safer. In this way familiarity could neutralise concerns around crime and/or incivilities in the area. For example, Woody, a father of four and a 'New Man', claimed that despite seeing kids fighting outside the shops where he lived and hearing other people's concerns about it, he remained unconcerned:

...I think it's a great place I do...I don't mind the kids messing around, people moan about the kids, they don't like them round the shops fighting ...I just watch them I do, laughs...we're not bothered...we've got used to it

With the exception of Woody, however, aspects of familiarity for other respondents did not serve to extinguish their concerns but rather helped to neutralise them to an extent that they were manageable. Respondents such as Vincent stated that they were more comfortable than they would have been in an area that they did not know because they had more information to make risk assessments. Despite, having concerns and being aware of the problems within the area, they felt that they could make subjective judgements around *safety:*

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...you just get so used to the area...my mom and dad's here, my wife's mom and dad, so we just moved back into it, we wanted a house and we knew the area...I know that it is a slightly troublesome area, but I know this area better than if I would have gone to another estate ...you just feel more comfortable...I feel more secure because I know it

Respondents with lengthy residence mostly discussed the safety aspect of familiarity. However, some newer inhabitants felt that they were beginning to acquire it but explained that it involved a gradual process:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...that's one of the first things, I noticed... when I used to live with my parents in the country....everyone used to come by and say 'Hello', even to strangers....but when we moved here, you'd walk down the road and...particularly older people, if they saw you coming ...they'd bow their heads, and walk by...people seemed to be like 'Oh God, a younger bloke,[344] *put your head down, Don't look at him!'...which was weird and it's took me some years...I can actually walk up the road on a Sunday now...and some people will talk to me...because they know me, they're alright*

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...I quite like the people, I know quite a few people on the estate now, so it's nice to live in an area where you know people and people talk to you...I think whenever you move anywhere... it takes you so long to fit in...but now I feel comfortable and friendly and that

In the aforementioned quotation, Trevor makes the point about knowledge of people and places keeping him safer. However, there are two aspects to Trevor's conception of knowledge-based familiarity; he feels safer because he knows the 'rogues' (those who cause

[344] An example of generational distancing.

or are likely to cause trouble), and they know him.[345] Francis, an older respondent, also mentioned this 'dual-aspect' to familiarity,[346] which involved being known by youths as someone who tried to deal with them in conciliatory ways:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

... better the devil you know...you know the people round here....the rogues...and I'd rather have it like that, I feel a bit safer and plus people know you so, they tend not to bother you really as long as you don't bother other people...I means there's certain kids on the estate but we don't have any problems off them, cos I think, if you treat people with a bit of respect ...you tend to get a bit of positive feedback, if you go round screaming at 'em all the time...rather than just like overlooking it or going to talk to them...they're gonna be on your case even more

Francis (Aged 68) RNM

...I don't aggravate them...with kids, once you start going off at them...they'll immediately make you a target...but then if you keep quiet about something, sometimes I get them a bar of chocolate and say 'Now, go off and kick your ball over the road' and they'll go eventually

Trevor and Francis believed that their behavioural strategy of dealing with youths in conciliatory ways reduced their risks of potential harm from them. For Trevor, his use of this approach was also informed by his own previous experiences of people treating him and his family in negative ways.

Finally, a further discursive strategy that helped to neutralise concerns about incivilities was that of comparing the area with others and concluding that they were the same or worse:[347]

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[345] See also Chapter Three, Danny and the 'Macho Men'.
[346] Danny discussed this dual-aspect to familiarity in Chapter Three.
[347] Used by Tom, Trevor, Arthur, Albert, Fred, Sid and Vincent.

Arthur (Aged 60) SM

...other places are no better...it's like it everywhere...it's worse round by the town area [348]

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

....other areas are either the same or worse

Some respondents who discussed incivilities within the area used a combination of these strategies, which helped them to neutralise the effect of their concerns to a manageable level.

As the aforementioned quotes demonstrate, however, familiarity was an important factor in helping these residents to feel safer (see also Merry, 1981). Conversely, unfamiliarity meant that respondents often felt less safe. For example, Adrian, a newcomer to the area, felt very unsafe because of his lack of familiarity with both social spaces and inhabitants. In his account, unfamiliarity extends beyond lacking knowledge of faces and lifestyles to ignorance of physical characteristics and mannerisms. He feels uncomfortable because he lacks information about which people and places to avoid. For Adrian, the problem is acute because it applies to a wide geographical area and a large number of people. Indeed, in the following account, Adrian uses a geographical narrative to construct himself as an 'alien' within both the immediate area and in the City of Birmingham more generally:

Adrian (Aged 29) NM

.... I used to live right near the centre of Coventry...and I was used to walking through the town centre in the middle of the night, but since I've come to Birmingham, it just seems to be like another world...I don't feel I'm safe in Birmingham...I think I'm not quite as used to the way that people move, the mannerisms that they have ...I just really don't feel very comfortable...I didn't feel unsafe in Coventry...I think you just got used to the way that people behave...you would know when to avoid, when to try and detour across the road...there were a lot of shifty looking people in Coventry, but in

[348] He is referring here to areas that he could afford to live in.

Birmingham, there just seems to be even more shifty looking people and I just haven't begun to work it out really, it could just be the transition from what is effectively a small town compared to a big city....because I lived in Coventry for so long, you tend to think of it as being like a City, whereas compared to Birmingham, it's just like a little town ... I haven't quite worked it out yet

As we have seen, therefore, some respondents felt safer because they knew the rogues in the area and could take informed steps to avoid or handle them, whereas those like Adrian felt insecure because they did not know anyone in the area. For other respondents, the difficulty lay with *'partial'* familiarity; in being familiar with only some of the respondents in the area; this also shows how familiarity can fluctuate and also be lost. For example, James, who had been away at university, had returned to the area to find a new group of teenagers who had grown up in his absence. The concept of 'generational distancing' appears in his account providing an example of 'unfamiliarity' between 'generations'. I suggest that this was an important component of gendered developmental ageing for my respondents:

James (Aged 25) NM

....teenagers are the main problem, it's not rough apart from that...there's no pubs round here now and all the other people from my generation know me anyway and they're not a threat, I mean most of them are just too old and they've got families of their own now, it's just the young ones, that I don't recognise

James was familiar with young men from his generation but was unfamiliar with the younger men. Therefore, the effects of familiarity for him were more ambivalent. Familiarity with some young men and their familiarity with him made him feel safe. In contrast, lack of familiarity with others and their lack of familiarity with him made him feel unsafe. The familiarity here with men of his own age extends to his knowledge of their lifestyles. He knows that many of them have settled down and have children, and perceives that they are not interested in proving themselves as hard men. Consequently, James considers that the men from his own generation, many of whom are in their twenties, are 'too old' to be a threat. In contrast, he

constructs teenagers as 'unknown' suggesting that they are a problem from another 'generation'. This was a common practice for respondents from the middle and older age groups who constructed teenage boys as problematic and sought to distance themselves from them. Therefore, the concept of 'unfamiliarity' was implicated within the notion of 'generational distancing' and this association meant that some men felt vulnerable about younger men.

However, the concept of 'generational distancing' could also make men feel vulnerable in another way and this is implicit in James' account when he refers to men in their twenties as being 'old'. In Chapter Four, I discussed the implications of the ageing process in terms of an acknowledgement of the physical and social changes in one's own life course. I suggested that this involved recognition by my respondents of their journeys along the life course. Before he left the area, James was one of the 'youths', upon his return, he realised that his generation has been replaced by a new generation of men. Therefore, despite being only twenty-five, James refers to his youth in the past tense. This was a common practice and it is important to note how even relatively young men 'othered' those men who were slightly younger, which was partly as a result of not knowing men in this age category.

The following quotations are from two youth workers who worked with many troublesome youths and as a consequence did not 'demonise' all youths. Moreover, their knowledge of knowing and being known by some younger men helped them to feel safer within the area, and, for Harry, also outside of it:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...I know a lot of kids in the area...I don't like their attitude sometimes...but I understand why they are the way they are...when I'm walking around and that I feel safer because I know so many of the kids...there are always those that you don't know...that look intimidating and you feel more anxious about them...but we try and develop a camaraderie with any kids hanging around ...we offer them fags and that

and try to get talking to them...sharing a joke and that...and so you get to know more and more of them

Harry (Aged 60) NM

...my brother, his son ran away from home ...and I went over there [another area] to see if I could help out ...I was walking up to gangs of youths in the street...and asking about him... I just did it automatically you see...but when I got back, my brother in law and his wife, who had been watching said 'We couldn't do that'...but I never thought about it because I'd got used to working with young people ... I think, in many ways, because of doing the youth work side of things... I don't have that same fear perhaps...that I'm aware that other people do have... I think people do stereotype all of young people as being the same and I try not to do that...I try to wait and see

With the exception of Trevor, Dean and Woody, these were the only respondents in these age groups who did not have a 'generalised suspicion' of younger men and as we have seen earlier this was also because of personal experiences.

I suggest therefore that 'generational distancing' was an important component in the lives of my middle and older respondents and that this is a factor that must be considered under developmental masculinities. I also argue that it was connected to the concept of 'unfamiliarity', which I have shown here to be important to feelings of safety around 'incivilities' and also to ideas about masculine selfhood. Notwithstanding, personal experiences could sometimes neutralise the effects of 'generational distancing' and provide more familiarity, which could help some respondents to feel safer around 'incivilities'.

Conclusion

This chapter has found that men from both the middle and older age groups were concerned about 'incivilities' and there were similar reasons behind these concerns. I suggest that in terms of masculine identities the categories of 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' were helpful in explaining the altruistic concerns of those with young children. Outside of this however the masculinity categories were less useful. Therefore, I suggest that it is was not simply being a 'New Man' which was important here but rather being a 'New Man' with the added factor of having dependant children and investing in discourses of being a male protector and provider. This can help to explain why older men did not discuss altruistic concerns around 'incivilities' because they no longer had dependant children and therefore life stages were also relevant here.

In terms of life stages and age, this also appeared to be relevant to the concerns of older men around financial worries which were to do with retirement, whereas those of younger men with children were connected to the material pressures in raising a young family and those of men without young children were to do with paying a mortgage and getting on the property ladder. Outside of this however, concerns and the shape of them were shared by men in the middle and older age groups and by those of different masculine identities. These points are reflected in the pattern of concerns in Tables Six and Seven.

Respondents drew links between 'physical incivilities', 'social incivilities' and a perceived lack of 'community' within the area. Therefore, these findings provide support for the work of other writers (see Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Hope and Shaw, 1988a). The majority of discussions about 'community' were nostalgic for a lost 'homogeneous' neighbourhood containing inhabitants with shared interests and morals. Therefore, senses of 'community' were largely in the past tense and drew upon notions of a 'traditional community' (Etzioni, 1997).
I argued in the literature review that 'incivilities' and 'communities' ought to be conceptualised *experientially* (see Willmott, 1987) and that it may be helpful to accentuate a *private* sense of 'community' over a *public* one (see Taylor, 1991). My findings provide support for these

suggestions in that notions of 'incivilities' and 'communities' were based on practices of 'othering' around those who were seen as being responsible for 'incivilities' and a breakdown in 'community' values such as youths. For three older respondents their accounts were also racialised; wherein Black and Asian residents were constructed as *outsiders* who were perceived as having contributed to the destruction of a 'traditional community' in the area. It was implicit in these narratives that Black and Asian inhabitants were considered by these respondents to be *different* to their white selves and to be taking over a white area (see also Merry, 1981).[349]

The biggest 'incivility' in the area was that of youths; who were seen to be problematic because they were connected with the idea of a disintegrating community. They were seen as being a product of it and a cause of all the other problems in the area. Within the interview situation these men constructed the youths in the area as being 'different' which involved conceptions of selfhood and the notion of 'generational distancing'. With the exception of four respondents,[350] the remaining respondents who discussed 'social incivilities', [351] defined themselves as being from a particular generation and the youths in the area as being from a different generation. Indeed, even comparatively young men constructed their youth as 'past' and distanced themselves from the younger generation. The concept of 'generational difference' also involved 'unfamiliarity' in that these respondents claimed to be unfamiliar with the masculinity identities of the boys. Indeed, the men sought to suggest that 'youths' in the area were different from their present selves *and their younger* selves. These factors were implicated in a 'generalised suspicion' of young men discussed by the majority of these respondents. The concept of 'generational difference' was also reinforced by the fact that these respondents did not really know any young people in the area. Indeed, I suggest that part of 'generational difference' was that these men tended to identify and associate with those of the same generation.

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[349] The 'Macho Men' in Chapter Five gave similar accounts.
[350] Harry, Ian, Dean, Trevor.
[351] See Tables on incivilities at beginning of this chapter.

Trevor and Dean were interesting because they provided different accounts of 'community'; for Trevor, the notion of 'community' involved a shared class and a sense of belonging (see Willmott, 1987) which was informed by his negative experiences of living in another area, whilst Dean drew a sense of 'community' from friendly neighbours living in the same block of housing. These different conceptions of 'community' also seemed to contribute to feelings of safety for these respondents who were less concerned about 'incivilities' than those who discussed 'community' in more traditional ways.

Therefore, I suggest that for my respondents their 'in-categories' and 'out-categories' around 'incivilities' involved social categorisation based on factors such as identifying with a 'generation' (see Tulloch, 2000) but were also informed by more personalised components of identities and experiences. Other more personalised factors around 'incivilities' were those that were implicated in the masculine identities discussed in Chapter Four such as home ownership and fatherhood. Indeed, of those respondents who discussed 'incivilities', fathers of young children were the most concerned because of the perceived threats to their children. These factors were emphasised in their discussion of a heightened sense of vulnerability when out with their children and also in their discursive practices of distancing themselves from 'bad parents'. The factor of control was also stressed in those identity constructions and linked to that of being a protector. These men tried to take control of perceived risks to their children in a variety of ways such as accompanying them when they were going to school and not allowing them to play on the streets. However, there were limitations on behavioural strategies around children as these were often based on finances and/or co-cooperation of the child and this served to increase concerns for some fathers.

Other more general limitations on behavioural strategies, which increased concerns, were feelings of futility around the police, the council or through possible retaliation. However, one older respondent, Sid continued to regularly confront and chastise youths despite his recognition of possible risks to his health and a previous incident where he had experienced retaliation for doing so. This example is indicative of a disparate case of resistance (see also Hollway & Jefferson, 1997; Tulloch, 2000). In contrast, two respondents made a conscious

decision to try and interact with youths more positively to avoid potential problems and felt that this had helped them to avoid recriminations and/or abuse.

Finally, respondents could sometimes take control over perceived risks through the most common behavioural strategy that of avoidance of risky people and places (see Merry, 1981; Tulloch, 2000). Respondents also engaged in neutralisation strategies included drawing upon familiarity with people and places,[352] which were often used alongside comparing the area with others that were as bad or worse and this them to manage their concerns.[353]

In conclusion, this chapter can help us to understand the processes involved in coming to see 'incivilities' in the area as threatening (see Sparks, 1992). It has also provided evidence of how stages in the life course, masculine identities and personalised experiences were important in terms of informing feelings around safety.

[352] The 'Macho Men' in Chapter Five also used this.
[353] Men who could not afford to leave the area often used these strategies.

Chapter Seven
Concerns around Property and Personal Crime, Middle and Older Age Group

Introduction

This chapter examines concerns around property crime and personal victimisation. The first part of the chapter covers concerns about property crime and provides an explanation of factors that were involved. The second part of the chapter focuses on personal assault and shows how older men were not the most fearful and that men with young children in the middle age group were also relatively unconcerned. Despite this, men in both age categories expressed altruistic concerns and I explain the factors that were involved in these. I suggest that masculine identities and personalised conceptions of selfhood[354] were important to many of the risks discussed and that the concepts of 'vulnerability' and 'differential impact' discussed in the literature on the 'Fear of Crime' need to be widened to include this notion in relation to both personal and also altruistic threats.

The chapter discusses both recollections of 'fearful' incidents and hypothetical concerns. The effects of experiences of 'victimisation' together with the consequences for behavioural strategies, feelings of well being and constructions of 'risks' are also covered. The chapter shows how some experiences of 'victimisation' increased concerns while others lessened them.

Finally, the chapter also discusses the behavioural strategies developed by the respondents to manage 'risks'. I suggest that limitations on behavioural strategies could serve to heighten concerns as was discussed in the last chapter. I also show how not all respondents took avoidance measures despite discussing concerns and explain why.

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[354] Such as personal experiences which meant something to one's sense of self.

Property Crime: factors that made respondents feel unsafe

Table (10) - Concerns about crime expressed by middle sample

Respondent	Type of Man	Car Crime	Burglary	Burglary Altruistic	Mugging/Physical Assault	Mugging/Physical Assault Altruistic	Rape Altruistic	Abduction Altruistic
Alan	NM	X	X	X		X	X	X
Dave	NM		X	X		X	X	X
Andy	NM		X	X				
Woody	NM			X				X
Ian	NM		X	X	X	X	X	
Jeff	NM	X	X	X	X	X		X
Robbie	NM	X	X	X				X
Trevor	NM		X	X		X		X
Dean	NM		X					
James	NM				X	X	X	
Adrian	NM		X			X	X	
Warren	RNM		X	X		X	X	
Stephen	RNM		X	X		X		X
Vincent	RNM		X	X				X
Brian	TM	X	X		X			

Table (11) Concerns about crime expressed by older sample

Respondent	Type of Man	Car Crime	Burglary	Burglary Altruistic	Mugging/Physical Assault	Mugging/Physical Assault Altruistic	Rape Altruistic
Gerald	NM		X				
Harry	NM					X	X
Albert	NM		X				
Seamus	NM						
Arthur	SM		X				
Fred	RNM		X				
Francis	RNM		X		X		
Sid	RNM	X	X				
Reggie	RNM	X	X	X		X	
Martin	RNM		X			X	
Tom	RNM	X	X				
Ron	RNM		X		X	X	
Roy	TM						
Frank	TM		X				
Tony	TM		X			X	

This chapter explains the pattern of the concerns detailed on the above tables. As they show burglary and car crime were concerns expressed by men in both age groups and by those who discussed different types of masculine identities. Men in the middle age group who had 'New Man' style identities[355] discussed altruistic concerns about burglary. An exception to this in terms of age was Reggie an older respondent with a 'Reluctant New Man' style of identity who was worried about his older children who had left home and lived alone because

[355] Both 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men'.

both had recently experienced break-ins and they had asked him for help with fitting security measures.

In terms of concerns around personal assault, six respondents expressed concerns, four from the middle age group and two from the older age group and these included respondents from different masculinity groups.[356] Those respondents who expressed altruistic concerns about partners and children in terms of assault were men from the 'New Man' and 'Reluctant New Men' categories and included men from both age groups with younger and older children still at home. The exception was Tony who discussed a 'Traditional Style' of masculinity but who stated that he was close to his wife and adult son who lived at home. Three older men[357] with adult sons and daughters at home discussed altruistic concerns around crime where they had not done so around 'incivilities'. Therefore, once again the masculinity categories that I developed appeared to be most relevant here in terms of altruistic concerns where the factor of fatherhood and/or discourses around being a male protector were still relevant. Although the masculinity categories were less helpful in explaining concerns around other crimes the factors of developmental gendered ageing and stages in the life course were important, as I will show. I am firstly going to discuss non-altruistic concerns about property crime.

Property Crimes

There were four factors behind these concerns about property crime including altruism, attractivity, attachment and direct and indirect experiences of such crimes. These factors also involved a heightened sense of 'vulnerability' where respondents presented themselves as having 'at-risk identities'. Men[358] constructed themselves as being at heightened risk of property crime because they attributed the notion of 'attractivity' (see Ditton et al, 2000) to their possessions. They felt their property would be attractive to potential thieves. In this respect there was a connection between being a car and/or homeowner:

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[356] See tables at beginning of the chapter – note although Francis expressed some concerns he did not alter his behaviour and still walked his dog at night.

[357] Harry, Martin, Tony. I suggest that this was because concerns about 'incivilities' which were connected to schooling and involved worries about sons and daughters being led astray or bullied, which were discussed by fathers of younger children, were not relevant.

[358] Nine men from middle and older age groups - Alan, Dave, Ian, Jeff, Warren, Brian, Gerald, Reggie, Tom.

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

...there's so much joyriding goes on round here...you see stolen cars burnt out in the river...if you've got a decent car parked on the street, you're bound to be worried

This notion of 'attractivity' was connected to another factor that of direct or indirect experience of property crime. Many of the men constructed themselves to be 'at risk' from property crime through having 'attractive' possessions based upon their knowledge of property crime in the area through direct and indirect experiences. Fourteen of the men in the sample[359] had direct experience of burglary, either within or before living in the area, and/or car crime:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...we've been burgled once since we've been here...next door was burgled about eighteen months ago while they were in bed...we know people down the road that have had their cars damaged by whoever walking past at night...they've done it to ours as well

Four respondents[360] had experienced an attempted burglary; younger men living within the area were perceived as being the perpetrators of these offences as with incivilities, so actual and attempted victimisation was perceived as being perpetrated on those of the same class by men of the younger generation:

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

....one night when my daughter was a baby...I heard a noise and I got up and turned the light on...I've looked out of the front window and these three youths came walking out of the side entry...they'd obviously seen the lights go on and they walked off and went down the road...when I checked the back...three screws had been taken out of the conservatory window

[359] Dave, Ian, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, James, Warren, Stephen, Brian, Sid, Reggie, Tom, Ron, Frank.
[360] Jeff, Dean, Tony, Fred.

Thirteen respondents also discussed the indirect victimisation of friends, family or neighbours in the area:[361]

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...there was an elderly couple next door...she died last year and her husband about a month or so after...I don't think she really recovered from the shock of being burgled and her husband died soon after her

Direct and indirect experiences of victimisation made men feel less safe because they confirmed that their possessions were attractive to thieves and vandals and increased their beliefs that a particular crime was prevalent in the area:

Brian (Aged 32) TM

...the neighbour the other night had his garden shed broke into and his son's bike went...there was a spate of burglaries up this road recently...an Irish chap up the road got his door kicked through and his house burgled...I had my car window smashed on the drive a few years ago

Another factor that was implicated in concerns around property crime was that of attachment. Men who were attached to their possessions constructed themselves as being vulnerable to property crime. Nine respondents were attached to possessions involving a financial investment and therefore felt protective of their property.[362] These points are demonstrated by the next extract:

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I mean you worry about your house...we leave lights on when we go out...my car was expensive...when my car is outside, if I hear any noises at night time, I usually open the curtains and see what's going on in case anyone's damaging anything...I don't know if that's a natural thing being protective of your home and your car

[361] Dave, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, Vincent, Brian, Gerald, Fred, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Frank, Tony.
[362] Alan, Dave, Ian, Jeff, Warren, Brian, Gerald, Reggie, Tom.

This financial aspect of attachment was linked to constructions of selfhood because for these nine respondents their concerns around property crime were linked to discourses around being a homeowner and car owner. In Chapter Four, I discussed how respondents placed emphasis on their ownership of homes and cars in their discussions around identities, as these were a reflection of their status as breadwinners. Here, I am suggesting that threats to possessions could be heightened if they meant something to your sense of self.

However, the notion of attachment was connected to ideas about selfhood in more intimate ways because the construction of possessions being at risk was particularly high when they were of sentimental value.[363] Items were classed as 'sentimental' because they were connected to significant moments in life histories and personalised components of identity formations in that they meant something to one's image as a man. In the following extracts a photographer and a musician depict themselves as being more vulnerable to property crime because of their awareness of their attachment to their possessions:

> **Tom (Aged 70) NM**
>
> *....I've got a lot of equipment...my first camera from when I was a very young man...some of it is very special...priceless really ...to me anyhow*

> **Ian (Aged 29) NM**
>
> *...I really love my guitars, I've spent years saving up for them and I've got thousands of pounds worth of equipment...I worry about having it nicked from the house...out of my car...any of my possessions that I really value, I don't want them nicked or damaged*

Implicit in these narratives is the suggestion that the risks were perceived as more threatening because the men felt that the *emotional* impact on them would be particularly detrimental. In such cases, respondents constructed the risk of property crime as being more vivid.

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[363] Alan (work tools), Ian (Guitars), Harry, (Furniture and China), Tom (Cameras), Ron (Travelling and war mementos), Seamus (Banjo), Reggie (mother's jewellery).

Similarly, accounts of victimisation also differed depending upon the level of attachment to possessions and these were also linked to constructions of selfhood. As I have suggested, for Ian the threat of having his guitars stolen is potentially de-stabilising for his identity, which revolves around being a part-time musician and lecturer in music. This realisation was brought home to him in his recent experience of an attempted mugging outside of the area. Consequently, it made the experience more frightening for him and his response to it was different that it may otherwise have been:

> *....if it had been my wallet, or anything else, I would have just passed it over, but passing over my guitar, it's such a precious belonging...irreplaceable, it would be like passing over a child...there was no way I was going to pass it over*

Three respondents[364] also recalled feeling particularly bad over victimisation when sentimental items had actually been stolen. These sentimental items constituted part of their life histories and informed their perceptions of the sort of men they were or had been. For example, the following quotation comes from an older respondent whose younger identity had been that of a war hero:

> **Ron (Aged 60) RNM**
>
> *...I was terribly upset when my house was broken into...it's personal things, more than anything...a television you can replace...but I had a lot of mementos...I'd brought them back from abroad, when I was in the Navy..... Chinese artefacts, boomerangs from Australia...other stuff from Malaya...probably of no value, but to me they were memories...they had sentimental value...I told you that that I got blown up whilst I was serving in the Navy and I'd nearly died ... I had a little muslin bag ....it had shrapnel in it... that the doctors had taken out of me and had given me to keep... they*

[364] Reggie, Ron, Seamus.

[the burglars] even stole that...they might have thought it was silver or gold... it broke my heart to have it taken...it took me a good while to get over it

Items were also considered to have sentimental value because of a connection to significant others; being part of one's family and history: [365]

Seamus (Aged 76) NM

...my son had his house broken into....there was a banjo that had belonged to me and before that to my father...I had given it to my son....and it was then passed on to my grandson...we were all very upset about that, more than the expensive jewellery that had been taken, you know

These threats and incidents were related to identities in very personalised ways and this made risks more threatening and incidents more distressing for these respondents.

A further factor, which was implicated in increased concerns around property crime, was that of an inability to replace items and respondents worried about this regardless of their attachment to possessions:

Brian (Aged 32) TM

...some stuff isn't insured ...so I worry about that...household insurance is pretty expensive...and I'm paying for a divorce...so I didn't take it out last year

However, I suggest that the notion of 'differential impact' was relevant here to 'attachment vulnerability' in that respondents that had invested in property were more likely to worry if they felt that they could not replace the items:[366]

[365] Reggie (jewellery) and Harry (furniture and china).
[366] Brian, Alan, Woody.

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I worry about some of my belongings...we haven't got receipts for some stuff...and so it isn't on the insurance...like we've got a wide screen TV which I love and that isn't covered

Sentimental items were by their very nature irreplaceable and this helps to explain why respondents were particularly concerned about them being stolen.

Finally, attachment to one's home and a sense that one's privacy had been invaded were discussed by some respondents who had been burgled:[367]

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

....it was very distressing...just the feeling that somebody had been in the house...and sort of, been through our private things and that, you know, touched everything

I suggest that conceptions of selfhood were also relevant to these feelings of invasion because those men that discussed this were attached to their homes as discussed in Chapter Four. I will explain this point in more detail when I discuss burglary. Suffice to say here that these respondents were particularly upset over the invasion of their homes and their privacy, and discussed feeling a sense of personal violation after their homes had been burgled.

I argue, therefore, that financial investment, sentimental attachment, privacy and notions of selfhood all contributed to feelings of vulnerability. This meant that respondents perceived the effects of property crime to be particularly detrimental for them. In light of the aforementioned points, I argue that the concepts of 'vulnerability' and 'differential impact' as discussed in the literature need to be widened to include the aforementioned notions, in particular that of selfhood. I will now show how notions of selfhood were not limited to

[367] Reggie, Gerald, Trevor, Ron.

concerns about one's own property or oneself but that they also informed altruistic concerns about burglary and other offences.

Altruistic concerns about burglary

Eleven of the 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' in the middle age group discussed altruistic concerns about burglary.[368] Examples of altruistic property threats[369] are provided by the following accounts of actual or possible burglaries. The first quotation concerns a recent experience of burglary which was more troubling for the respondent than a previous one had been because his wife and three children were actually on the premises when the burglars entered and he was out working nights:

> **Trevor (Aged 36) RNM**
>
> *...we've had the house burgled whilst the wife was in bed...they walked into the bedroom...it was kids...the dogs wouldn't have let an adult into the house...but if you've got kids your dogs have to be OK with them...when one of them [youths] went into our bedroom, the dog realised they weren't supposed to be upstairs and she started going for them, so they legged it out...it really upset my wife*

Implicit in this account is the added concern that the dogs[370] were not a deterrent on this occasion because they had let strange youths into the house and that they were unlikely to prove effective in similar circumstances. The following respondent also claims to be worried about burglary because his wife and children are in the house alone whilst he is out at work at night:

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[368] See tables on crime at the beginning of the chapter - also Reggie an older respondent whose grown up children had recently experienced burglary.

[369] There is work in emergence on altruistic threats, see Warr (2000) and Snedker (2006) but it does not incorporate a focus on developmental masculine identities.

[370] Two respondents cited their dogs as a deterrent factor, Trevor and Vincent.

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...I worry because I work nights...I'm not here at night and my wife and kids are... and that's what I'm worried about...plus my wife, she's a really heavy sleeper...you could crash a car through the bay window and she wouldn't wake up

There are several aspects to these concerns including obvious risks to the physical safety of family and effects upon their emotional well being. In this sense the concerns of these men are altruistic. However, burglary also presents a risk here to constructions of masculinities around being a father and male protector. As we saw in Chapter Four, both Trevor and Jeff constructed themselves as 'New Men'; fatherhood was central to their conceptions of selfhood and being protectors of their families was part of this role.[371] Consequently, threats to their families whilst they were off the premises compromised their identities and were especially troubling. If they were not on the premises when a threat to their family was present, they would have no control over what happened. As the following narrative about an actual experience of burglary demonstrates, threats to significant others could still present a problem when a man was on the premises:

Stephen (Aged 37) RNM

...we were burgled whilst we were asleep and that was frightening for a few weeks afterwards...it does scare you... the thought that we were in the house and they'd broken in while we were there...anything could have happened...it was fear really for my wife rather than for myself, this was before we'd got kids

The issues of being a male protector and in control are also present in this example. Stephen discusses being scared both during the incident and for some time after it. Implicit in the quotation is his perception that he may have lost control and been unable to defend himself and protect his wife. This is an important contribution to the literature on the 'Fear of Crime' because it shows the developmental nature of these 'fears' and 'risks' and how normative ideas about gender informed them. I suggest that the life stage of fatherhood had

[371] See Chapter Four. Another respondent who worked nights and expressed altruistic concerns about burglary was Woody. Woody was not concerned about burglary per se but simply about a break-in whilst he was off the premises.

implications for the construction of altruistic risks. These men constructed their families as 'vulnerable' and this practice involved normative ideas about women and children. Moreover, by constructing one's partner and children as 'vulnerable', they were constructing themselves as a protector of them, and this also involved 'normative' ideas about being a man and father. However, paradoxically, in constructing oneself as a protector, men were also making themselves feel 'vulnerable' through judging themselves by a benchmark of which they perceived they could fall short. Finally, the very notion of being a male 'protector' also incorporated that of maintaining control and being resilient, which was important to the 'New Man'[372] style masculinities discussed in Chapter Four. Burglary therefore posed a threat to all three of these dimensions and was therefore particularly troubling for these men.

Therefore, I argue that these concerns were heightened for these respondents because of the *ambiguous* nature of the altruism. That they were indeed altruistic, in terms of involving concerns around 'significant others' for whom men felt responsible but also as a consequence of this, they involved threats to their conceptions of selves. The notion of 'differential impact' was also relevant; because these threats involved *significant others* and *notions of selfhood* the possible consequences were considered to be more detrimental.

An interesting point about the last quotation is that despite his admission of 'being scared' for some time afterwards, Stephen ends his comment by suggesting that it was really 'fear' for his wife rather than himself that he was feeling. This suggests that within the interview situation, constructions of 'risks' from burglary on behalf of wives and children enabled men to give voice to their own concerns while maintaining an image of 'fearlessness' before the interviewer. This is interesting because it would suggest that questions that had simply asked men whether or not they were afraid of property crime, would have failed to pick up these nuances, which my method enabled me to do. It could also help to explain the emphasis that these men placed on 'altruistic' concerns; it may suggest that they were projecting their own anxieties here onto women and children (see Freud, 1963; Hollway, 1989)

[372] Both 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men'.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I showed how these men invested in discourses around masculinities, which were centred on fatherhood and the home but that they were still able to embody more 'traditional' discourses around being a breadwinner and/or a male protector. In addition to this, many of these men were buying their homes and had invested money and time in improving them and being a homeowner was part of their masculine identities. Consequently, their homes represented financial and/or social status; it said something about them as men and provided a sense of accomplishment as well as being an area whereby they exercised status and control as 'homeowner', 'breadwinner', 'father' and 'protector'. Indeed, for these men, the home represented a social space where all of these factors came together. Apart from work, therefore, the home provided the main space where these men were 'doing' their masculinities. Moreover, the home represented a 'refuge' from the barrage of incivilities[373] that these men perceived outside of their doors.[374] I suggest, therefore, that because these men invested so much in family life and the home, a burglary may have been viewed as particularly threatening, because it involved an invasion of their 'domain' as well as posing a threat to their families and identities as homeowners and male protectors.

Consequently, the combination of these aforementioned factors served to make these men feel more vulnerable and escalated their anxieties about burglary. In short, burglary was particularly troubling for these respondents because it involved a threat to significant others, for whom men had constructed themselves as responsible and also to various dimensions of their ideas about their masculine selves.

Behavioural strategies and limitations

There were several behavioural strategies around property crime. The most common was avoidance,[375] which included target hardening such as investing in security devices like immobilisers, locks for cars, burglar alarms and window locks. Two respondents[376] kept baseball bats under the beds to deal with potential burglars. Other strategies used by

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[373] See Chapter Six.
[374] See Taylor (1991) on 'drawbridge' and 'fortress' mentalities around the home.
[375] All of the respondents that discussed concerns about burglary and/or car crime mentioned using these techniques.
[376] Trevor and Jeff.

respondents included deterrents such as keeping a dog and/or subterfuge such as drawing curtains, using light timers and other pretences[377] or a combination of such strategies. All respondents that had experienced direct or indirect victimisation around car crime or burglary discussed using such strategies:

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...we've done our house up inside but we never did the front up...I want them to think we've got nothing inside

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...when they broke into the house... the car wasn't here...so they knew my wife was here on her own....but now, they don't know whether I'm here or not, because a lot of the time when I go to work at night... I leave the car here... it's not having a routine isn't it...'cos people see a routine and then they put two and two together

Interestingly, however, not all respondents took avoidance measures despite expressing high levels of concern. For example, we saw earlier how Ian, a 'New Man', was very concerned about his guitars and musical equipment being stolen because of his sentimental attachment to them and because they meant something to his personal history and identity. However, despite expressing high levels of concern, he admitted that he did not take adequate steps to protect them because of his personality (see also Hollway and Jefferson, 1997), which overrides his concerns:

...I've got thousands of pounds worth of equipment in my house and I haven't got a burglar alarm and I'm really slack about security, ... I'm very sort of slap happy about lots of things

[377] Used by Brian, Gerald, Andy, Jeff and Trevor.

This provides an example of how despite high levels of concern other factors such as personalities could prevent respondents taking evasive behavioural measures. I will discuss another example of this at a later point in the chapter.

Heightened concerns – limitations on behavioural strategies

Sometimes, there were structural, financial and practical limitations to taking behavioural measures to reduce risks and these also led to increased concerns for the respondents affected. For example, six respondents[378] had to work shifts and/or nights because of the nature of their work and/or for financial and practical reasons. We saw earlier how Trevor's home had been subjected to a burglary whilst he was working nights. In the following quotation he explains how his behavioural options were somewhat limited by financial and practical circumstances:

> ...m*y wife was terrible in the house on her own for quite a bit afterwards and I was worried...we discussed me coming off nights...going on to days...but then we thought, that will put a stop to the voluntary work I'm doing...helping with the baby... and extra money...so my wife just grit her teeth basically and overcame it*

Another respondent, Jeff, worked as a casino manager which necessitated working nights and so he would also have had to change his job. Concerns around burglary were, therefore, heightened for these men.

We saw in the last chapter how respondents were reluctant to call the police over incivilities. In respect of property crime, six respondents[379] claimed to be dissatisfied with the police following a break in or property being stolen or damaged:[380]

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[378] Woody, Ian, Jeff, Trevor, Brian, Tony.
[379] Robbie, Trevor, Warren, Gerald, Reggie, Tom.
[380] See last chapter for similar findings around incivilities.

Reggie (Aged 65) RNM

...we wasn't very happy with the police...it took them three days to come and they didn't seem interested....we never heard any more

However, people were still inclined to call the police over car crime or burglary because of the insurance requirements albeit not because they felt that the perpetrator would be caught.[381]

Neutralising concerns around property crime: factors which made respondents feel safer

In contrast to factors that heightened concerns around property crime, other factors helped respondents to feel safer or to keep their concerns to a manageable level. Some respondents[382] indulged in fatalism; if it was going to happen it was going to happen, and therefore there was no point being overly worried about it:

George (Aged 60) SM

....I don't worry much...cos if anyone wants to break into your house, they'll break in anyway, whatever precautions you take

As we saw earlier, the risk of burglary was increased for some respondents who were uninsured; the converse was also true, respondents who were insured claimed to be less concerned about burglary as a result:[383]

Harry (Aged 60) NM

....I'm not overly bothered about being burgled because we're insured

Whilst attachment to possessions meant that some men felt more vulnerable about property crime; a lack of attachment meant that other men[384] were less worried:

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[381] See also BCS.
[382] Fred, Gerald, Arthur, Frank.
[383] Gerald, Harry, Trevor.

Woody (Aged 31) NM

...I'm not really bothered about my car being taken [laughs],.. it's an old banger anyway

Moreover, whereas direct or indirect victimisation made respondents feel less safe; a lack of direct and/or indirect victimisation made respondents feel safer:[385]

Andy (Aged 31) NM

....we back on to quite a notorious council estate...when we first moved in that was my main concern but we've been here two years and we've never had a spot of trouble ...and the guys I speak to in the club, they all live in the middle of the council estate...and they haven't had any problems either...so now I don't really think about it

Finally, knowledge of indirect burglaries did not always result in heightened concerns. Some respondents[386] suggested that knowledge of burglaries outside of the area were less troubling for them than those within the area because they were further removed:

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...my brother has been burgled several times...he lives in [another area]...but I'm less bothered about that than I would be if he lived around here...I was worried when the neighbours got burgled

Reggie (Aged 65) NM

...my brother was broken into...but he doesn't live in this area, he lives in (xxxx)....so that doesn't bother me really...not like it might if he lived around here

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[384] Woody, Fred.
[385] Andy, Roy, Seamus.
[386] Francis, Reggie, Robbie, Gerald.

This last finding provides support for work by (Smith, 1986) in that local events had more significance than non-local events.

Effects of actual and attempted property victimisation

For most respondents,[387] actual experiences of property crime meant that they became more aware, vigilant and/or prepared to invest in avoidance tactics:

> **Gerald (Aged 64) NM**
>
> *...you're always wondering what you're going to find once it's happened before it's just the thought of what you're going to find every time you come in the house...it is on your mind...I've fitted window locks since*

However, actual or indirect victimisation did not always make respondents feel more afraid. Sometimes it could serve to reassure them because it proved that their security devices were effective, that they had good insurance cover or because the experience was not as bad as they had anticipated and so they had coped with it:[388]

> **Dean (Aged 34) NM**
>
> *...I did nearly have a break-in once...it kept going through my mind, someone took the kitchen window out and I'd got the alarm so that went off ...they gave up on it...I didn't let it get to me because I realised that the alarm had worked and scared them off*

> **Robbie (aged 30) NM**
>
> *...I mean that's one thing ...we've realised we've got really good household insurance...we were burgled...and by the following week I'd had a cheque, replacing everything*

[387] Dean was an exception.
[388] Dean, Robbie, Trevor, Gerald.

A lack of attachment to property could also reduce the impact of property victimisation.[389] In the following quotation, the respondent explains how he was less bothered about a burglary in another area than in his present area partly because he was leaving and also because he was not attached to the items:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

....the day that we moved out...we'd only been gone about an hour...we went back ...and they'd broke in and nicked all the carpets...they even took the work surfaces in the kitchen, [laughs]...we weren't bothered because it was stuff that we weren't gonna take...we were just relieved to be getting out of the area

Woody (Aged 31) NM

...I had my car broken into...it didn't bother me though...they just took my coat and the speakers [laughs] it was quite funny actually, the coat was no good and the speakers didn't work

There is incredulity and humour in these accounts, largely because the stolen items were unwanted but the former incident is also constructed as being less troubling because the couple were in the process of leaving the area at the time.

Personal assault[390]

Only a few men in the sample claimed to worry about personal crime in the form of assaults and/or mugging.[391] The following sort of response to the question of whether they thought about personal crime was fairly typical:

Dean (Aged 34) NM

...I don't sort of worry about that

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[389] Discussed by Trevor and Woody. Two younger respondents, Kelvin and Kyle who suggested they were less concerned about a mugging in terms of the property because they didn't like their mobile phones, also mentioned this.
[390] Mugging is discussed here because men perceived it as a personal assault, a threat to self, as well as a property crime.
[391] See table at beginning of chapter for details.

In part, this was because some of these men claimed that they felt that they could handle an incident:[392]

Alan (Aged 37) NM

...I never worry about myself like that because I know I can handle myself

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...I'm not worried about myself much 'cos I figure that I could give as good as I get...but you still try to avoid situations

However, as the latter part of the second quotation shows, men[393] did engage in behavioural techniques to reduce the possibility of personal assault and/or were aware that their lifestyles placed them at relatively low risk.

This brings me to the issue of safety within choices around leisure, which has not received much attention in the 'Fear of Crime' literature but it is an important consideration and can help explain the differences in the concerns of my respondents around physical assault. The most important factor mentioned by respondents when choosing a drinking establishment was safety from violence and this informed their actual or hypothetical choice of drinking establishment.[394] Only six men from a total of forty-five[395] drank in the area at either a workingmen's club or a club that was affiliated to the local Catholic Church, both of which required membership. The requirement for membership and the practice of asking for membership cards on the door meant that these respondents perceived and experienced less trouble. The discussions around these clubs show how working class respondents categorised people in the area into decent and non-decent inhabitants:

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[392] Alan, Jeff, Warren, Andy.

[393] All of the men in the middle age group discussed taking some behavioural strategies to reduce risks i.e. not walking in certain area, visiting pubs, walking at night. Harry, Albert, Seamus, Arthur, Fred, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Tom, Ron, Frank and Tony also discussed these practices. Roy lived in a residential home and only went to the shops by car. Gerald and Francis were the only older respondents who walked the streets at night.

[394] Discussed by Alan, Dave, Andy, Ian, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, Dean, James, Warren, Stephen, Vincent, Brian, Harry, Albert, Arthur, Fred, Francis, Sid, Reggie, Martin, Tom, Tony.

[395] Andy, Brian, Fred, Francis, Martin, Arthur.

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...I'm a member of the Social Club...I go twice a week...drink with other men from around the area...most of which are plumbers, builders, electricians...they've bought their own council houses, it tends to be fairly rough and ready people....I mean...decent working class people...not trashy types...I normally go in the Gentlemen Only, we'll have a game of cards, discuss politics, sport, things like that

Four respondents[396] discussed abandoning a former pub or club when they perceived that the clientele had changed and it had become 'less safe'. This provides further examples of how people can change their lifestyle habits and use of social space based upon an alteration in perceptions of the space and/or it's inhabitants.[397] Moreover, the discussions suggested that membership of a club meant that you were part of a 'community' of like-minded individuals within it and once that changed, men would often relinquish membership.

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

....there used to be eight pubs around here and they've all closed down...we used them years ago ...when we were younger and fitter and before the area went downhill...twenty years ago, it was acceptable to go and use the local pub...once the general rowdiness started...before the really serious violent stuff....we moved out

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

....the thing about the Legion...there used to be a membership...you had to apply and they never used to have any riff-raff...they never used to let in any trouble makers and they used to have a certain class, not middle class, but they used to have a certain type of person...there are people now that got into that club that are rougher...because all three pubs have closed down...so it started to become their establishment ...there was a lowering of standards...so we moved on because of that

[396] Brian, Vincent, Martin, Ron.
[397] See also Chapter Six.

None of the men used pubs in the area and indeed at the time of the research only one pub in the area remained open; the rest had been closed because of violent incidents. However, respondents suggested that they had constructed them as threatening based on how they looked and perceptions of those that used them:

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...I wouldn't set foot in most of the pubs, but saying that most of them are boarded up now...talks of guns and all this sort of stuff just puts me off

Andy (Aged 31) NM

.... the pubs go seriously down hill...it's the local character it attracts...they had a murder at one pub, a taxi driver got kicked to death outside...there's been a lot of trouble, they've knocked nearly all of them down

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

...I would never go in a pub around here because I see the people going in and out...and also you see the people that are standing around the school gates...you tend to work out what type of people live in the area

However, it should be pointed out that the family men suggested that they rarely went out because of family commitments and so these men[398] were talking hypothetically.

Finally, for those men[399] who visited pubs outside of the area, some only occasionally, safety, was the main consideration:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...I don't want to go to a pub and have to be careful...having to watch your back...be on your guard ...not look at someone wrong...I want to feel safe

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[398] The exceptions were Ian and Andy.
[399] Ian, James, Tony,.

Those men with older children at home worried about them visiting pubs outside of the area for similar reasons.[400] Another factor connected to safety in pubs was not knowing and/or being familiar with the people that used it:

Warren (Aged 31) RNM

....I wouldn't go to the local pub any more, I don't think any of the old crowd still go in there...I think it's the fact that there's a chance of seeing unfamiliar faces down there

Brian (Aged 32) TM

...I used to go in the nearest pub before it closed...because I knew everyone so that was alright... the other one...you used to get all the bikers in there...I wouldn't go in there because it's their own crowd isn't it?

A further connected aspect of unfamiliarity was having nothing in common with the people that used it. The following respondents are suggesting that they have 'moved on' from the times when they lived and socialised in the area, they are now 'different' people. [401]

James (Aged 25) NM

...I don't want to be among these people or see people that I used to know, because it's boring and I've moved on...you'd get the usual piss-taking and boring conversations, why bother?

Ian (Aged 29) NM

...I think my tastes have changed...I probably think that it's also like a tribal thing...the people that I want to mix with don't go there any more

A final reason given by one respondent was that he had grown out of drinking in pubs:

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[400] Harry, Martin, Tony.

[401] Also discussed by Warren. Note these were the respondents who discussed a change in their 'class' as a result of going to university – see Chapter Four.

Dean (Aged 34) NM

...I think really that's my old lifestyle...I've sort of done all that and if I go in a pub now, I want to get out because it's not fulfilling me.. I think that's probably a personal reason

The last three examples therefore are due to changes in identities through personal choices and the process of growing older.[402] These quotations are important because they show how respondents made assessments of safety around leisure based on their perceptions of others. Pubs were constructed as potentially dangerous places and respondents made the connection between alcohol and violence. I suggest that this knowledge and the fact that they knew they did not visit pubs informed their lack of concern about physical assault.

In contrast, five respondents[403] who discussed concerns about mugging and/or being physically assaulted were aware that their routine activities around work and leisure exposed them to risk.[404] These respondents had also recently experienced victimisation and/or the threat of it:

James (Aged 25) NM

...I was walking down the road last summer...about nine o'clock on the evening...there was a gang of lads walking down the road... about eight of them... who I didn't recognise...I could see they were out for trouble, the usual bravado, shouting and singing football songs.. they were a little way up the road ...walking and bouncing a football around, then they spotted me and started throwing abuse...'Come here you wanker, you queer'...just to cause trouble...and then one threw a bottle towards me...fortunately I was still a reasonable distance away... I got to the corner and ran basically...I was frightened at the time, not terrified, because they were still a little distance away...and only one or two were looking in my direction...I might have been terrified...if they had been closer ...or if they had surrounded me

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[402] Note these three respondents still gave safety as their main consideration when choosing a pub.
[403] Three 'New Men', James, Ian and Jeff, a 'Traditional Man', Brian, and a 'Reluctant New Man', Ron.
[404] James was the only one of these five respondents who did not have a car and so he used the streets and public transport more regularly which also increased his concerns.

James' account recalls his fear at the time of the incident, his uncertainty, how he interpreted cues and assessed the risk and took evasive action (see also Tulloch, 2000). It also shows how he reflected on the incident afterwards and realised that it could be much worse. Ian, another 'New Man', was also aware of the possibility of assault because he walked around the area in his role as a youth worker. Although he had not been assaulted in the area he had experienced attempted assaults and muggings outside of the area, some recently:[405]

> *...I'd been playing a gig and I was walking home.... two blokes blocked my path...they were drunk...one of them makes gesture, like, 'Give me your guitar'...I was scared, I didn't know if he had a knife... my mind was racing...and I was trying to think through my options, like running to where there was loads of people, but I knew that I couldn't run with the guitar, they would have just caught me, so I decided to brazen things out and I think they were a bit surprised that I just said 'No!', I forget sometimes that I'm a big bloke, and I don't think they fancied it, then I just upped the ante and said 'Get the fuck out of my way', in my experience, if someone is going to hit you they will do it quickly....this time I was wrong, I just tried to barge through them, and one of them took a swing and caught me in the mouth...it knocked me off balance, and I dropped my guitar... I was angry and shocked and so I just went on auto pilot....I took a swing at him and I caught him and knocked him over and then his mate legged it, he was on the floor, and I could have just laid into him, but I didn't want to... I wanted to just get back to the flat...because I was frightened and shook up... when I was in the flat I felt shitty and very lonely... I just wanted to go home...I was thinking what if he had had a knife, what if he had stabbed me and left me there, and thinking about my wife and how she would react... I was just glad to be in the flat, safe within four walls*

In the previous account, Ian also describes his fear and adrenaline at the time, the uncertainty inherent in the situation; how his handling of the incident was based on instinctive reactions

[405] Within the last two years.

rather than planning. Again, he also reflects upon the experience, how afraid he was, how much it had affected him and how much worse it could have been. The following respondent was threatened with assault quite regularly in his role as manager of a casino:

Jeff (Aged 37) NM

" *...where the casino is there's a car park ...it was about half two in the morning and there was a bald headed tattooed guy...obviously drunk...with no shirt on and with blood pouring over his face... and he's like 'Give me a lift'. I jumped in the car and locked the door...and he stood at the front of the car and he wouldn't move... and I was thinking...I'm going to have to run this guy over...and eventually, thank God, he went ...it was frightening... if he'd got to me there was no doubt that he would have inflicted pain on me ...although once I was in the car, I wasn't as bothered because he was never going to get to me*

Jeff has developed a series of cues based on his experiences of problematic situations and these inform his formation of future cues and strategies for handling such situations:

...I work in a casino that's very rough and ready...you learn to read the signs...you can see the difference between somebody who's going to hurt you and who's not ....you can pre-empt situations.. experience teaches you that...most gamblers...when they lose their tempers they go a bit crazy.. in my time at the (casino) I'd stood between people with machetes.... iron bars ... I've had people try to punch me ...you kinda learn to deal with it...it doesn't really bother me so long as I can find a way to get out of it

This provides an example, therefore, of how past experiences in terms of life course knowledge (see also Kelly, 1987; Stanko, 1988) inform risk strategies and future situations:

Andy (Aged 31) NM

...I was walking through town after having too much to drink and I was knocked to the floor and had my wallet stolen...there were two guys and two girls... the two guys pinned me to the floor...I was scared but I was also very angry...I just wanted to get hold of them....I was frustrated more than anything

In this incident, Andy describes a mixture of emotions, fear, anger (see also Ditton et al, 1999b) and frustration. Andy also discusses his perceived sense of injustice and lack of control in the incident. In terms of experiences of victimisation other respondents mentioned anger and frustration as well as feelings of fearfulness.[406] These narratives show how men could be fearful when faced with a specific threat and how they drew on cues when dealing with the uncertainty of it. The findings also show how they reflected on such incidents and recognised their fearful feelings around not being able to control the outcome of such incidents.[407]

In Chapter Four, I discussed how some older men[408] saw themselves as being more vulnerable as a result of the ageing process because of declining physicality, and suggested that they felt they would be less likely to be a hero or to be able to defend themselves. Despite this, these men did not report high levels of concern about physical attacks. Eight[409] of these men did not go out at night and the remainder only went out by car or taxi, and did not drink in pubs but in clubs requiring membership. This relatively safe lifestyle contributed to their feelings of safety. Two older respondents,[410] claimed to be a little concerned about physical assault because their routine activities[411] might expose them to it, but they qualified this by saying that they were not unduly worried.

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[406] Ian and James.
[407] Showing how men can feel vulnerable after such incidents – see also Newburn and Stanko (1990).
[408] Francis, Sid, Albert, Reggie, Frank.
[409] Albert, Seamus, Sid, Reggie, Tom, Ron, Roy, Frank.
[410] Both 'Reluctant New Men', Albert and Francis.
[411] Walking at night, Francis (SM), Driving a post van, Ron, (RNM).

In addition to this, one older man who did walk the streets at night and did not worry about personal assault suggested that this was because of his personality: (see also Hollway and Jefferson, 1997, 2000).

Gerald (Aged 64) NM

...I don't worry too much about personal crime....I'm not really the sort of person that worries....I just make sure I put my wallet somewhere safe....I get the bus at night....not really late ...but nine to ten...because I don't have a car...I often get lifts, but if I want to go up to the community centre then I will walk there at night...and to and from the bus stop

Behavioural strategies

We have just seen how respondents claimed to make decisions around leisure on choice of drinking venue, in large part, by evaluating the potential for personal assault. These respondents were aware of the potential of the escalation of violence, particularly where there was more than one opponent in an actual or threatened attack.

The preferred behavioural strategies around personal victimisation were vigilance and avoidance.[412] However, not all respondents used avoidance behavioural strategies. Indeed, one respondent who expressed concerns about declining physicality[413] did not use avoidance tactics like staying in at night, despite these concerns. This provides an example of resistance as discussed by Hollway and Jefferson (1997, 2000) and Tulloch (2000):

Francis (Aged 68) RNM

...I sometimes look after my son's dog...I always take him for a walk of a night...I take a big piece of stick... so I've got something in case [laughs]

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[412] Of places where they could risk a physical assault – see previous discussions on pubs and Chapter Six on incivilities.
[413] See also Simon (Aged 20) in Chapter Five who had been subjected to a nasty assault but was not prepared to alter his behaviour.

For Francis, therefore, his freedom of movement was more important than his concern about a possible assault; although he did arm himself when out at night.[414]

Respondents that had recently experienced an attack or attempted assault, stated that they would only fight back as a last resort and would attempt to calm the situation first. Indeed, Ian admitted that he would not have fought back in the aforementioned incident if it had not been for his sentimental attachment to his guitar (discussed earlier) and that this was not his usual approach in such situations. These strategies were similar to those used by the 'Softer Men' in the youngest category discussed in Chapter Three. The exception to this was Brian, a 'Traditonal Man', in the middle age category. He stated that he would fight back if confronted because his manhood would be put on the line:

> **Brian (Aged 32) TM**
>
> *...pub fights, well they happen don't they? ... I'm not gonna stand there and let a geezer come up to me and start mouthing off or challenging me...it's like a test isn't it.....your manhood and that...you can't stand for that...I would hit them, give them a hiding*

Despite this he discussed his recent avoidance of a drinking venue following a scuffle with other men:

> *...the one time me and my mate was in [a local pub][415] ...and some geezer said something to my mate's bird and they had a little bit of a scuffle...we stayed away after that and didn't go back again because we knew there would be trouble...I think if we would have gone back to that pub the day after....I don't think we would have been walking out*

Other self-imposed limitations on behavioural strategies included decisions about whether to involve the police. Those respondents who had recently experienced assaults had failed to

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[414] Providing an example of resistance (see Hollway and Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Tulloch, 2000)
[415] Since closed.

call the police following an attempted or actual physical assault because of their perception that it would be a waste of time[416] and/or because they did not want to pursue the incident. The following quotation provides an example where the police were called following a mugging, but the respondent felt that it had been a waste of time:

> **Andy (Aged 31) NM**
>
> *...the thing that made it worse was that the police were basically unhelpful... the fact that I'd had too much to drink probably didn't help the situation, 'cos they just thought, 'Oh, he's had a drink'.....so yeah, I was frustrated and angry about that*

These narratives therefore describe men feeling fearful, reading situations based on cues and previous experiences (see also Tulloch, 2000). They also show how men recalled feeling frightened and vulnerable both during the incident and afterwards because of their uncertainty about the outcome; feelings of anger were also discussed. These findings show that these men were far from 'fearless' or unconcerned about physical attacks.[417]

Effects of personal victimisation

I showed earlier how sometimes experience of property crime could help to reduce concerns. Those respondents who discussed an actual or attempted personal assault suggested that they were more anxious and vigilant following the incident. James was usually very vigilant when out and about and suggested that he was even more so following previous incidents that he had experienced. However, he pointed out that he did not feel too bad about a recent mugging incident because he had not been physically hurt. Consequently, he felt that the behavioural changes that he made following the incident were less dramatic than they would have been otherwise:

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[416] See Chapter Five on the 'Softer Men' in youngest age group.
[417] See also Chapter Five on the youngest age group.

...I was surrounded by four Asian lads...they tried to mug me...I wasn't beaten up, I talked them out of it and stayed calm...I told them I had no money and they let me go...I was nervous though, obviously at the time, .I was scared ...and then after angry...I still occasionally walk along that road, not on my own, I walk there with my brother or friends...but if I had taken a beating...I would have felt differently I expect...I wouldn't walk down there

In contrast, to the aforementioned accounts, the majority of respondents had not experienced incidents like this within the area and/or the recent past and this lack of recent experience, coupled with their knowledge that their lifestyles were unlikely to expose them to the risk of pub and street violence, contributed to their constructions of 'risk-free' identities in this respect.

Personal assaults against children and partners

Despite claiming to be unconcerned about physical assault against themselves, a number of men were concerned about potential violence against their partners or children. Some respondents[418] mentioned the possibility of children being snatched by strangers; although two of these respondents qualified this by saying that they worried more about other children and traffic, [419] it was still a risk that these men considered:

Woody (Aged 30) NM

...I do think about paedophiles, there's crap like that...but it's more about them being picked on

[418] Alan, Dave, Woody, Jeff, Robbie, Trevor, Stephen, Vincent.
[419] Vincent and Trevor. Incivilities were discussed in Chapter Six.

Robbie (Aged 30) NM

...we hear that much on the news about sex offenders...that obviously worries you constantly

Two respondents suggested that sex offenders could be living in the area and they would not know about it; this lack of knowledge and the 'unfamiliarity' made the danger more real:

Vincent (Aged 28) RNM

...I think just the way the world is today, there is a threat outside...you don't know who drives up and down ...that's a worry, when you have children...weirdos...trying to encourage children to go off with them

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...we worry about adults to a certain extent, you don't know whose living in the area...like paedophiles...'cos they like to integrate them into an area...it's dangerous without them being treated

In contrast, a concern around older children[420] was of their children being physically attacked and/or mugged within the area. The children of two of the four respondents with older children had recently been mugged:

Trevor (Aged 36) NM

...we don't even like our older son[421] going out...he's been mugged

The twenty-two-year old son of another respondent, who still lived with his parents, had recently been subjected to a serious and unprovoked physical attack in the area, leaving him extremely nervous about going out which had increased his father's concerns:

[420] Children aged 15 and above discussed by Trevor, Tony, Martin and Harry.
[421] Aged 15 years.

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

...I mean my son's[422] *been mugged and I worry about that...they gave him a good beating...completely unprovoked...I had to take him to the hospital...I got a taxi up to where it happened...I took my other son with me...but we couldn't find any of them...it's changed him...slowed him down...he's a lot quieter...he hardly goes out now*

The two other respondents with older children living at home also worried about them going to pubs, nightclubs and football matches outside of the area because of the potential for assaults. As we can see these risks were gendered:

Harry (Aged 60)[423] **NM**

...my son and my daughter like to go to the nightclubs up town...I worry about my daughter having her drink spiked, sex crimes...then there's the violent side of things, people being attacked in pubs by men that have had too much to drink, I worry that my son might get attacked... but I try to be philosophical about it, I have to put myself down to just being grateful when they come home and they're safe again

Tony (Aged 60) TM

...I worry about my son getting attacked or getting dragged into a brawl ...he doesn't drink, and when he goes out, his mates love that because he's their eyes...but I worry about him...because of violence, fights, glassings and that

At a later point in the same narrative, Tony talks about his concerns when his son visits football matches, albeit there are two types of risks here from other football fans and the police:

[422] Aged 22 years.
[423] Who had a son and a daughter of 23 and 26 respectively who still lived at home.

..I worry when he goes to football matches... football hooliganism ....I mean, there's a big match coming up on Sunday with Birmingham City and Millwall....people tell me that a lot of Millwall supporters belong to the BNP and apparently there's several areas in Birmingham where they're going to cause trouble on Sunday....you worry about that sort of thing...your son getting beaten up....and talking about football now, I worry about the police as well... my son, he's into rock music...when I used to go with him some years ago... I used had to stand there and watch them search him... just because he wore a leather jacket and he'd got long hair...I've seen the police pick on innocent people, friends of ours, I've seen them grab somebody out of the crowd...instead of grabbing the right people...so I worry about that sort of thing...that he might get arrested for something that he hasn't done

As we can see, therefore, fathers of older children at home were concerned about these sorts of issues because they perceived that the lifestyles of their children exposed them to certain risks. Moreover, because their children were now young adults these fathers had lost the ability to control their behaviour. As I have already shown, in contrast fathers of younger children were concerned about social incivilities and danger from paedophiles because they saw their children as being at risk of these because of their ages and were therefore more able to control these risks.

Three of the older men[424] and seven of the middle group[425] also worried about possible assaults against their partners such as mugging. This was because they constructed their wives/partners as easier targets than them and felt that they were likely to be subjected to street crimes. For example, Stephen worried about his wife being mugged when she was out and this was due to a recent experience. He felt that his wife was specifically targeted on this occasion because she was seen as a vulnerable woman with children:

[424] Reggie, Martin, Tony.
[425] Alan, Dave, Ian, Jeff, James, Adrian, Stephen.

...I do think about crime...it's property crime I think... my wife took the children to a party...she was followed into the car park by a couple of kids...they smashed the car window and nicked her handbag and everything in it

Jeff also said that he was worried about his wife when she was out and about with the children because she might be seen as a soft target. Older respondents provided similar accounts:

Martin (Aged 60) RNM

...I worry about my wife...I'll give you an example, my friend's son was mugged yesterday for the second time in the local shopping centre...I told my wife...I worry about that because she is always down there...and if they are going to mug a young bloke then she is much easier target

In addition to altruistic concerns about mugging, six men in the middle sample[426] were also very worried about potential sexual assaults against their wives/partners. Once again, this shows how life course stages and developmental ageing informed not simply risks about oneself but altruistic concerns about others. Men in the middle group constructed their wives/partners to be at risk of sexual attacks by drawing on discursive norms about male and female behaviour. For example, the following quotation from Alan, a 'New Man', details his concerns for his wife, which drew on normative discourses (see Walklate, 1997) around men, women and sexual attacks and influenced the type of advice that he gives her:

....I always worry about my wife when she goes out... I know women are weaker and I feel she's more vulnerable .I said to my wife, if a bloke grabs hold of you....the first thing you should do is always play with him....you don't have to go all the way.... ...the blokes gonna be stronger and he's gonna be attacking you...to begin with, you try and say 'No, I don't want to'...if you fight him, he'll pin you down quicker and he'll

[426] Alan, Dave, Ian, James, Adrian, Warren. With the exception of Warren these men were worried when their partners went out at night. Those men who were not worried knew that their partners did not go out at night. However, Warren was also worried about his partner during the day because of her experiences of sexual harassment.

hurt you...but if you play along for a few seconds... until he becomes more vulnerable...when his guard weakens, that's when you go in and hurt him and then run... a bloke is stronger....but even blokes have their vulnerable parts....apart from the obvious, down below, the best place a woman can ever hit a bloke is in the Adams apple, he can't breathe, you use your brain don't you?

Part of Andy's advice to his wife is to avoid being killed and he mentioned tactics that could be employed to fool the potential rapist. However, part of his advice to her is also to avoid being raped; note his comment that you 'don't *have* to go all the way'. This shows how *normative* ideas filter into his ideas about rape and shows his naivety about the nature of a sexual attack.

Moreover, Warren was concerned because his wife had been approached several times by strangers. This goes to show how some men realised that women did not have to be walking the streets at night to be at risk of sexual assault or harassment:

...when my missus is out shopping....that always makes me worried, you know, 'cos she gets a lot a attention from other blokes...she is a good-looking woman...so that bothers me.. 'cos before she's got a bit scared because she's been followed or hassled or what have you... she phoned me up the other week and said she had been approached by someone and she was shook up...it was a business man actually in his car....just driving and he stopped and turned around a couple of times and asked her some silly questions and basically said 'Do you want to come with me?'...I just left the office and went to see her and made sure she was OK...but it makes me very anxious...she has her mobile with her and I tell her to ring me immediately if anything happens

I suggest here that sexual attacks towards their partners were threatening to these men for several reasons. Firstly, in a purely altruistic sense these men worried on behalf of their partners because they saw them being potentially at risk of such attacks and their anxieties

were increased by their knowledge that their wives went out at night.[427] Secondly, their identities as 'New Men' emphasised being caring towards their partners and protective of them. However, there was another dimension to sexual attacks that was different to that of a mugging because of the sexual component. The 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' identities discussed by these respondents involved viewing oneself as family men in monogamous relationships.[428] Consequently, sexual assault had the potential to threaten their ideas about their wives/partners as exclusive sexual partners and de-stabilise these relationships and family life in a way that a mugging did not.[429] These men had emotional and psychological collateral invested in their relationships with women, particularly the mothers of their children and rape represented risks of their constructions of their exclusive 'relationships' with their partners, which were part of their masculine identities as partners and fathers discussed in Chapter Four. This dimension of monogamy may also have served to heighten concerns about burglary, which were discussed earlier.[430]

In addition to this, as I showed earlier, some men mentioned the idea of 'being out of control' or of someone 'getting the better of them' as threatening.[431] Attacks upon wives and children which threatened their sense of masculine identities as partners and protectors and which encroached upon their territory, were perceived by many of these men as 'somebody getting the better of them'. I suggest that these factors served to increase their concerns about sexual attacks upon their wives/partners.

These concerns about women affected the sorts of behavioural strategies that men developed around keeping their wives/partners safe. Firstly, some men, tried to take control by making sure that their partners were never out alone at night:[432]

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[427] In contrast to those men who did not express these concerns who knew that their wives did not go out at night.
[428] With the exception of Ian, all of these men constructed themselves as being in monogamous relations and therefore their wives were constructed as being exclusive sexual partners. Albeit that Ian engaged in extra marital affairs he still considered his wife to be exclusive to him.
[429] The accounts of the 'Macho Men', as we saw earlier, were more ambiguous and revolved around women as partners, which involved exclusive monogamy on the part of the woman, or alternatively, women as 'sluts'. In both of the examples provided by these men, women were commodities.
[430] This can be compared to findings discussed in Chapter Three where the 'Macho Men' suggested that being out with women could be problematic because other men might try to provoke you by making comments or making a move on her and therefore your territory.
[431] Alan, Dave, Andy, Ian, Jeff, Warren, Stephen, Brian.
[432] Dave, Ron. See also Danny in Chapter Three.

Dave (Aged 28) NM

...my wife used to work at the hospital and come home quite late...I used to go and pick her up...it was cave man instinct, to protect her more than anything, not that she has ever had any trouble, but I'd hate to think that I was sitting at home and something had happened to her...mugging, rape, death... when I could easily just go and pick her up

The concerns about his wife were heightened for Dave partly because she worked shifts and also because of an indirect experience:

...there was a spate of attacks around there about two years ago...women were attacked and some raped...they used to get warnings all the time about people... one of my wife's friends used to work at the same hospital ...she got followed to her car, but she managed to get in...lock all the doors and roar off

A second strategy used by these men was to give their wives/partners advice. However, giving advice is more difficult than Dave's strategy of taking control because it is dependant on the compliance of the woman. The following quotation exemplifies Jeff's frustration with the fact that despite his advice about potential muggings his wife fails to heed it:

...she's a target if she's out with the kids...she's got her bag and a mobile phone and money and stuff like that... the amount of times I tell her, always to drive with the doors locked and I know she doesn't ... if she goes out and she doesn't come back when I expect her back, I have to phone her cos I'm always worried

Older men provided similar accounts of trying to control risks to partners and or providing advice, albeit they were concerned about mugging only:

Ron (aged 60) RNM

...my wife finishes work at ten o'clock at night...last Saturday...she thought I wasn't going to be able to make it to pick her up, so she left the building at ten to ten, to go and get a bus...but I was on my way...she should have called me or at least got a taxi...I always tell her that...I shouted at her and I shouldn't have done... but I've always got that fear...I mean an old lady nearby... they snatched her handbag and dragged her along the floor...she was injured and very shook up

The fact that their partners' behaviour was outside of their control coupled with their perceptions of their partners' vulnerability meant that risks towards partners were constructed more vividly:

Ian (Aged 29) NM

... the other night my wife was going out with her friends... I said 'Don't walk across town on your own or through subways' ...I wouldn't want her to walk anywhere where she could risk being attacked...she makes up her own mind but I'd tell her 'I will worry if you walk across town'...I mean there's been times when she's been late back and I start to worry...'Where is she? What's happened?'...I don't go around all the time thinking 'Oh my God', the chances of my wife getting attacked are really small...and she doesn't do anything to put herself in a risky situation, she doesn't walk on the streets late at night...but it does cross my mind when she goes out"

The contradiction in this account is interesting. Ian is obviously worried when his wife goes out at night, but because her behaviour is out of his control, he tries to neutralise the effects of his fears by qualifying his concerns with discussions of actual risks. Consequently, as we saw in the last chapter about 'incivilities' and children, threats to older children and women were problematic for these men. Although they tried to give their families advice and/or to give them lifts to prevent possible incidents, there were times when this advice was not taken.

Consequently, the perceived lack of control over these risks increased the anxieties of these men.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided evidence of links between the risks identified by my respondents and the masculine identities and/or routine activities that they discussed in Chapter Four. It has shown how men in both the middle and older age categories were concerned about property crime. In terms of 'non-altruistic' property crime I developed the notion of 'attachment', suggesting that men were attached to their homes and possessions. The factors that were involved in 'attachment' included financial investment, sentiment, home ownership and privacy.

With regards to risks of personal assault against selves my findings counter several popular assumptions from the 'Fear of Crime' literature. Firstly, my respondents were not 'fearless' nor were they reticent to discuss concerns. The discussions included recollections of 'fearful' moments and also hypothetical concerns around physical assault. However, in contrast to the youngest age group where all fifteen of the respondents had been concerned about physical assault, here only six from a total of thirty respondents in the two age groups were concerned.

Some men in the middle age group suggested that this was partly because they felt that they could handle an incident. In contrast, as I showed in Chapter Four some older respondents discussed declining physicality and felt unlikely to be able to handle an incident. Despite this, older respondents, contrary to assumptions made in the 'Fear of Crime' literature, were not overly concerned about physical assault.[433] The main reason for this for both age groups appeared to be their knowledge that their routine activities did not expose them to high risks of this.[434] Moreover, as I showed in Chapter Four, older men had a different range of concerns about daily life involving health, retirement and bereavement and I suggest that their concerns about crime and discussions of declining physicality need to be centred within these experiences. Crime was simply one of a range of concerns within which the ageing process

[433] Exception was Francis who discussed concerns because he walked at night. Despite his concerns and his acknowledgement of declining physicality he did not alter his behaviour in this respect.
[434] This is in contrast to the youngest sample.

was implicated (see also Pantazis, 2000). In addition to this, I also suggested in Chapter Four, that some of the 'disempowering' aspects of growing older could be outweighed by more 'empowering' experiences such as having more leisure time and having less demands on their masculinities. Therefore, for my older respondents, their experiences of the ageing process did not always contribute to increased perceptions of vulnerability as has been suggested in the literature.[435]

A consideration of the aforementioned factors can help to explain why contrary to the 'Fear of Crime' literature; the older respondents in this study were the least 'fearful'. However, all of these older men were still relatively independent and mobile and it may be that other research finds that older men become more 'fearful' if, and when, they lose their independence.

In contrast to this apparent lack of concern about personal victimisation, all of those men with young children in the middle age group expressing a 'New Man' or 'Reluctant New Man' style of masculinity discussed high levels of altruistic concerns about their families which included burglary, child abduction, muggings and rape. I have suggested that for those men with young families, altruistic risks were disturbing for a variety of reasons. Firstly, these men were concerned about wives/children because they saw them as being at risk of certain crimes and therefore worried on their behalf in an 'altruistic' sense. However, these altruistic risk constructions also involved 'normalised ideas' about the perceived 'vulnerability of women and children' and *normative expectations* around being a male partner[436] and father. Therefore, not only were their wives and children constructed as 'vulnerable'; but these men also viewed themselves as male protectors of them. A component of the 'normalised ideas' about sexual assault against partners was that of danger to women from *strange* men. Indeed, I suggest that this meant that the risk of sexual assault involved a further dimension of risk for male partners because it had the potential not only to compromise notions about being a male protector but could also undermine the concept of monogamy. Sexual assault could therefore destabilise ideas about wives as 'exclusive' sexual partners and threaten the construction of the monogamous relationships on which conceptions of family life were built.

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[435] See Literature Review.
[436] i.e. to a woman.

An additional factor that was implicated in increased concerns about altruistic risks as opposed to those to selves was that of control. Although respondents tried to take control of the perceived vulnerability of their partners, in reality taking control of the behaviour of women and older children was not always possible.[437] This lack of control served to increase the anxieties of respondents about risks to older children and women.

Therefore, I suggest that the altruistic concerns of these men could be centred within their identities and lifestyles as 'New Men' or 'Reluctant New Men' that placed great emphasis on relationships with monogamous women, fatherhood and being protective of significant others. Consequently, I have argued that notions of developmental masculine identities informed what sort of men these respondents considered themselves to be and, consequently *who* they worried about and *why*. However, developmental gendered ageing also informed the *shape* of altruistic concerns i.e. *how* men worried about others in terms of *their* gendered developmental ageing. Examples included the female partners of men in the middle age group who were perceived as being potential victims of sexual attacks whereas the partners of older men were not. Similarly, young children were perceived as being possible victims of abduction, whereas an older female child was considered at risk of rape and older male children at risk of physical assault from other men. This shows how an awareness of the life course stages and the routine activities of others informed the altruistic concerns of my respondents.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided support for the suggestions made by other writers about the gendered nature of fear[438] and the need to conceptualise gender[439] and fear developmentally.[440] Indeed, this chapter has highlighted the importance of gendered developmental selfhood to both 'immediate'[441] and more 'generalised threats'. [442] An important finding has been about the *nature* of altruistic concerns and their relationship to

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[437] This can be contrasted to the ability of men with younger children to control their behaviour to an extent, outside of school, which was documented in the last chapter.
[438] Goodey (1997), Walklate (1997).
[439] Gardiner (2002).
[440] Goodey (1997).
[441] Recalled fearful incidents.
[442] In contrast to suggestions made by Tulloch (2000).

masculine identities but more personalised aspects of identities were also relevant to non-altruistic concerns.

I suggest therefore that the notions of 'vulnerability' and 'differential impact' within the 'Fear of Crime' literature need to be expanded to include more of a *personalised*[443] emphasis on gendered, developmental conceptions of selfhood and aspects of life histories such as sentimental attachment. Moreover, I also suggest that ideas within the literature that 'older men' are highly fearful of physical assault may be misconceived, as are suggestions that younger men are relatively unconcerned. This qualitative project has shown why these ideas may be misleading and has provided alternative explanations.

[443] In contrast to suggestions made by Tulloch (2000).

Conclusion

This qualitative project has answered several questions posed by the literature on both 'Fear of Crime' and 'Masculinities'. At the outset I had argued for a developmental conceptualisation of masculinity because I wanted to find out if the ageing process and different events and experiences within it were relevant to masculine identities and, in turn, whether these were important to concerns around crime and incivilities. I also wanted to find out what, if any, significance 'hegemonic masculinity' as originally defined by Connell (1987) had to the masculine identities of my respondents and their constructions of risks. By using qualitative interviews and asking men about their current and earlier lives I have been able to address many of these issues through the discovery of patterns of identities, victimisation and concerns. This supports my initial argument that 'victimisation', 'fears' and 'risks' involve *processes* (See Bowling, 2003, Kelly, 1987, Stanko, 1985,Goodey 1997).

It transpired that 'hegemonic masculinity'[444] was not as influential as I had anticipated. It was more important during schooling than at later stages for my respondents,[445] and even here the relationship between levels of compliance with 'hegemonic masculinity', popularity and bullying were not straightforward. My findings on schooling suggest that masculine identities were formed against the 'dual otherness' of females and/or homosexuals.[446] Those boys that were considered to be effeminate were labelled as 'gay' (see also Epstein, 1997) and subjected to repetitive bullying and this was because they had failed the most basic test of maleness. Even though many respondents did not actually know what being 'gay' entailed they did know that it was connected with femininity and 'not being male'; hence the use of gay synonyms as terms of abuse (Poynting and Donaldson, 2005).

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[444] As originally defined.
[445] The exception was the 'Macho Men'.
[446] Interestingly, 13 older respondents did not recall terminology around gayness, a hierarchy of masculinities or bullying at school. This may suggest that it is homophobia that informs much bullying at school; albeit I provided other reasons for why this may have been the case.

I suggest that it was this desire to be seen as straight that was more important than compliance with aspects of 'hegemonic masculinity', such as being tough or good at sport.[447] Whilst I did find that 'hegemonic masculinity' in terms of these characteristics appeared to inform popularity, in reality this was not empirically related to the number of friends that boys had and it appeared to be something of an illusion. There were both 'public' and 'private' versions of popularity and many respondents were popular with other boys *like* themselves. The dominance of the so-called 'hegemonic' boys resulted more from their willingness/ability to engage in bullying, so that other boys kept their heads down or went along with bullying whilst never internalising the 'hegemonic' values. It appeared therefore that a fear of bullying encouraged a certain amount of compliance with 'hegemonic masculinity' or, at least a reluctance to challenge it. Moreover, and partly as a result of this, respondents often *privately* disparaged boys that engaged with these forms of 'hegemonic masculinity'.

Indeed, for those boys who were engaged in the bullying of others, peer pressure appeared to be a factor. Moreover, some respondents suggested that they hoped that by doing this attention would be focused on other boys and therefore it may have been employed as a diversionary tactic. There was also a suggestion from some respondents that their actions were an example of the repetition of victimisation i.e. that bullying breeds bullying. Certainly, there were examples here of a circular process within which those that had been bullied often bullied others. It was notable that this often coincided with *'hegemonic resistance'* such as choosing to 'hang out' with tough boys in order to cope with having been bullied oneself.

Notwithstanding this, there were still several examples of boys that 'resisted' 'hegemonic masculinity' and the bullying of other boys and these 'resisters' included both boys who had been subjected to bullying and those who had not. The discussions of these 'resisters' demonstrated that they were more willing to make independent evaluations of the boy in question (and of the bullies) and included claims of liking the boy involved and/or feelings of empathy for him, suggesting that even effeminate boys were not simply 'unpopular'. Moreover, there was also an example of 'tough' boys choosing to defend an effeminate boy

[447] Only eleven of my respondents were 'popular' in terms of compliance with 'hegemonic masculinity' and of these two had engaged with it in large part as a form of 'hegemonic resistance' to bullying, Trevor and Jeff.

when other considerations became more important for example as part of loyalty to his brother who had become part of their gang.

Given these examples of 'resistance', future research needs to focus on why some boys continue to pay 'lip service' to 'hegemonic masculinity' when they do not really value its characteristics and do not really like the boys that exhibit them. It is this 'collusion' by boys that helps keeps 'hegemonic masculinity' in place (see Connell, 1985, 1987) as both a discursive option and practice, but my research suggests that this collusion is a complex phenomenon. I suggest that the concepts of 'hegemony' and 'popularity' within the schooling literature need to be reconsidered as 'popularity' has 'public' *and* 'private' dimensions. The view from below can tell us a lot about masculine identities: the boys that engaged in 'resistance' to bullying were strong individuals. Consequently, much greater emphasis needs to be paid to motivation, empathy and choice when considering engagement with different versions of masculinities during schooling, including that of 'hegemonic masculinity', and its relationship to homophobia, popularity and bullying.

In terms of later identities these early experiences did not appear to be lasting. What appeared to be most important about schooling in terms of later identities was that those embodying a 'tough masculinity' at school did not engage with the schooling process and this affected their later discursive opportunities; further they had continued to exemplify a tough masculinity after leaving school.[448] Although five of the nine 'Macho Men' expressed regret at their earlier life choices and emphasised their desires for change, they were finding that their opportunities to do so were very restricted.

With regards to later life stages, my research has found that certain modes of being masculine appeared to be dominant at different life stages,[449] and were seemingly in response to men's changing relationships with women. The dominance of 'new' to 'old' masculinities in the sample would call into question the 'hegemonic', previously defined by

[448] All of the 'Macho Men' were unemployed and nine out of ten were still using the same version of masculinity as they had been at school.
[449] My respondents considered that forms of masculinity appear to have changed and this was particularly so as men matured i.e. as they settled down and became fathers or retired and/or became grandfathers.

Connell (1987) as the most valued attribute of masculinity.[450] In my research, 'the traditional man' was the limiting case, both 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' enjoyed their involvement with children and the 'New Man' outnumbered the 'Reluctant New Man' who, in part, still yearned for the 'good old fashioned masculinity"; a version of masculinity that did not expect and would not have tolerated housework. Furthermore, there were examples of both 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' in both the middle and older age groups suggesting that these styles of masculinity are not limited to younger and middle aged men. These points are particularly important given the fact that the research was set in a predominantly working class area. The question however, remains: did this involvement with the home and children stem from these men being disposed towards being caring and nurturing in the first place: or did men became more nurturing because of this involvement?[451] The findings do suggest, however, that the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity' does require reconsideration at later life stages also.

These findings enable me to deal with some of the criticisms of Connell's concept of 'hegemonic masculinity'[452] by providing an example of the relational aspects of gendered identities and can help us to see how formations of masculinities are affected by new configurations of women's identity and practices especially amongst the girlfriends, wives and partners of respondents in the middle age category but also of some in the older age category.

Moreover, they provide an example of the notion of 'dialectical pragmatism' between different forms of masculinities; as suggested by the work of Demetriou (2001), for example they show how once 'subordinated masculinities' (i.e. traditionally softer forms) feed into (traditionally) once dominant forms[453] and how they are acknowledged by, subsumed by and/or change such forms of masculinity. Consequently, we can connect such 'dialectical pragmatism' with changing notions of femininity and geographical notions of gender. For example, global and

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[450] Connell's original conceptualisation of 'hegemonic masculinity' is still very much the subject of research – see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005.

[451] In other words when they had become fathers or grandfather; these points could be considered in the subject of future research.

[452] See literature review and Appendix One.

[453] As expressed by older men when discussing their earlier selves in terms of when their children had been growing up

national accounts and images of men have informed local practices on the ground; accounts and images of 'New Men' (see Mort, 2006) have emerged alongside new accounts of femininity such as the 'Career Woman' (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

For my respondents these influences appear to have been picked up in terms of changes in *normative expectations* around men and women and affected how men, in relationships with women, invested in discursive practices around masculinity and, therefore, their relationships with 'hegemonic masculinity'. This can help to explain why men in my study felt able and, in some cases, obliged to invest in and express a 'New Man' style of masculinity; these practices can infiltrate 'hegemonic masculinity', as a discursive type/resource, between different types of masculinity and therefore as a structure of gender relations. In this way, new forms of 'hegemony', take shape, such as here where men continue to exemplify some aspects of 'traditional' forms of maleness/hegemony such as being independent, protective, and a breadwinner but are also able to express more 'nurturing' tendencies through fatherhood, relationships with women and involvement in the home. Consequently, more traditional and subordinated forms can become fused into a new form, which may become 'hegemonic', as appeared to be the case for the family men in this study (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). [454]

Moreover, there is also some support here for Gardiner's (2002) suggestion of the 'feminisation of masculinities' as these men got older and progressed through the life course.[455] Changes in masculine identities were reported as being due to education and social mobility or marriage and family life. Less frequently they were due to a conscious or personal moment of choice. The findings have suggested that life stages are important in terms of the formation of identities because respondents drew from the discursive choices that were available to them at that time and that were relevant to their circumstances. Different discourses became available and unavailable throughout the life course; for example gaining employment, buying a home, settling down and having children provided respondents

[454] The masculine identities of my 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' provided an example of a hybrid wherein traditional forms of masculinity incorporate aspects of softer forms – see Demetriou (1991)
[455] Certainly in the accounts of four of the older men (Reggie, Martin, Ron and Francis) and also Trevor, who had made a transitional change from a 'hegemonic' tough style' of masculinity to a 'softer one'.

with the discourses of being a homeowner, a breadwinner and a father. Retirement and/or physical ageing reduced the opportunities to engage in discourses around being a breadwinner, a tough guy or a hero. Some ways of being male, therefore, such as being tough, ceased to be available or attractive at certain times in life. These changes in turn had implications for feelings of well-being and 'risk' constructions.

These different life stages and the implications for discursive choices were sometimes experienced as 'empowering', 'disempowering' or a combination of both for individual men. Fatherhood for example was experienced as both an 'empowering' and a 'disempowering' experience, as was retirement. These examples provide evidence of the material opportunities and constraints involved in making discursive choices around 'hegemonic masculinity'. They also help us to understand the non-discursive aspects of such choices involving other material components of power relationships such as those involving human bodies and/or social relationships (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

I suggest that one of the more 'empowering' aspects of getting older for some men was that they were no longer expected to be breadwinners, providers and protectors of their children: in this respect they were not subjected to the sorts of pressures that younger men still had. However as grandparents some men had the opportunities to be closer to children without the responsibilities. These findings can help us to understand the nuances in the ageing process and also the patterns of concerns of those men in the middle and older age groups. Older men were no longer evaluating themselves by the discourses of being a male provider and/or protector, those men with young families were.

This can help to explain why men with young children in the middle age group expressing a 'New Man' style of masculinity discussed high levels of altruistic concern about incivilities and crime which included children being led astray or bullied, burglary, child abduction, muggings and rape. For these men, altruistic risks were disturbing for a variety of reasons. Firstly, they were concerned about wives/children because they saw them as being at risk from certain 'incivilities' and crimes and therefore worried on their behalf in a truly 'altruistic' sense. However, these

altruistic 'risk' constructions also involved 'normalised ideas' about the perceived 'vulnerability of women and children' and 'normative expectations' around being a male partner[456] and father including providing the best for their children and protecting their families. Not only were their wives and children constructed as 'vulnerable' but also these men were *also* 'vulnerable' in terms of how they constructed both their families and themselves as men. In this way risks to their families also posed risks to the *masculine identities* of these respondents.

I have argued therefore that developmental masculine identities and normative ideas about men, women and children informed what sorts of men these respondents considered themselves to be and, consequently, who they worried about and *why*. However, developmental gendered identities also informed the *shape* of altruistic concerns i.e. *how* men worried about others in terms of *their* gendered developmental ageing. Examples included the female partners of men in the middle age group who were perceived as being potential victims of sexual attacks whereas the partners of older men were not. Similarly, young children were perceived as being at risk of being led astray, bullied or abducted, whereas an older female child was considered at risk of rape and older male children at risk of physical assault from other men. This shows how an awareness of the life course stages and the routine activities of others informed the altruistic concerns of my respondents. Moreover, it also touches on an additional factor involved in altruistic concerns around families: control. Although respondents *tried* to take control of the perceived vulnerability of their families, in reality taking control of the behaviour of women and older children was not always possible.[457] This lack of control served to increase the anxieties[458] about 'risks' to older children and women especially for those men that emphasised control and being a male protector in their discursive narratives around masculinity. There were further dimensions to concerns around women and sexual assault as this had the potential to destabilise male ideas about wives as 'exclusive' sexual partners and involved the risk of the loss of control

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[456] i.e. to a woman.

[457] This can be contrasted to the ability of men with younger children to control their behaviour to an extent, outside of school, which was documented in the last chapter'. However it also helps to explain the concerns of these men about their children starting school because they would have little control about who they socialised with during school hours and in this way they could be 'led astray'.

[458] The issue of control was also implicated in more generalised ways about increased concerns around crime and incivilities and often led to feelings of futility which were connected to perceptions of the police and local council – See Chapter Six on Incivilities.

over women's sexuality which in turn could undermine the monogamous relationships on which conceptions of family life were built.[459]

Therefore the high levels of altruistic concern expressed by these family men need to be centred within their lifestyles, routine activities and their identities as 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men'. They also need to be contextualised within the historical period in question: these men perceived themselves to be living during a time when more emphasis was being placed on fathering and shared responsibilities within the home. Despite this, for my respondents, it was not simply a case of being either a 'New Man' or a 'Traditional Man' – men were expected to help out in the home and to be with their children but also still to be breadwinners, to do the DIY and wash the car. Indeed, the identities of these men were focused on being a caring father who was involved in childcare and the home within a monogamous relationship with a woman but also involving discourses around being a male provider and a protector of significant others. So the 'New Men' that I found identified with a 'hybrid' of newer and more traditional discourses around masculinity – in doing so they had more benchmarks for self evaluation than the older men had within their discussions around their earlier identities as fathers to young children.

I suggested that in terms of masculine identities the categories of 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' were helpful in explaining the altruistic concerns of those with young children. Outside of this, however, the masculinity categories that I constructed were less useful. I argue, therefore that it was not simply being a 'New Man' that was important (after all there were 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' in the *older* sample who did *not* express altruistic types of concerns),[460] rather it was being a 'New Man' with the *added factor* of having dependant children and investing in discourses of being a male protector and provider that remained important. This can help to explain why older men did not discuss altruistic concerns around 'incivilities': they no longer had dependant children. Thus life stages were extremely relevant here also.

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[459] I argue that these findings suggest that part of the reason for younger women being so concerned about sexual assault (see Kelly, 1987, Stanko, 1985) may be because they are aware that their partners construct them as being vulnerable to such attacks, and suggest that this point could be examined by future research.

[460] Although men with older children at home worried on their behalf they accepted that their children were independent and did not appear to draw on male protector discourses in their discussions of these risks.

Outside of altruistic concerns there were commonalities across the accounts of both men in the middle and older age groups exhibiting different types of masculinities. On the subject of 'incivilities' and 'communities' I argued at the outset that these ought to be conceptualised 'experientially' (see Willmott, 1987) and that it may be helpful to accentuate a 'private' sense of community over a 'public' one (see Taylor, 1991). My findings provide support for these suggestions in that notions of 'incivilities' and 'communities' were based on practices of 'othering' around those who were seen as being responsible for 'incivilities' and a breakdown in 'community' values.

An example of an *experiential* focus on incivilities is provided by the aforementioned findings on the 'altruistic' shape of incivilities,[461] which was found in the discussions of those men with young children who exhibited 'New Man' and 'Reluctant New Man' styles of identity where they defined themselves as 'good fathers' by engaging in practices of 'othering' around the parents of youths in the area blaming them for the anti-social behaviour of their children. Outside of this, further support was found for this suggestion in the discussions of men in both the middle and older age groups about incivilities, which were also based on practices of 'othering'. For three older respondents their accounts were also racialised; wherein Black and Asian residents were constructed as 'outsiders' (See also Merry, 1981) who were perceived as having contributed to the destruction of a 'traditional' community in the area.[462]

An example of the practice of 'othering', which was shared between men without children,[463] those with children and older men, was that of 'generational distancing' which was linked to youths, who were seen to be the biggest problem in the area. Youths were connected with the idea of a lost homogeneous 'traditional' form of community (see Etzioni, 1997), which had been replaced by a heterogeneous collection of inhabitants without a shared set of morals.[464] Within the interview situation men constructed the youths in the area as being 'different'. This

[461] This contributes a new finding to 'The Fear of Crime' Literature.
[462] It was implicit in these narratives that Black and Asian inhabitants were considered by these respondents to be *different* to their white selves and to be taking over a white area (see also 'Macho Men' and the work of Merry, 1981).[462]
[463] James and Brian.
[464] Providing support for the idea that traditional communities have been destroyed by the processes of modernisation (see Muncie et al, 2001)

involved conceptions of selfhood, the notion of 'generational distancing' and (even for relatively young men) placing one's own youth in the past.

The concept of 'generational difference' also involved 'unfamiliarity' in that these respondents claimed to be 'unfamiliar' with the masculinity identities of the youths. Indeed, the men sought to suggest that 'youths' in the area were different from their present selves and their *younger* selves. These factors were implicated in a 'generalised suspicion' of young men discussed by the majority of these respondents.

Therefore, Tulloch's (2000) 'social categorisations' and their relationships to 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' were important to notions of *incivilities as well* as crime and were based on factors such as identifying with a 'generation' but were *also* informed by more personalised components of identities and experiences which included aspects of masculine identities as discussed in Chapter Four such as home ownership and fatherhood, both of which served to increase concerns. Other personalised experiences meant that some men did not discuss 'communities' in the same way or have a generalised suspicion of youths and, therefore, these could serve to decrease concerns.

In terms of crime, with regards to risks of personal assault against selves my findings counter several popular assumptions from the 'Fear of Crime' literature. Firstly, my respondents were not 'fearless' nor were they 'reluctant' to discuss concerns, even tough men provided examples of both recollected 'fearful' moments and also hypothetical concerns around physical assault.

The factors of life stage and routine activities were very important here for respondents in all age groups. For example, the biggest concern for all of the younger respondents[465] was the risk of physical assault from other young men. Furthermore these concerns were *grounded within experiences* of victimisation. Therefore, my research supports that of other

[465] In the 16 – 21 age group.

researchers[466] who suggest that those who are most at most at risk of physical assault are younger rather than older men.

Secondly, and importantly, the masculine identities and routine activities of the youngest respondents as discussed in Chapter Four were implicated in their discussions about recollected incidents of victimisation, risks of assault and the behavioural strategies to deal with these. I have shown how, for the 'Macho Men', who engaged with the 'hegemonic norm' of toughness within membership of a group, their victimisation involved a process (see Bowling, 2003) within which they were both perpetrators and victims; [467] they perceived that they were at risk from both known and unknown perpetrators and this perception was fuelled, in part, by the behavioural strategies they used around risks. These men also constructed other groups within the area as risky such as 'bagheads', the police and Asian shopkeepers.[468] In contrast, the concerns of 'Softer Men' who engaged with a form of masculinity which disparaged violence, constructed themselves as being at risk from unknown perpetrators, or certainly men outside of their social circle, including the 'Macho Men' and others who engaged in 'tough' styles of masculinities which were different from their own. Indeed, recollected experiences of victimisation discussed by the 'Softer Men' were binary (see Bowling, 1993). [469] This was connected, in part, to the fact that the behavioural strategies that they employed around risks were not likely to heighten risks.

Exceptions to these overall patterns were provided by personalised accounts wherein one 'Softer Boy' began to employ some of the 'tougher responses' to threats as used by the 'Macho Men' suggesting that he could become embroiled in the cycle of violence. In contrast, a former 'Macho Man' who now engaged with a 'softer' version of masculinity perceived himself to be less at risk of physical assault as a result and also because he benefited from his former association with the group and their reputations for violence.

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[466] BCS surveys.
[467] Although the 'Macho Men' were exposed to binary victimisation, the patterns of victimisation they discussed were also circular because they were both perpetrators and victims and engaged in retaliation as a behavioural response.
[468] Known perpetrators, Asian shopkeepers, the police and bagheads presented risks to their masculine selves.
[469] See extended literature review in Appendix One.

In contrast to the youngest age group where all fifteen of the respondents had been concerned about physical assault, only six from a total of thirty respondents in the middle and older age groups voiced concerns. Some men in the middle age group suggested that this was partly because they felt that they could handle an incident. In contrast, as I showed in Chapter Four, some older respondents discussed declining physicality and felt it unlikely they would be able to handle an incident. Despite this, older respondents, contrary to assumptions in the 'Fear of Crime' literature, were not overly concerned about physical assault.[470] The main reason for this for both age groups appeared to be their knowledge that their routine activities did not expose them to high risks.[471]

Further examples of risks that were shared between men in the middle and older age groups were provided around burglary and property crime. In terms of 'non-altruistic' property crime I developed the notion of 'attachment', suggesting that men were attached to their homes and possessions. The factors that were involved in 'attachment' included financial investment, sentiment, home ownership and privacy. Whilst attachment to possessions increased concerns and perceptions of impact, a lack of attachment did the opposite.[472]

The great strength of this project has been that the use of qualitative interviews and a biographical focus found that some men did report changing over the courses of their lives and/or expressed a desire for change. There are also examples here of personalised accounts which helped to explain why men did not always fit easily into the overall pattern of the developing theory. This is a strength of the method that I employed in analysis.[473]

The study is limited in terms of the sampling strategy and it is not being suggested that evidence of changes within the life courses of my respondents provides evidence of changes over the lifetime of *other* men or of differences in the concerns of *other* men at different life stages. I am suggesting, however, that the explanations that I have volunteered do help

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[470] Exception was Francis who discussed concerns because he walked at night. Yet despite his concerns and his acknowledgement of declining physicality he did not alter his behaviour in this respect.
[471] This is in contrast to the youngest sample.
[472] Attachment was also discussed by two younger respondents, Kyle and Kelvin, who were less upset about being mugged because of lack of attachment to their mobile phones.
[473] See Methods Chapter.

explain the concerns of the men in this study. It was not the purpose of this study to provide generalised findings albeit future research could examine whether the changes that I have identified can be generalised outside of the parameters of this study to a wider male population.

My work has suggested that notions of 'hegemonic masculinity' may be less relevant than they used to be. This is not to say that 'hegemonic masculinity' is redundant. My intention was to find out whether it was a relevant discourse to the identities of my respondents and I have always taken issue with criticisms of the concept that suggest that it is anything other than a discourse, which informs attitudes, behaviours and interactions. My findings suggest that my respondents were indeed familiar with discourses around 'hegemonic masculinity'. Moreover, through my findings I have managed to deal with some of the criticisms of the concept by providing examples of how men make discursive choices around 'hegemonic masculinity' especially within the context of schooling. My research has also provided examples of how some men made a change from an identity based on practices informed by discourses of 'hegemonic masculinity' to an identity based on other discourses, which resulted in a 'softer' style of identity. It also shows how other respondents reflected on their earlier life choices based around such identities as 'Macho' and/or 'Traditional Men' and also expressed regret that they may have engaged with 'softer' forms of masculinity. This was not a longitudinal study: it was not possible to say whether the 'Macho Men' would have became more like 'Softer Men' (as had Danny and Trevor, both of whom had made these sorts of transitional shifts between identities) but there was some evidence here to suggest that they might have.[474] However, importantly, my work has suggested that there may be a new form of 'hegemony', which draws on 'softer' aspects of masculinities whilst retaining some of the more traditional aspects such as male provider and protector roles.

Demetriou (2001) has referred to the dual aspect of 'hegemonic masculinity', involving 'internal' and 'external' hegemony. 'External hegemony' refers to the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women; 'internal hegemony' refers to the social ascendancy of one

[474] Especially from Kris since he had become a father.

group of men over all other men. Within the latter, Demetriou (2001) suggests that 'hegemonic masculinity' appropriates from other masculinities which involves an 'historic bloc', the weaving together of multiple patterns. In this way the 'hegemonic masculine bloc' is a 'hybridization' whose appropriation of diverse elements makes it 'capable of reconfiguring itself and adapting to the specificities of new historical conjunctures' (Demetriou 2001, 355). He suggests that this has made it possible for certain heterosexual men to appropriate 'bits and pieces' of gay men's styles and practices and construct a new 'hybrid configuration of gender practice' which blurs gender difference but does not undermine patriarchy. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that this is useful but that they are not convinced that the 'hybridization' that Demetriou (2001) describes is hegemonic, at least beyond a local sense. They are referring here to the influence of 'gay' masculinities. However, I suggest that the here that the masculine identities of the 'New Men' and 'Reluctant New Men' in my study and the complexities involved[475] do provide an example of the 'hybridization' that Demetriou talks about and that it might become 'hegemonic' at the regional or global level, rather than simply at a local one.

My work also provides support for the suggestions made by other writers about the gendered nature of 'fear'[476] and the need to conceptualise gender[477] and 'fear' developmentally.[478] My findings have demonstrated the importance of gendered developmental selfhood to immediate and more generalised threats and, importantly, to altruistic threats. In short, notions of gendered selfhood inform both how and why we worry about both others and ourselves. Moreover, these findings suggest that we need to consider developmental gendered ageing in terms of the *shapes* of our altruistic concerns and anxieties, of how we worry about others in terms of *their* gendered developmental ageing. Whilst 'social categorisations' (see Tulloch, 2000) are very important here and inform concerns around women and children and/or incivilities, (i.e. in terms of 'generational distancing' and age categories) they do not provide a complete picture. It is not simply being a man of a certain

[475] Such as the combination of 'New Man' style attributes with the retention of more 'traditional' aspects of a masculine role i.e. that of a breadwinner.
[476] Goodey (1997), Walklate (1997).
[477] Gardiner (1992)
[478] Goodey (1997).

age that is important to threats but rather how a man *builds* his masculine identity, *which* discourses and practices he engages in *and how* he sees himself as a result. In this way, concerns around crime and incivilities need to be contextualised within 'what it means to be a man of a certain age in contemporary society' (see Goodey, 1997) and my research has provided evidence of this.

Concerns around incivilities and crime do need to be put into the context of what sort of man one sees himself as, who he sees himself as being responsible for, and why. There was evidence to suggest here that concerns during the lifecycle can shift from concerns for oneself (when younger) to concerns about others, to concerns about oneself again, providing support for Goodey's (1997) idea of how feelings of fears/anxieties can shift backwards and forwards throughout the life course.

Consequently, I suggest therefore that the notions of 'vulnerability' and 'differential impact' within the 'Fear of Crime' literature need to be expanded to include more of a *personalised*[479] emphasis on 'gendered, developmental conceptions of selfhood', including masculine identities, life stages and more personalised aspects of life histories such as sentimental attachment.

This emphasis has enabled me to suggest that ideas within the literature that 'older men' are highly fearful of physical assault may be misconceived, as are suggestions that younger men are relatively unconcerned. For men in all age groups, crime was simply one of a range of issues about which they were concerned. For example, we saw in Chapter Five older men had a different range of concerns about daily life involving health, retirement and bereavement and their concerns about crime need to be contextualised within these experiences of the ageing process (see Pain, 1991, 1995). Similarly, the concerns of the 'Macho Men' and 'Softer Men' about physical assault needed to be put within the context of their continuing dependency on their parents and their need to establish independence which, in the case of the 'Macho Men', was hindered by their structural disempowerment through unemployment due to earlier life

[479] In contrast to suggestions made by Tulloch (2000).

choices. The concerns of those men without young children needed to be put into the context of trying to buy a home and settle down and for family men within their responsibilities for their wives and children.

I suggest, therefore, that we need to be very careful about how we use the notion of 'vulnerability' especially when discussing increasing vulnerability in older people. My findings suggest that we cannot simply accept that men *only* come to feel more vulnerable as they reach later life. Indeed, I found examples of relatively young men, both with and without children, feeling vulnerable at different stages in the life course around being unable to find a job, whether they were in the right job, getting on the property ladder or settling down and being responsible for wives and children.

Nor can we simply accept the notion that men do feel *more* vulnerable as they reach later life stages. I discussed 'empowering' and 'disempowering' experiences in Chapter Four. I suggested that for older men although some experiences of ageing, such as declining health and physicality, were 'disempowering', other aspects, such as having more leisure time which enabled them to spend more time with partners and grandchildren, were 'empowering'. Moreover, older men tended to rate their levels of contentment according to their current standard of living and health, in the present rather than the future: if they were surviving on a pension and still in relatively good health they were quite happy. In this respect their 'expectations' of their lives and selves may have decreased. Whilst some of their discursive choices around masculinities were reduced e.g., they were no longer a breadwinner, these tended to be counterbalanced by the fact that they had *already* proved themselves in these ways and therefore may have been more accepting of themselves.[480]

This can be compared to 'empowering' and 'disempowering' experiences of younger men. For example, I showed in Chapters Four and Five how even younger men constructed their youth as being past and how men in their twenties and thirties found aspects of the ageing

[480] In contrast, younger men with young children were building their identities in more complex ways than the older men were and had done as younger men. Consequently they had more benchmarks for self evaluation as a result and the multiple layers of their identities could have meant that they were less comfortable with them and this may have contributed to anxieties.

process 'disempowering' because it provided new benchmarks for self-evaluation against which they perceived themselves to be falling short (i.e., time to settle down, become responsible, be established in a career, earn more money, invest in a pension, buy a home). An example of this was fatherhood which was experienced as both an 'empowering' and 'disempowering' experience and which profoundly affected risk constructions.

Within the 'Fear of Crime' literature I suggest that there is a requirement to focus on *balance* in terms of factors that may contribute to feelings of 'vulnerability'. This is necessary both within the life course of an individual – and as a question of how these factors relate to each other. I also suggest that we need to focus on these experiences within the lives of men at different stages of the life course in order to evaluate whether some life events and periods are more stressful and 'disempowering' than others.

A consideration of the aforementioned factors can help to explain why, contrary to much of the 'Fear of Crime' literature, the older respondents in this study were the least 'fearful' of personal assault and were less concerned about 'incivilities' than men with young children. It also helps to explain why they were also less desirous of leaving the area than those in the middle age category, despite their perceptions of high rates of crime and incivilities within it. However, all of these older men were still relatively independent and mobile. It may be that other research will discover/conclude that older men do become more 'fearful' if, and when, they lose their independence.

The most anxious men in this study in terms of expressing high levels of concern about both crime and incivilities, were those in the 'New Man' and 'Reluctant New Man' identity categories whose routine activities were focused on fathering, monogamous relationships, provision for families and being a male protector. Indeed these men's anxieties about physical assault and burglary were multi-layered: they included physical and emotional threats to the men themselves, to significant others like wives and children and to their *masculine identities* as fathers, husbands, providers and male protectors. I suggest therefore that these 'softer' but hybrid forms of masculinities may have implications for male anxieties and that rather than being fearless, some

men could in fact be more fearful than women. This is because they are *also* capable of being 'nurturing' and having close relationships with their children; additionally they construct themselves as being responsible for the protection of not only their children but *also* their partners. Therefore, more emphasis needs to be placed on which factors are important to men in building their masculine identities, how they draw on different discursive options and how they negotiate tensions and ambiguities therein.

In conclusion, this project can help us to understand the processes involved in my respondents coming to see incivilities and crimes as threatening (see Sparks, 1992). It has also provided evidence of how stages in the life courses of my respondents, masculine identities and personalised experiences were all important to informing their ideas about safety. Consequently, this research can contribute to reformulation of the theoretical concepts of 'risks', 'fears' and 'victimisation' as 'developmental gendered processes'.

At the outset of my research I suggested that the metaphor of a wave[481] might be useful to an understanding of how experiences throughout the life course may affect levels of 'fears' and concerns. I argued that a wave involves surface and subsurface movement, rising and falling at different intervals, just as different life experiences might have the effect of heightening or reducing fears. Therefore, at some stages in his life a man may come to experience something as a threat, where he might not do at another stage; some experiences will take the form of a wave, whilst others may involve only a ripple. I suggest here that there were many experiences throughout the lives of my respondents, which served to increase or decrease their feelings of well-being. In terms of concerns around crime and incivilities I would suggest that periods of high anxiety, forming a wave, may be more likely to occur during mid life when men have many responsibilities including those for significant others. As men age they *can* start to feel more vulnerable *but* decreasing responsibilities and other 'empowering' experiences around later life can serve to decrease concerns so that they take the form of a ripple rather than a wave.

[481] As opposed to that of a continuum (see Kelly, 1987; Goodey, 1987) to help explain the connections between different life course experiences/developmental stages in terms of their contributions to 'fears'.

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Appendices

Appendix One.

Extended Literature Review

Problems with victim surveys

The problems with victim surveys have been well documented by other writers (see Hale 1996). The most relevant criticisms made from a gendered analysis are; that they undercount victimisation (Stanko 1988a and b); they conceptualise the victimisation relationship in a binary fashion (Fattah, 1992); they conceptualise crimes as discrete incidents (Skogan 1986; MacLean 1986; Bowling 1992; 1998); they conceptualise fear as a one-dimensional, tangible attribute of individuals (Fattah and Sacco 1993; 1998); they suggest that fears should correspond to objective levels of risk whilst failing to problematise the concept of risk itself (Sparks 1992; Walklate 1995; 1997) and they are based on essential assumptions about gender, which undifferentially present men as oppressors and women as victims. Consequently, they serve to reinforce stereotypical notions regarding men and women, which stemm in part from the fact that questions are pre-set and the relevancies have to be guessed in advance (Newburn & Stanko: 165). Indeed, these problems with the survey method led to the assumption that men were either 'fearless' or reticent to talk about fears (see also Stanko and Hobdell 1993: 400).

Re-conceptualising Fear

Chris Hale (1996: 131) suggests, 'the Fear of Crime is a problem in its own right'. The problem is that most of the research is not measuring actual fear; indeed, it is debatable whether 'fear' can actually be measured. For the most part, 'Fear of Crime' is operationalised in relation to general concerns about crime and crime risk, which involve an assessment of one's personal safety, which have been associated with people's vulnerabilities, and experiences of victimisation. These connections shape the questions asked (Walklate, 1995: 57). The most popular approach to measuring fear involves the use of the global style question i.e. 'How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?' Global questions serve to escalate respondents fear levels because they are based upon hypothetical anticipated situations and the reference to crime is implicit (Garafalo and Laub 1978; Garafalo 1979; Shapland and Vagg 1988). Ferraro and LaGrange (1987: 71) point out how the global approach measures judgements and/or values about crime. This is despite the fact that fear involves an emotional response to crime.[482] This is in contrast to questions on victimisation that at least attempt to tap into real experiences.

Fattah and Sacco (1989) have gone on to suggest that in order to clarify the conceptual ambiguities, empirical measures should be grouped into three broad categories labelled cognitive, affective and behavioural. Cognitive measures are defined as those regarding levels of local crime and also those that attempt to measure fear by establishing respondent's beliefs regarding the extent and likelihood of particular types of criminal victimisation. They suggest that these should be kept conceptually distinct. Cognitive measures do have an external reality with which they can be compared and are of use in exploring the accuracy of beliefs about crime but they cannot be justified as measures of fear since they ask for subjective judgements rather than attempting to capture emotional responses. Perceptions of risk are therefore, distinct from and causally prior to fears of crime (Yin 1980, Warr and Stafford, 1983, Warr 1984, Maxfield 1987).

For Fattah and Sacco (1989), affective measures include the various global types of questions such as those used in the BCS. Unlike cognitive measures, they have no

[482] Or to symbols associated with it (Ferraro and LaGrange 1987: 71).

'objective' external reality with which they can be compared. It follows from the aforementioned reasoning that responses to neither cognitive nor affective measures can be labelled as being irrational or unwarranted since they are not measures of fear.

In addition to this, there are also methodological and causal problems with behavioural measures i.e. measures of avoidance or protective actions that people take which have also been used as indicators of 'fear' (Lawton & Yaffe 1980, Ollenburger 1981). Firstly, there may be many reasons behind people's behaviour that are unrelated to 'Fear of Crime'. Secondly, as Fattah and Sacco acknowledge, behavioural measures within the survey method are limited in that they are measuring not what respondents actually do, but what they say that they do (1989; 210). Finally, there remains much ambiguity over whether avoidance and protective practices are consequences rather than indicators of 'fear' (Garafalo 1981; Maxfield 1987); common sense suggests an overlap between the two (Hale 1996). Some researchers have employed econometric techniques designed to allow feedback between variables. Both Liska et al (1988) and Taylor et al (1986) found that 'fear' serves to constrain social behaviour and that, in turn, constrained behaviour results in higher levels of 'fear'. However, as pointed out by Hale (1990), this analysis remains flawed by their employment of global measures for 'fear'. Fattah and Sacco's suggestions were pertinent to highlighting confusion over conceptual problems with measuring 'fear' by the survey but the method remains flawed for capturing so called 'Fear of Crime'.

Indeed, it is almost impossible to measure 'fear' by any method[483] because it involves a physiological, psychological and emotional response to an *immediate* stimulus such as being physically threatened on the street. Therefore, there is a world of difference between an actual and a perceived threat as measured by victim surveys. Immediate threats involve physiological reactions such as adrenaline rushes, which are, to a certain extent, outside the control of the individual. Immediate threats may incorporate a situation that the individual has previously constructed as a threat or they may present a situation that is completely unexpected. Immediate threats do involve social constructions such as interpretations of 'cues' about what is happening[484] but there is less time for reflection in this because of the immediacy of the threat.

In reality, people do not walk around in a perpetual state of 'fearfulness' albeit they may have a general level of awareness about risk. The most that research can do, therefore, is to ask people about situations in which they have felt fearful and/or threatened in the past. This involves their recalling an incident, reflecting upon it and constructing it as 'fearful'. Sometimes, previous experiences[485] will significantly increase anxiety but other experiences may serve to decrease it; either because the experience is not as bad as anticipated and/or that the individual coped with it better than they had expected. Previous experiences will, however, usually inform future perceptions of risk and/or behavioural strategies around them.

In contrast, to those 'perceived' threats which are grounded in experience; others are purely hypothetical having no 'experiental' basis. This sort of threat is very different, therefore, from the 'immediate stimulus' threat mentioned above and also from the perceived threat grounded in experience of victimisation. Firstly, there is no actual threat but only a perceived one and so there is plenty of time to construct the threat and reflect upon it. Secondly, the lack of experiential basis means that there is no information about how you are likely to feel when presented with such a threat i.e. would you be able to cope, both at the time and after. In this sense, 'perceived' threats, which are purely hypothetical, involve a 'fear of the unknown' and can be more anxiety provoking than 'fears' that are grounded in concrete experiences of victimisation.

Consequently, my research is designed to capture both of these examples; to give respondents opportunities to recollect past experiences when they had felt threatened and also to discuss generalised concerns including situations and people that they defined as

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[483] This has meant that there has been a switch to a focus on constructions of risks and feelings of insecurity (see Goodey,1997).

[484] To be discussed later.

[485] Such as actual or threatened victimisation.

risky and/or behavioural strategies that they used for dealing with this. It was expected that some situations and people defined as risky would be grounded in past experiences of victimisation but that others would be purely hypothetical. An attempt is made to compare the two in terms of their contributions to 'risk' constructions and concerns.

Reconceptualising victimisation, risks and fears

The survey method also uses an inadequate binary conception of 'victimisation', which had treats the categories of victim and offender as mutually exclusive. This means that offenders are depicted as oppressors and victims as weak and passive (Fattah 1992; Walklate 1992; 1995). This approach serves to essentialise men and women as two different but homogeneous groups, women being generally cast as victims and men as oppressors whilst failing to examine how power is manifested in individual incidents of victimisation (Fattah 1992; Walklate 1992; Newburn and Stanko 1994). A related point is that surveys fail to capture the material constraints which structure incidents of 'fear' and/or 'victimisation' and this is an important component of power relationships (Galtung, 1967, Cain (1986), Outhwaite (1987), Walklate (1998). These points are important to a consideration of 'victimisation' of men by other men and/or perceptions of potential 'victimisation' because there are many variations of power between men and within particular incidents.

A related point is that the distinction between victims and offenders is not as clear as this binary conception suggests. Victims can become offenders and vice versa, indeed as Ruggerio (1992; 129) suggests the categories may 'blur and overlap' for an individual within the course of a day.

I argue that a better approach is to conceptualise victimisation as a process (see also MacLean 1986; Sacco 1990; Bowling, 1993, 1998), which can clarify our understandings of how individual experiences become connected. Bowling contends that this approach:

> *implies an analysis which is dynamic; includes the social relationships between all the actors involved in the process; can capture the dynamic of repeated or systematic victimisation; incorporates historical context; and takes account of the social relationships which inform definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour (1998; 158).*

In a similar fashion, I suggest that 'fear' and/or constructions of 'risks' can also be reconceptualised as involving multi-faceted processes. I draw on two important points from radical feminism here, firstly, the recognition that women's experiences transgress public/private distinctions and secondly, that the fears of women must be understood against the backcloth of their life experiences (Kelly 1987; Stanko 1988; 1990; Goodey, 1994; 1997; Pain 1995).

I argue here that these points are also relevant to men's experiences albeit their male gender will affect the nature of those experiences and the connections between them so that they will be different in some respects to those of women. Unlike women, men's 'fears' and concerns will not be contextualised within a 'general fear of rape' and experiences of routine sexual harassment within both public and private spaces as the aforementioned feminist researchers show that those of women are. However, men's experiences need to be contextualised within living 'as a man' and their use of public space[486] where male on male assault may be commonplace.[487]

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[486] All men may be subjected to assaults in private space but particularly elderly men and also prison inmates.

[487] Examples within the public domain may include streets, public transport, spheres of employment, sporting arenas and pubs. Whilst there are examples of female on male domestic violence and there may well be more of this than that recorded in official statistics given male socialisation and expectations of men, it is well known that women's victimisation within the home is widespread and that is despite the fact that it remains underreported.

Both Kelly (1988) and Stanko (1985) show how women develop routine practices to manage their lives under the threat of male harassment and assault. Such practices are structured and informed by women's relationships with other women, known men and strangers.[488] Likewise, I suggest that men's daily practices will be structured and informed by their relationships with women, known men and strange men.

Kelly offers the concept of a 'continuum'[489] in order to describe the connections between different lifetime experiences, which inform women's fears (1988: 74). She suggests that women experience sexual violence as 'a continuous series of events which pass into one another and which cannot be readily distinguished' (Kelly, 1987: 77, see also Stanko, 1990).[490]

The suggestion that lifetime experiences are connected enables a consideration of the material, structural constraints within which men and women live their lives (Sacco 1990). For example, the aforementioned work by feminist researchers points to how an understanding of women's 'Fear of Crime' needs to be contextualised within a gendered stratified society (Sacco, 1990; Kelly, 1988; Stanko, 1987, 1990a and b, Goodey, 1994; Walklate, 1995). Similarly, an understanding of men's concerns needs to be contextualised within a society where they are structurally advantaged over women but where they might also be either structurally advantaged *or* disadvantaged in relation to other men. Such constraints are mediated therefore by the concepts of gender but also age, race, class and sexuality. Attention must be paid therefore to the discursive dimension in relation to how these constraints are discussed and shared or individual and private (Sacco 1990).

Re-conceptualising Risk

The risk/fear disparity emanates from work that suggests a 'fear' is only 'rational' if it involves a corresponding level of objective risk. As Sparks argues, this approach suggests that people *ought* to be able to calculate what risk they run of becoming a victim. In practice, this notion of risk is only intelligible in a situation governed by known probabilities. However, in everyday life, anxiety about crime is as much a product of uncertainty as risk, involving a set of 'intuitions' (1992: 126-127).

Following Douglas, Sparks suggests that the considerations on which 'Fear of Crime' turn are similar to those that apply to the assessment and perception of many other kinds of risk. (Douglas, 1986:43, 79 quoted in Sparks) and that there is a necessity to consider perceptions of crime as a dimension of a whole mode of concrete practices and experiences and as one of the ways in which people define the parameters of what is, for them, a habitable social environment and which may result in them occupying 'fearful' social locations (1992: 133).

As Sparks suggests:

> *'an understanding of the experience of fear in particular communities necessitates an understanding of what kinds of communities they are and how their members actually go about forming their views of themselves and one another and of their place in the world (Sparks 1992: 129, see also Walklate 1995; 64-65).* [491]

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[488] It follows that an understanding of women's fears necessitates an understanding of women's position within a gender-stratified society (Sacco and Glackman 1987; Kelly 1988; Stanko 1987; 1990s and b, Goodey, 1994; Walklate 1995).

[489] See later for criticisms.

[490]Similarly, Stanko (1990) refers to women's experiences as involving 'climates of unsafety' which connect experiences of subordination and daily harassments and transcend individual instances of violence.

[491] Walklate makes similar points. For instance, she suggests that 'How individuals negotiate the familiar and unfamiliar may in a very real way affect feelings of insecurity and uncertainty' (1995: 65).

.[491] Another writer who has touched upon the issues of strangers, community and unfamiliarity is Fischer (1981)

It is pertinent at this point to consider the notion of 'communities'. Although community strategies around crime reduction have been invoked since the early 1980s there has been little agreement about what the concept of 'community' actually means. Despite this, two common presumptions about communities are, firstly, that they are a 'good thing' and secondly, that 'traditional communities', which are thought to include extended family, neighbourliness, a sense of belonging and a personal sense of place and identity have been destroyed by the process of modernisation (see McLaughlin & Muncie 2002, p317). As I will shortly show, this can be linked to work on 'incivilities' in terms of living within a 'risky society' (see Beck, 1991) that is also important to a consideration of the 'Fear of Crime'. The notion of 'traditional community' can be seen in the work of Etzioni (1997) who has argued for a need to 'reinvent communities of the past with one sense of morality and one sense of public interest'; which has been emphasised in the policies of New Labour.[492]

Hope and Shaw (1988) identify several ways in which the concept of 'community' has been used in criminology. The notion of the 'disorganised community' emanates from the work of Shaw and McKay (1942) who portrayed the city of Chicago in ecological terms dividing it into geographical 'zones'. The 'zone in transition', inhabited by a transient population of immigrants, means that there is an absence of shared norms, which fuels criminality. The second concept of 'community', the 'disadvantaged community', emanates from the work of writers such as Cloward and Ohlin (1960) who argue that juveniles turn to delinquency as a result of frustration; as a result of their desire to aspire to the economic advance which is not achievable by legal means.[493] A version of the disadvantaged community can also be found in the writings of the New Left Realists (Young, 1986), on the offender component of their 'square of crime', who use the term 'relative deprivation' rather than disadvantage and includ a focus on 'lived realities' i.e. crime as a response to relative deprivation. Hope (1995) has also identified a third usage, the 'frightened' community, which is associated with community schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch.

Wilmott (1987) has put forward further interesting ways of thinking about 'communities' including; the 'territorial community', (those people who live in a particular area), the 'interested community' (those people who have something in common over and above the geographical area in which they live) and the 'attachment community' (people who have a sense of attachment to belonging to a place). The way in which we experience living in our 'community' may compose a mixture of these categorisations at any moment or may change over time. Also these experiences may not be coterminous with one another. They do however, suggest a need to view 'communities' *experientially* which has not necessarily been the focus of policy initiatives around community crime prevention (see McLaughlin & Muncie, 2002 p318). For example, as Crawford (1995, p. 105) commentS, an assumption is frequently made in appealing to the community that 'more community equal less crime' – a view that suggests a homogeneous view of community and fails to acknowledge that a community may be fragmented and parts of it may be criminogenic.

As Campbell (1993) has suggested, some of Britain's 'dangerous places' are also among some of its most economically deprived and crime-ridden areas, where much of that crime is produced and sustained within the areas themselves. Although writers on both the left and the right have drawn on the notion of 'community' in crime prevention, the emphasis on the left has seen more of a role for the 'community' by emphasising a 'bottom up approach' which places the it at the centre of a democratic decision making process. However, the claims to 'empowerment' here are questionable; as Jefferson et al (1988) have pointed out there are difficulties in implementing policies that are sensitive to the questions of participation, representation and the community. This may be particularly so in areas with fragmented 'communities'. An emphasis on an *experiential* sense of community may be helpful to developing an understanding of the 'Fear of Crime' and feelings of safety. Indeed, in terms of 'community' it may be helpful to accentuate a *private* sense of well being (Taylor, 1991) over a *public* one.

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[492] See 'Bringing Britain Together; Social Exclusion Report, 1998' see Pantazis et al (1998).
[493] See also Merton (1938) on anomie.

This leads me to a consideration of an essential, but often overlooked, component of the notion of 'community' - that of trust. A longitudinal study of two communities' responses to their experiences of living in high crime areas during the 1990s indicated that the senses of well being that individuals constructed for themselves were mediated by their understandings of where they found themselves in relation to a 'square of trust' involving the state, the (dis)organisation of crime, the (dis)organisation of community and mechanisms for sociability (Evans et al, 1996; Walkate, 1998; Walklate and Evans, 1999). In these areas trust relationships were constituted differently in relation to the four points of this square. One area 'Oldtown', provided an example of being a 'defended community' (that is, an ordered community; not disordered as the Chicago school (Park, 1915; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Burgess et al, 1967) would suggest), trusting (of those who are local) and, whilst certainly disadvantaged, well defended from interference from 'outsiders'. Trust relationships here meant not relying on state officials to sort things out in favour of expecting the more locally organized criminal gangs (organized crime) to do something. In the absence of that, other issues might be managed as a result of the presence of kinship and family networks (the organization of the community); for instance, knowing someone's father or brother. It was suggested that both processes contributed towards local social solidarity, providing mechanisms for sociability.

On the other hand, Bankhill was described as an example of a 'frightened community', socially disordered, where there was an absence of the trust of 'being local' found in Oldtown, and where there was no general collective community infrastructure. In this area, trust relationships meant offering a 'generalised trust' to state officials to sort things out but with little expectation that this might happen and moreover with little to put in the place of an official response (an absence of organised crime or an organised community resulting in weak mechanisms for sociability) (Evans and Walklate, 1996; Evans, 1997; Walklate, 1998). These studies illustrate the differential relationships people have in relation to crime, which need to be considered when developing policy initiatives. However, what also needs to be kept in mind is that areas may involve a combination of both Oldtown and Bankhill approaches, i.e. that when we are considering mechanisms for sociability these may not necessarily result in collective solidarity, as in Oldtown, but may increase fragmentation of community, leading to further hostility between individual groups. What remains important from this discussion however is that a sense of 'community' may be implicated in feelings of well being and safety, that 'community' needs to be conceptualised *experentially* and that an emphasis must be placed on questions such as, 'Who you can trust?', 'How do you trust?', 'How much can you trust?', and 'When can you trust?' (see Nelken, 1994).

A link can be drawn between the aforementioned works on risks, that on 'communities' and work on 'incivilities' including vandalism and more generalised insecurities over modern living. Many writers suggest a link between environmental 'incivilities' and the 'Fear of Crime' (Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Wilson and Kelling 1982; Lewis and Salem 1986; Box et al 1988, Skogan 1988, 1990; Warr 1990; LaGrange et al 1992). [494] However, the link between the two is not straightforward; whilst some studies have found a strong correlation between perceptions of 'incivilities' and those of risks (Panzatis 2000) others have not (Ferraro 1992; 1995, Tulloch 2000). The concept of 'incivilities' and their contribution to crime itself is discussed by Wilson and Kelling (1982), who suggest that if 'incivilities' such as broken windows and vandalism are not acted upon, people come to perceive that 'nobody cares' about the neighbourhood; the end result is that the law breaking are more likely to commit crimes in the area whilst the law abiding are less likely to spend time on the streets, both of which result in more crime. In this respect links are drawn between the 'Fear of Crime', 'incivilities', and the belief that both have a deleterious effect on community life and consequently crime itself (see also Hope and Shaw, 1988a). The concept of 'incivilities' is examined in my research but the overall focus is on how they are 'perceived' by the respondents and how perceptions impact upon constructions of selves, physical spaces and those that use them. It is expected that, these subjective interpretations contributed to concerns around crime and risk constructions.

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[494] Space does not permit an examination of this literature nor is it necessary at this point. A good overview is provided by Hale (1996).

In a similar fashion to my own work, some previous studies contextualise the 'Fear of Crime' and perceptions of 'risk' directly within the economic and political marginalisation of urban areas (see Merry, 1981; Smith, 1986) drawing links between 'incivilities' and interpretations of them. The objective of Merry's research is to develop an understanding of how urban residents develop their own strategies for 'identifying and coping' with danger and how this affects their use of social space.[495] From her findings, Merry develops a theory about the multifaceted meanings of danger. She suggests that the 'Fear of Crime' serves as an idiom for expressing and legitimising 'fear' of the strange and the unknown. Notions of safe and dangerous places and people take into account territory, ethnic hostility and conflict, ignorance, the presence of hostile strangers, familiarity, the availability of friends, feelings of vulnerability and helplessness, and the design of spaces. Notions of danger appear to be embedded in belief systems shared within social groups. Mortal dangers within one cultural group could appear as irrational fears to others. Differences between respondents' perceptions of danger bear implications for their use of social space. For instance, most respondents feel that familiar areas are safer than unfamiliar ones. The familiarity of an area is affected by several factors; the kind of people who habitually used a space influence its reputation as safe or dangerous; places occupied by people one knows are considered safer than those occupied by strangers; finally areas dominated by one's own ethnic group are considered safer.[496] People construct cognitive maps, informed by notions of risk and trust, which delineate people and places as safe or dangerous, as a coping strategy for managing potential problems. The resources available to people when making decisions about potential risk are enormously variable (see Sparks, 1992). Merry's research indicates one possible resource, that of ethnic networks.

Smith's (1986) research highlights another that of communication networks, including the media, and examines their relationship with the 'Fear of Crime' within urban areas. In addition to the media, networks of rumour and gossip are important in providing 'improvised news'.

These have multiple purposes and dimensions and often exceed the information given. Danger can be exaggerated where sources of information are lacking and the rumour often then becomes a surrogate for other fears. Smith suggests that the salience of a particular report for any individual is affected by the spatial distribution of the events reported, together with the specific social proximity of the victims.

Taken together, these studies suggest that 'risk', like 'victimisation' and 'fear' is a multi-faceted notion informed by experiences and knowledges. However, the life course factors of gender and age have been afforded limited attention.

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[495] This involved ethnography and qualitative interviews.

[496] Although not made explicit by Merry, notions of danger would appear to involve notions of trust. The concept of trust has received little attention in the fear of crime debate. Following Walklate (1996, 1998), I suggest that trust is implicit in risk evaluations.

Age and the notion of vulnerability

The nature of both 'fears' and 'risks' may alter as one ages and so the factor of age is extremely important to understanding both. Firstly, people may be more at 'risk' of certain crimes at particular life stages and secondly they will be more 'fearful' of crimes that they perceive themselves to be at risk from. The factor of age has long been afforded recognition in the 'Fear of Crime' debate (Hindelang et al 1978; Lawton & Yaffe 1980; Yin 1980; 1983; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Clarke and Lewis 1982; Garafalo, 1982; Hough and Mayhew 1983; Warr 1984; Box et al 1986, 1988; Hale 1990, 1996). Clarke & Lewis 1982; Hough & Mayhew 1983; Mawby 1988; Hough 1995; Pain 1995; Pantazis 2000; Tulloch 2000) but some of this consideration remaines limited and focuses on old age only, prompted in part by the risk/fear disparity, which suggests that older people are more fearful of crime despite their lower exposure to risk (Hough and Mayhew 1983).

The most useful work is that which recognises and develops the notion of vulnerability (Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Warr 1984; Killias 1990, 1991, Stanko 1998). The notion of differential vulnerability is highlighted by geographically focused victim surveys (see NLR, Young, 1986). The findings from these suggest that people living within inner city areas and poorer council house estates suffer disproportionately from both street and property crime. There are two aspects to this notion of 'differential vulnerability'; that these respondents are at higher risk and that the effects for them are more detrimental.

It is suggested that the 'greater' fear levels of older people are due to differential sensitivity and impact (Hough & Mayhew 1983; Warr 1984; Hough 1995), which are components of vulnerability. Some researchers on vulnerability make distinctions between social and psychological aspects of the concept. For example, Killias (1990, 1991) develops a model, which distinguishes between social and situational aspects of vulnerability and those that were are more personal. The former aspects include gender and age, living in certain areas, and neighbourhood characteristics; whilst the latter include dimensions of perceived threats. Thus perceptions of crime, the seriousness of feared consequences and control over the likelihood of (criminal events) and their outcome (seriousness) are found to be significant (Killias & Clerici, 2000).[497]

Farrell et al (2000) make a distinction between sociological dimensions of vulnerability including age, gender, household income, friendship and social networks, length of residence, household composition and lifestyle. They compare this with a socio-psychological model[498] involving four subjective perceptions. The notion of 'attractivity' refers to seeing oneself or one's possessions as an attractive target; the notion of 'evil intent' involves attributing criminal intentions to another individual or group; the notion of power is two-dimensional and involves attributing power to oneself (as potential victim) and others (as potential criminals). Finally, 'criminalizable space' is concerned with evaluations of where crime may take place. The emphasis is on the characteristics of place/time and the presence of others. The question is of the extent to which a situation lends itself to criminal acts in the perceptions of the respondent. All four components are indicative of an approach which sees 'Fear of Crime' as situational including characteristics of the physical (spatial) environment and perceptions of exposure and loss of control.

The factors in this model are interesting because subjective interpretations of one's 'attractivity' and power to defend oneself' are likely to include self knowledge about one's physical characteristics including appearance and strength which are likely to interact with the variables of gender and age. The two other variables of 'evil intent' and 'criminalizable space' relate to perceptions of people and spaces, which I suggest, are crucial to constructions of risk.

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[497] This model has been much utilised in empirical research. For examples see BCS of 1994 and 1998 which found that physical size and health condition and confidence in self-defence abilities were correlated with worries about violent crime (Hough 1995; Mirrlees-Black & Allen 1998

[498] Both models were originally proposed and tested by Van Der Wurff in the Netherlands in 1989.

Useful insights are also gained from combining age with other factors such as poverty and/or 'incivilities'. Such combinations help to expose the diversity of older peoples' 'fears'. Pantazis and Gordon (1997) combine the factor of age with another dimension of vulnerability, that of poverty. From their analysis they find that levels of feeling unsafe amongst older people are conditional upon their level of deprivation.[499] Pantazis and Gordon put forward several reasons for this; people living in poverty may be less able to protect their property or person from victimisation: the impact of crime may be more detrimental; poorer people are more likely to be living in areas suffering from crime and incivilities and may have to walk and use public transport within and outside their area potentially exposing themselves to threatening situations. All of these reasons seem credible given that they will affect perceptions of risks. [500] The final reason is more problematic - that is that people living in poverty may lack social networks to protect against victimization and its effects and Pantazis rightly sounds a note of caution, here. She points to studies on social networks and suggests that poor people may simply have 'different and less diverse' social networks than less deprived people. She highlights the work of Willmott (1987), which suggests that working class people tend to rely on close family and friends for support while middle class people tended to have more varied social networks.

This work shows how the historical, temporal and discursive aspects of 'fearful situations' and/or constructions of 'risks' need to be accounted for. For example, Pantazis (2000) had points to the work of Jones (1987) who suggests that the experience of fear amongst older people should be seen within the context of processes that results in them feeling socially isolated and deskilled in relationship to their environment. Similarly, Pantazis suggests that poor people's experiences of feeling unsafe should be considered in terms of other insecurities such as job loss and mortgage repossession, which may be connected to local, national and international processes. This suggests that feelings of vulnerability need to be connected with a wider concept of 'incivilities' such as material constraints. Whilst, the aforementioned research on ageing is interesting, there is a need to link the ageing process with gender.

The importance of gender

Both Sacco (1990) and Walklate (1995, 1997) suggest that men and women experience different messages about their relationship to experiences of victimisation through the socialisation process. Despite this, both criminology and victimology share a masculinist view of 'what counts as science' (Walklate, 1997: 38) involving a conceptualisation of 'risk' which highlights risk avoidance whilst hiding risk taking. Walklate argues that this fails to acknowledge the pervasive effects of gender, particularly masculinity, which results in a hiding of men's 'fears' and thrills whilst consigning women to possessing legitimate 'fears' and engaging in risk avoidance behaviour. Consequently, risk avoidance is reasonable but risk taking is downgraded, obscured and hidden from the debate albeit not from social experience. Late modern societies have certainly emphasised risk avoidance, where prevention has come to be seen as a good thing (Douglas 1992; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2002). Most understandings of crime prevention are future orientated and entail the possibility of both predicting an outcome and intervening in that process to change the predicted outcome (Crawford, 1998; Hughes, 1998; Ekblom, 2000). For example, victim centred crime reduction strategies involve the notion of 'victim precipitation' and often encourage people to change their behaviour such as avoiding certain people or places and/or staying in at night (see Stanko, Kelly, Saraga, 2001).[501] This tendency to place responsibility for crime prevention in large part with the victim has involved notions of 'victim blaming' (see

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[499] Those living in circumstances of multiple deprivations were seven times more likely to feel unsafe in comparison with elderly people who were less deprived.

[500] These points have been made by other writers such as Hope (1998) and the New Realists such as Young (1992).

[501] Offender centred crime prevention strategies have been discussed by Muncie and McLaughlin (2001) whilst Environment centred strategies i.e. specific targeting associated with situational crime prevention and more general approaches of designing out crime have been discussed by Clarke (1980), Bottoms (1990), Bennett & Wright, 1984, Allatt (1984a & 1984b), Clarke (1992), Coleman (1985), Barr and Pease (1992), Kinsey et al (1986), Graham & Clarke, (2001), Davis (1990).

Kelly, 1987; and Stanko, 1985). This results in double binds for women, in particular, who are often given such advice in relation to sexual assault because they can be held responsible for their victimisation through 'risk-taking' or declared irrational when they indulge in 'fearfulness' over perceived 'risks' (see Walklate 1997).

Both Sacco (1990) and Walklate (1995, 1997) argue that cultural expectations concerning men and women needed to be accounted for when considering risks. Therefore, any alternative view of risk, informed by work outside that of criminology (such as that discussed by Sparks (1992) including work by Douglas 1986; Beck 1992; Adams 1995) needs to incorporate a consideration of 'normative expectations ' around gender.[502]

Work which countered gendered stereotyping

There has been some gendered work on the 'Fear of Crime' and/or victimisation, which helps to dispel the notion of a gender disparity in 'fears'/concerns. Some studies suggest similarities in men and women's worries over certain crimes, albeit not in general worry about crime. For instance, Pain (1993) suggests that 'whereas men and women worry equally about property crime, women are far more worried than men about personal crime'. Moreover, later sweeps of the BCS argue that men are as fearful, if not slightly more so, of car crime than are women (Mirrlees-Black et al. 1996: 51).

A research project carried out by Gilchrist et al (1998) finds many similarities between men and women's 'fears' of housebreaking, assault, vandalism and car crime and in the language they used to discuss 'fears'. Men reported vulnerability, albeit to a lesser extent than women. Whilst men's altruistic 'fears' were on behalf of women, those of women were for their children. Women were also affected by their partner's altruistic 'fears' for them. Altruistic concerns are examined in my research.

A research study undertaken by Goody (1997) about the 'fears' of schoolgirls also generates some findings on boys, and finds similarities between them. The 'fear' of older boys is a significant factor mentioned by both boys and girls that reduces with age albeit the reduction for boys is more dramatic. Unfortunately, Goodey's research remains limited in that boys are not the specific focus and the research employs questionnaire surveys. Goody also uses single-sex focus groups but finds adolescent boys reluctant to discuss fears within this setting. Consequently, she has to speculate about the reasons for her findings. She suggests that by age 15-16 the adolescents in her research had gained a degree of self-assurance and this is reflected in declining levels of fear. However, as children mature, girls are perceived as potential victims of sexual assault. On the other hand, alongside their growing physical strength, boys learn to adopt a sense of 'fearlessness' or machismo, in the development of their masculine identity. Goody suggests, therefore, that boys simply accept and hide 'fears' as a form of coping strategy against the masculine demands of adulthood (1997: 406-414).

Research on male victimisation also generates findings of similarities in gendered experience. Research findings by Maguire and Corbett (1987) on victim support schemes lead them to conclude that the effects of violent crime are severe for a high proportion of men, as well as for women (Maguire & Corbett 1987: 56). In their qualitative study on male victimisation, Hobdell & Stanko (1993) discuss how many men:

> *reported fear, phobias, disruption to sleep and social patterns, hypervigilance, aggressiveness, personality change and a considerably heightened sense of vulnerability emanating from their experiences of victimisation (1993: 406-413).*

A small-scale study by King, which focuses on male sexual assault, reports striking similarities between the reactions of male victims and those reported for women who have been sexually assaulted. Indeed, King suggests that the stigma of sexual assault for men may be even greater than that for women:

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[502] Which is touched by some of this work i.e. that by Goodey (1997), Hobdell and Stanko (1993) Newburn and Stanko (1994), King (1992).

in a society which expects its male members to be self-sufficient, physically and psychologically (1992: 10).

Newburn and Stanko (1994) suggest that male victimisation is complicated by the consequences that such an assault may have for the victim's view of himself. Male assault potentially aggravates prevailing ideologies of masculinity, which present men as uniformly powerful, controlling and unemotional. They also point to the shortage of empirical information on male victimisation and fears. Male experiences of victimisation often remain unacknowledged or denied. This renders invisible many crimes against men and boys such as bullying, assaults, racist attacks, homophobic attacks and state violence. It also bears implications for the lack of service provision to male victims (see Newburn and Stanko 1994). My work seeks to help address this.

Work combining gender and age

A study that combines the factors of age and gender and relates them to cues based on 'incivilities' and considers the impact on the 'Fear of Crime' is that of Tulloch (2000). The focus of her Australian study is the relationship between a person's position in the social structure, as signified by age and gender and their cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses to the threat of crime. [503] Tulloch's work makes a major advance because she combines quantitative modelling with a qualitative analysis of participant's own frameworks and narratives in understanding age differences in 'Fear of Crime'. By using interviews and focus group discussions she attempts to discover how people used social categories in their narratives about crime threats.

Tulloch emphasises the gendered nature of feeling safe by referring to her findings that while 82 per cent of men claim to feel very or fairly safe, only 48 per cent of women do. She acknowledges that this part of her analysis was hindered by her use of the global-style question. Indeed, she finds that two thirds of the women and one third of the men in her sample rarely or never walked alone in their neighbourhood at night. This is particularly pertinent for older respondents: 60% of her respondents aged over 65 never go out at night and the majority of the remainder (another 25 per cent) do so rarely. In contrast, many of the under 25s do go out at night regardless of their feelings of safety.[504] Tulloch finds that many younger people are more likely to be out alone regardless of their feelings of safety and suggests that this finding is indicative of 'risk tolerance' in understanding 'Fear of Crime'

. These young people are more likely to develop strategies in order to deal with risk such as walking quickly, crossing the road to escape people, avoiding eye contact and staying in the company of friends. However, the question as to the frequency that a person walked the streets at night is used as a lifestyle indicator. Tulloch acknowledges that this does not simply measure behavioural responses to crime; people may have other reasons for not walking the streets including lack of transport and recreational patterns (2000: 458).

Tulloch suggests, 'Age is linked to perceived personal risk in three ways'. Older people see Australia as an increasingly violent place and this directly predicts higher perceived risk and also predicts lower perceived safety. However, older people walk the streets less, thus experiencing fewer personal attacks and less harassment, which predicts lower perceived risk. This may suggest that older people see themselves at lower risk because they avoid risky situations. Age also directly predicts less victimisation, which suggests that, even when level of activity is to some degree controlled for, older people are less often victims of personal assault. Finally, with other variables controlled for, age still has a direct impact on perceived risk with older people lower in perceived risk (2000: 459). This analysis supports previous claims that old people are not living in 'fear' and confirms Ferraro's emphasis on the mediation of 'Fear of Crime' by perceived risk (Ferraro and LaGrange 1992; Ferraro, 1995; McDoy et al 1996). Perceptions of personal risk are strongly influenced by age and gender with younger women perceiving themselves to be at greatest risk, albeit this is risk of sexual

[503] Her emphasis on age, like that of Pain (1995, 2001) is partly to dispel the inaccurate, disempowering representation of older people as 'highly fearful'.
[504] 18 per cent and 24 per cent respectively.

assault. Younger people are out more at night and more likely to experience crime and harassment and it was this that increased their sense of risk.

However, the measures in this part of the study are based on frequently used survey questions, which are limited by their generality and their lack of adequate domain sampling. Tulloch admits they could not reflect the situated and fluctuating nature of an individual's perceptions both over a period of time and in specific time-place coordinates.[505] For these reasons she uses a follow up study which involves focus groups of 6 – 10 people and individual interviews which are conducted with young (15 – 19 year olds) people and older people (60+). The respondents are asked to provide accounts of travelling on public transport and the analysis of accounts places emphasis on the social categorizations of self and others employed in the narratives.

Tulloch explains her notion of 'social categories' as being not simply demographic predictors but rather as reflecting how groups are perceived by the wider society (and the individual) and, through the influence of socially circulating categories, how individuals understand the social world and their place in it (2000: 460). There is therefore a link between this work and that of Sparks (1992), Walklate (1997) and Merry (1981) discussed earlier.

As Tulloch rightly points out the 'Fear of Crime' is situational and when people feel a potential threat the major consideration is an assessment of safety or 'risks'. The problem they face is one of uncertainty, the issue of prediction (see also Sparks, 2002). In order to identify potential threats respondents make assessments through the utilisation of social cues and comparison with their knowledge of social categories. Individuals' use sets of categories including 'in-group', 'out-group', and self-categorisations, and deploye them in the everyday monitoring of perceived risky environments (2000; 460 – 3). Older people rarely use public transport, particularly at night. They show a strong sense of concern about the direction of modern life and tend to categorise younger and older people as 'them and us', accounts often include a notion of one's agency as lying in the past. Although some young women do not use public transport at night, it is often necessary for younger people to use public transport and as a consequence they have to manage risks. Young women are afraid of sexual assault, whereas young men are worried about potential violence from gangs of youths, usually of a similar age to themselves. Some interviewees have a very clear typology of subcultural identifies and concomitant risks including dress, locations and behaviours. Behavioural strategies developed to manage risks include travelling in groups and/or trying to avoid confrontations (See Tulloch, 2000).

Tulloch argues that social categorisation is most important in contexts where in-group differences are minimised and out-group differences are maximised, a situation likely to occur where strangers are more commonly viewed as a potential threat than a source of novel social contacts (2000: 460 – 63. Tulloch suggests that her analysis points to diversity[506] within age groups and that these go beyond identifying levels of perceived 'risk' and 'fear' to consideration of how these constructions are linked to aspects of personal definition and social identity.

Tulloch's work is indeed informative but I take issue with her on a couple of points. Towards the end of her article she suggests that social categorisation theory contrasts with the very individualistic notions of self-concept employed in many psychological approaches to the self. She argues that her theory recognises that dimensions of social similarities and differences are in some contexts more important than personal categories. In deploying in-group and out-group categories an individual not only characterises others but also themselves; the functioning of the social self-concept is situation specific, activated by particular cues. In the context of the 'Fear of Crime' in a public space, she suggests that personal characteristics are less important than those relating to social group membership, for example, what it means to be an elderly woman.

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[505] As stated earlier, no method can fully tap the latter – at most all we can ask for is recollections, which will involve reflective re-constructions of events.

[506] Resistances will be discussed at a later point.

However, whilst I accept that social categories are extremely important in such situations, I stress that personal characteristics are as important. This is because personal characteristics, including aspects of personality, will impact upon how one constructs one's self-identity and also how one constructs others; indeed constructions of risk will be informed against a backcloth of life experiences and these will be different for each individual. Constructions of risk will also be informed by discourses around gender and age and each individual will interpret and use such discourses in a slightly different way. Therefore, personal characteristics will mediate constructions of selfhood throughout the ageing process and this will inform perceptions of risk and feelings of safety. Therefore, although commonalities between experiences are important, the recognition of personal characteristics is still essential to an understanding of nuances between gendered identities and constructions of risks.

This argument also illuminates two other shortcomings in Tulloch's work. Although she does recognise that the conceptualisation of 'risk' is gendered, her conceptualisation of both gender and age is too rigid, they are more problematic than she implies. For example, age and gender both involve social constructions, human agency and temporal and historical significance. My research builds upon the insights of researchers, who conceptualise gender and age as both developmental and situational (Goodey, 1997; Gardiner, 2002; Pheonix et al, 2002). This conceptualisation alongside recognition of the connections between them can help us to develop a more nuanced understanding of the constructions of 'risks' amongst older men. I now look at some work that can help us to understand gender and its connection to the ageing process.

Developmental gender and ageing as combined processes

Whilst the aforementioned work on ageing and Tulloch's combination of it with gender (see Tulloch) has been informative, a better approach would be to view it developmentally and in doing so, combine it with gender. Gardiner (1992) has rightly suggested that feminist theory has failed to recognize age as an important category in understanding gender (2002: 93). Consequently, age has remained unproblematic thereby thwarting clear understandings of the concept. As Gardiner (2002) has suggested ageing provides useful analogies for thinking about gender more flexibly. Indeed, a consideration of ageing means that gender must be conceived developmentally.

Gardiner outlines several advantages to using an analogy of age and gender. Firstly, age categories are more likely to be viewed as continuous rather than oppositional. Ageing can also be viewed as changing, continuous and unidirectional. Consequently, it can be viewed as a continuum involving overlapping categories (see also Goodey, 1997). For example, although the categories of boy and man are sometimes treated as oppositional, they are better perceived developmentally.

Secondly, like gender, the developmental category of age has both biological and sociological components. This recognition can help to clarify the false dichotomy between gender as biological essentialism and social constructionism. In short, all societies recognise and make use of different age categories. Some of these involve positive discourses and connotations whilst others carry negative ones (Gardiner, 2002). This recognition of the developmental and social aspects of ageing opens up theoretical insights. It recognises that developmental gender is performative and will be evaluated by societal norms; transgressions of age and gender are socially policed through a variety of sanctions (Butler, 1990). Viewing developmental gender as discursive performances also enables a focus on life course events and a consideration of power relationships.

A man's conception of what it means to be a man will alter during his life course. During some periods in his life a man will be more willing or able to invest in particular discourses than at other times. Consequently, the masculine identity of any man will fluctuate because his investment in particular discourses will be affected by events in his life course. These may include: childhood, adolescence, finding a partner, setting up home, getting married, becoming a father, becoming a wage earner/breadwinner, employment, unemployment, going through a divorce, retirement, becoming a grandfather, illness and bereavement. Examples

of these life events include becoming a parent and reaching 'senior citizenship', which are parts of an individual's biography (Goodey 1997; 403) and which may shape concerns. For example, when a man becomes a father, he may develop 'altruistic concerns'; his perception of risk and vulnerability may be sharpened as he becomes aware of the vulnerability of his child and sees himself as a 'male protector' (see Valentine 1997). Moreover, the ageing process may result in the feminisation (see Gardiner 2002) of masculine identities over time. For example, as men become physically older, discourses around male physicality and toughness may become unavailable and therefore they may not be able to present a tough masculinity. In addition to this, as men people grow 'physically' older they may perceive themselves as being more vulnerable to crime (see Painter 1989; Pain 1995). Furthermore; age has a social component and significance. For example, the official retirement age in Britain is sixty-five and this is the age where one receives the label of senior citizen, which carries the potential for negative connotations. The connections between these three arguments can help us to understand how older men may feel more vulnerable.

Consequently, a developmental approach to age and gender can help us to see how discourses and categories around them involve social constructions. For example, as Gardiner (2002) has suggested, changes in the life cycle can be categorized as dependent, independent and then interdependent. Although these categories are often normalised as 'simply part of a life cycle' they involve complex power relationships between the family and state institutions. Consequently, Gardiner argues that age, unlike gender, is a category in which assertions of power are overt and openly debated as matters of social policy and communal welfare. Recognition of this can help us to deconstruct both the ageing *and* gendered process as involving social constructions and their combined contribution to 'fears' alongside daily concerns such as 'incivilities' and living within a risky society mentioned earlier.

Age can therefore be used as a developmental category to clarify gender constructions (Gardiner, 2002) and also to clarify constructions of risk and danger, as masculine identities will change with age and both will inform such constructions. In this way a developmental conceptualisation of gendered ageing can help us to understand the processes involved in coming to view something or someone as dangerous and the strategies that are developed to manage these dangers.

Goodey suggests the concept of a continuum (see also Kelly, 1987; Gardiner, 2002) to help explain the connections between life course experiences/developmental stages in that multiple experiences of 'fear' and 'fearlessness' shift back and forth along the 'fear continuum', according to meta-discourses in the life course, such as adolescence, parenthood and ageing, which are part of the individual's personal biography (Goodey, 1997). However, whilst arguing that 'risk', 'fear' and 'victimisation' needed to be reconceptualised as processes, I suggest that the metaphor of a wave might be preferable to explain the connections between different life course experiences and their connections to 'fears' or concerns. A wave is always present in some capacity, involving surface and subsurface feelings, rising and falling at varying intervals. Different life experiences may have the effect of reducing or heightening fears; at some stages in one's life a person may come to experience something as a threat, whereas they might not do at another stage. Therefore, at some stages in life individual experiences will take the form of a wave, whilst at others they may involve merely a ripple. The usefulness of this notion is tested in the fieldwork.

Gendered identities and masculinities – work that can help to develop a theory of developmental masculinities and "fears"

My objective is to develop a theory of 'fear' grounded within a theory of developmental masculinity. [507] I begin with a) a deep familiarity with the way others have used the concept of masculinity and b) a position in relation to these arguments, resulting in a clear understanding of what I mean and postulating some starting points. Like others (Brittan 1989; McInnes

[507] Space did not and does not permit a complete review of the masculinities literature (see Carrigan et al 1985; Clatterbaugh 1990; Edley and Wetherall 1995 who have provided useful reviews of the masculinities literature). My focus was on a few key writers in order to provide a starting point for the research.

1998; Hearn 1996; Collier 1998; Peterson 1998) I take issue with accounts that reify and essentialise masculinity as a collection of male traits (Bly 1990).

I suggest that work on masculinities and the 'Fear of Crime', requires a consideration of power relationships between men and others around them. Within work on gendered power relations there has been a tendency for theorists to focus on the discursive, the agenic (psychoanalytical) or the structural. I am attempting to find some sort of balance between all three. I suggest, therefore, that gendered power relations are multi-dimensional and context specific involving 'situational accomplishments' wherein active agents draw upon knowledge in the form of discourses within a structured and spatial context. The notion of situational accomplishment is drawn from the work of Connell (1987, 1995) and Messerschmidt (1993).

Structure, agency and situational accomplishment

The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has been much used in the field of Men's /Masculinities studies. [508] Over the years, it has been subjected to criticism, some of which I dealt with in the original literature review. Connell and Messerschmidt[509] have recently written an article defending the concept against some of these criticisms and suggesting how it could be reformulated in a way that addresses the remainder of them.

The Gramscian notion of 'hegemony' comes from attempts to understand class relations. Connell (1987, 1995) has used the notion of 'hegemony' to describe a form of 'normative heterosexuality' which defines masculinity through difference from, and desire for, women. [510] 'Hegemony' is used to describe the structuring of differing forms of masculinity within Westernised society. It is formed in relation to 'femininities' and competing accounts; its position is constantly negotiated and sometimes altered following the resistance and challenge of such accounts.

'Hegemonic masculinity' is distinguished from other masculinities especially 'subordinated ones'. It is 'normative' in that it embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man. In this way, 'hegemonic masculinity' is understood as the pattern of practice that allowed men's dominance over women to continue. Connell suggests that whilst only a minority of men might exemplify it, enough men are *complicit* with the 'hegemonic pattern' to maintain its hierarchal position. Although 'hegemony' can involve violence, it does not necessitate it; it means ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions and persuasion. 'Hegemony' implies that gender relations are historical, so gender hierarchies are subject to change. There can be struggles for 'hegemony' and older forms of 'hegemonic masculinity' might be replaced by new more humane ways of being a man that would undermine gender hierarchies.

By drawing upon Connell's work, Messerschmidt (2003), provides an example of the connection between gender as a situational accomplishment that simultaneously accomplishes race and class. Situational accomplishments involve interactions between individuals who share structural space and blocks of knowledge in the form of discourses. During situational accomplishments individuals draw on existing and shared knowledge patterns and configure the behaviour of themselves and others through the notion of accountability.[511] This involves individuals being able to explain and account for their own behaviour and evaluate that of others, with reference to existing knowledge patterns – discourses. Over time, these historical interactive practices produce institutionalised structural concepts such as gender, race and class.[512] 'Hegemonic masculinity' provides a resource to be used in such situational accomplishments, which contributes to structured patterns of gender.

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[508] For a comprehensive overview of work using the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' see Connell and Messerschmidt (2005)
[509] Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept*, Gender and Society, Vol 19, No 6, December 2005, 829 – 859.
[510] The most cited source for 'hegemonic masculinity' became a book by Connell (1987) entitled "Gender and Power" which discussed both 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'emphasized femininity'.
[511] Messerschmidt draws upon Giddens (1976; 1981), and connects structure and agency by drawing upon phenomenology.
[512] This approach bears similarities with Goffman's (1958) notion of roles as knowledge patterns to be used in variable performances of gender.

It follows that the masculine identity of each man will be unique because each will select from the resources available to him and will build these into his identity in a different way. Building a masculine identity involves a continual and complex process (see Jackson 1990), which includes several psychological and social factors such as sexual orientation, race and class together with one's historical experiences. Therefore; as with 'fears', life course and age must also be incorporated. The ability to draw upon potential identity resources will sometimes be limited by structural restraints (Messerschmidt, 2003) albeit how people draw upon resources will always involve a degree of personal choice. The concept of ' hegemonic masculinity' has been expanded through a wealth of research that is compatible with the concept itself (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Criticisms

Although the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has been criticised, some of these criticisms demonstrate a misunderstanding of the concept as it was originally formulated. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) identify five principal criticisms of the concept. It has been suggested that the concept is flawed because it essentialises the character of men and imposes a false unity on a fluid and contradictory reality (Collinson & Hearn, 1996, 2004; Collier (1998); Peterson 1998, 2003; McInnes, 1998). It is suggested that this is because the concept has been framed within a hetero-normative conception of gender that essentialises male-female difference and ignores differences and exclusion within the gender categories. This normative conception of masculinity is said to rest on a dictomisation of sex (biological) versus gender (cultural) and this marginalises or naturalises the body so it is lost from the analysis (Hawkesworth, 1997). Moreover, it has been said that the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' involves a simplified view of gender relations that reduces to structural determinism whilst eradicating the subject. This structural determinism has been read as being functionalist; the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' depicts gender relations as a self-contained, self-reproducing system. Even the recognition of multiple masculinities has been said to result in a static typology.

Finally, Demetrious (2001) has suggested that another form of simplification of gendered relations has occurred. He identifies two forms of hegemony; the external refers to the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women; the internal refers to the social ascendancy of one group of men over all other men. Demetrious argues that the relationship between the two forms is unclear in the original formulation of the concept and unspecified in current usages; internal hegemony in particular has been understood in an 'elitist' way. There is a dualistic representation of masculinities, because non-hegemonic masculinities exist alongside hegemonic ones, but are seen as having no impact on the construction of 'hegemonic masculinity'. This conceptualisation, he argues, misses the 'dialectical pragmatism' of internal hegemony by which it appropriates from other masculinities whatever appears to be useful for continued domination. 'Hegemonic masculinity' does not simply adapt to changing historical conditions, but involves a hybridisation (hegemonic masculine bloc) whose appropriation of diverse elements makes it 'capable of reconfiguring itself and adapting to the specificities of new historical conjunctures' (Demetriou 2001, 355). An example is afforded by an increasingly visible cultural gay masculinity which has made it possible for certain heterosexual men to appropriate 'bits and pieces' of gay men's styles and practices and construct a new 'hybrid configuration of gender practice'. This 'dialectical pragmatism' and the resulting blurring of masculine types could be useful when examining the relationship between different types of masculinities. The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has been said to underplay issues of power and domination (see Whitehead, 2002) and all of the aforementioned arguments are implicated in this.

A further criticism has been that there is confusion over who is a 'hegemonic man' and who can enact hegemonic practices (Whitehead 1998; 58; 2002; 93). Arguably, the concept fails to make clear what conformity to 'hegemonic masculinity' might look like in practice (Wetherall & Edley, 1999). It has also been suggested that there does not appear to be much 'masculine substance' to those identified as exemplifying 'hegemonic masculinity' (Donaldson, 1993). Martin (1998) has criticised the concept because of ambiguous

applications, sometimes referring to a fixed type of masculinity, at others, relating to whatever is dominant at a particular place and time.

It has also been suggested that the concept reduces, in practice, to a reification of power or toxicity (see Holter 1997, 2003). For example, the concept constructs masculine power from the direct experience of women rather than from the structural basis of women's subordination that needs to be emphasised. Holter (1997) uses a Norwegian survey to show that the gender identities of men do not map directly onto attitudes towards and demonstrations of violence. Therefore, it is incorrect to deduce relations among masculinities from the direct exercise of personal power by men over women. As well as a consideration of patriarchy, one must consider gender inequalities, the role of cultural constructions and the interplay of gender dynamics with race, class and region when considering patterns of gender between men and other men and, between women.

A linked component of this argument is that 'hegemonic masculinity' has been used to account for violence and crime (Collier, 1998). Collier argues that 'hegemonic masculinity' came to be associated solely with negative characteristics (see also Martin, 1998, 473) that depicted men as unemotional, independent, non-nurturing, aggressive and dispassionate which are then seen as the causes of criminal behaviour. Men's behaviour is then reified in a concept of masculinity that in tautological fashion became the explanation and excuse for the behaviour.[513] Collier (1998) then sees the concept itself in a 'negative light' in that it excludes positive behaviour on the part of men, behaviour that might serve the interests or desires of women.

In fact, two further criticisms actually show how we can work around these arguments. I acknowledge criticisms made involving post-structuralist accounts of discourse and/or psychoanalytical notions of subjectivity. Both Messerschmidt and Connell have been criticised for a failure to develop any understanding of subjectivity (Edley and Wetherall 1995; Jefferson 1996; Walklate 1998, Whitehead 2002; 93). As Jefferson (1996) has argued, subjectivity is necessary to an understanding of:

> *How subjects position themselves in relation to the discursive choices facing them, how they come to adopt particular positions and not others* (1996: 341).

Jefferson (2002) has suggested that 'hegemonic masculinity' has contributed to an 'over-socialised view of the male subject' through this failure to examine how men actually relate psychologically to 'hegemonic masculinity'.[514] A related psychoanalytical criticism is that the model of 'hegemonic masculinity' presumes a unitary subject; but depth psychology reveals a multi-layered or divided subject (Jefferson, 1994; Collier 1998).

Wetherall and Edley's emphasis on the discursive is of course important, and hails from a post-modern/post-structuralist perspective (see also Whitehead 2002). However, whilst I find post-modern discursive approaches useful to provide a critique, I also find them limiting. It is true that through the discursive people 'make sense' of their reality but the impact of some aspects of reality can be independent of discourse. For instance, there are bodily dimensions to human experience. These include physiological attributes such as body size and strength

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[513] See also Connell and Messerschmidt (1995) in their reference to 'pop psychology' resulting in new male types such as 'the alpha male, the sensitive new age guy, the hairy man, the new lad, the rat boy' etc.

[514] Jefferson argues that researchers should ask, 'how actual men, with their unique biographies and particular psychic formations, relate to these various masculinities, suggesting that men may choose discursive positions that help them ward off anxiety and avoid feelings of powerlessness' p73 these points are examined in my research. In a similar vein, Wetherall and Edley (1999) suggest that we should understand 'hegemonic norms' as defining a subject position in discourses that is taken up strategically by men in particular circumstances. However, note that this position had not been ruled out by Connell's original conceptualisation, and was actually suggested in Messerschmidt's (1997) use of Connell's concept. Wetherall and Edley's (1999) suggestion that

'hegemonic masculinity' cannot be understood as the settled character structure of any group of men, and that we must question 'how men conform to an ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, without anyone ever managing to exactly embody that ideal' p337, demonstrates their misunderstanding of the concept itself.

and physical effects caused by personal violence or ageing. Physical differences between men and women, the old and the young, inform both subjective perceptions and material effects. Consequently, a focus on the purely discursive could lose sight of other material components of power relationships, outside of discourse, involving human bodies or concrete social relationships such as proximity or family ties. Similar points have since been made by Connell & Messserschmidt (2005) who acknowledge firstly that discursive perspectives emphasize a symbolic rather than multi-dimensional understanding of gender, and secondly that people are not free to adopt any gender position in interaction. They argue that the nondiscursive and unreflective dimensions of gender give us some sense of the limits to discursive flexibility and that the possibilities are constrained massively by embodiment, by institutional histories, by economic forces, and by personal and family relationships.

This recognises that gender relations are also constituted through non-discursive practices, including wage labour, violence, sexuality, domestic labour and childcare as well as through unreflective, routine actions. Constraints may also arise from within the person; as Rubin's (2003) study on female-to-male transsexual men showed. This links with my aforementioned argument on the ageing process; for example, constraints may arise from a reduction in physicality.

In addition to this recognition, I feel that methodologically an overriding emphasis on difference and deconstruction would hinder an understanding of what (if anything) certain groups of individuals shared, there being no scope for a consideration of collectives. In a similar fashion, accounts of gender acquisition, which draw entirely on structure or agency, are equally problematic. I suggest therefore that gendered power relations are multi-dimensional as suggested by Connell (1987, 1989, 1995) and Messerschmidt (1993, 1997), in their earlier work, and context specific involving 'situational accomplishments' wherein active agents draw upon knowledge in the form of discourses within a structured and spatial context. The notion of situational accomplishment was drawn from the work of Messerschmidt (2003).

In this way, I acknowledge the aforementioned arguments whilst maintaining that 'hegemonic masculinity' is still important. In a similar fashion, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) defend the concept against some of the aforementioned arguments because they are inconsistent with their original determination of it. This is certainly the view of the concept, as I have always understood it. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' as a hetero-normative conceptualisation of gender resting upon dichotomy between biology and gender is based on a misunderstanding of the concept as it was originally formulated. The concept is neither essentialist nor reified; nor does it result in a functionalist model of gender relations or a static model of masculine types. This is borne out by the wealth of research, which is in keeping with the original formulation, which has documented a range of masculinities (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005)

They argue therefore that this body of research supports certain fundamental features of the concept, which should be retained. Such fundamental features include the hierarchy of masculinities and the plurality of masculine identities within it; the idea that 'hegemonic masculinity' provides a normative ideal expressed through the production of exemplars of masculinity; and finally, an emphasis on the history of 'hegemonic masculinity' and its contribution to gendered relations - in other words, how 'hegemonic masculinity' changes over time and how localised constructions can help to reconfigure gender relations more broadly.

Connell and Messerschmidt admit that the original construction of gender hierarchy was too simplistic and suggest that more emphasis is required on the local context and on the relationships between different types of masculinities. In this respect Demetriou's work is important in that a focus on the continued survival of 'non-hegemonic patterns' needs to be examined which may involve active oppressions and/or incorporation into the hegemonic structure. There is also a need to focus on another aspect of the relational, the configuration of masculinities in relation to women. Although this was recognised by Connell (1987) early on with the notion of 'emphasised femininity', this relational aspect needs to be resurrected. Gender practices are affected by new configurations of women's identity and practices especially amongst young women, which are increasingly acknowledged by young men (see

Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Finally, there has to be an increasing focus on the geography of masculinities. Although attention has begun to be afforded to globalisation in terms of its significance to the construction of masculinities (see Connell, 1998) there is a necessity to consider three geographical levels, the local,[515] the regional[516] and the global.[517] While this will often involve a hierarchy of power between the three, it should not be assumed that the global would be at the top. Just as we have to consider the influence of subordinated masculinities in terms of their effect on 'hegemonic forms', so too must we consider the potential for the individual and regional to affect the global. For example, a regional masculinity can provide a cultural framework that may be materialised in daily practices and interactions, i.e. the individual level, within localised settings, for example engaging in sporting events, constructing 'hegemonic models' of masculinity i.e. star athletes at the regional setting, which informs daily practices within schools and social events and informs global representations of sports (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Keeping this in mind, therefore, there is still mileage in Connell's notion of 'hegemonic masculinity' and I am now going to discuss work which can help us to understand how men come to make discursive choices when building their masculine identities.

The importance of psychoanalysis

As the founder of psychoanalysis Freud's work on sexual development is well known but has been subjected to criticism. Firstly, it has been suggested that it is phallocentric in that both sexes are biologically and psychologically defined by their relationship to the penis (Schafer 1974; Horrocks; Eysenck 1985; Weedon 1987; Horrocks; Barratt 1991; Kline 1991, Jefferson, 1994), secondly, that it is biologically essentialist. Freud's work is susceptible to this charge because he portrayed penis envy and male domination as psychological facts, derived reductively from male anatomy. Moreover, he depicts psychological motives as being based upon biologically given instincts and drives (Chodorow 1978; Weedon 1987; Segal 1990; Barratt 1991; Jefferson). As Chodorow (1978) has suggested the charge of essentialism is connected to the functionalism of Freud's account. Although Freud does not contend that human development and heterosexual attainment is unproblematic and the result of physiology per se, he does view sexual development in terms of sexual differentiation, which he holds as functional to biological reproduction. This functional emphasis results in biology equating with anatomical destiny. In this respect, therefore, Freud does come to view human development as a consequence of physiological attributes; the boy has a penis that enables him to identify with the father and achieve a male heterosexual identity. It follows from Freud's functional emphasis that individuals who do not conform to the heterosexual pattern can only be depicted as deviants (see Chodorow 1978).

It had also been suggested that Freud implies a false universalism in his analysis of the nuclear family. It has been argued that any heterosexual family from any culture could be analysed in this way (Leonard 1982; Connell 1987; Horrocks, Jefferson 1994). Consequently, it had been suggested that Freud's work has implied that gender inequality is natural, immutable and desirable, as is male dominance. Freudianism has been accused of being an ahistorical, asocial and apolitical theory (Leonard 1983; Carrigan et al 1985; Connell 1987; Jefferson 1994).

Nonetheless, Freudianism can be defended against many of the aforementioned criticisms. The recognition of sexism in Freud's account by second wave feminists such as Mitchell (1974) and Chodorow (1978) was important. It was necessary to prevent therapists and social workers taking his dicta at face value. However, if we contextualise his work within the historical period in question, we can deal with the allegations of sexism and false universalism. Moreover, the other criticisms can also be dealt with; Freud does appear to

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[515] Including face-to-face interactions between individuals (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005)

[516] At the level of the culture or nation state (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

[517] Constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

make a distinction between sex (physiological body) and gender, in that sexually appropriate behavior has to be (quite painfully) learned, through the processes of psychological expression or repression of desires or emotions. Through the notion of repression Freud suggests that, despite the instinctive nature of desire, the correct cultural objects of it have to be learnt. For example, the cultural phenomenon of the 'incest taboo' (1963) steps in to prevent the incestuous desires of both sexes towards their parents. Freud recognizes that the achievement of a 'normal' heterosexuality could involve considerable psychological costs. The concepts of the *unconscious* and *defence mechanisms* provide vehicles for dealing with the pain involved in overcoming 'culturally inappropriate' desires or emotions. It follows from the aforementioned that Freud's account is not simply asocial (Connell 1987; Jefferson 1994), albeit parental and structural influences are underplayed.

Freud's account remains significant to a developmental conceptualization of gendered ageing. Firstly, it provides a connection between heterosexual parenting and the formation of heterosexual gendered identities by explaining how children acquire experiential knowledge of gender through their relationship with parents and/or primary caretakers. Secondly, the recognition of potential bi-sexuality helps demonstrate how individuals in the attainment of a gendered identity negotiate structural and discursive components. Thirdly, the defence mechanisms are important to an understanding of how men achieve masculine identities throughout the ageing process and deal with 'fears'. Defence mechanisms are used as inner regulations; people may use the internalizing defence mechanism of repression to deal with 'inappropriate' feelings or desires. On the other hand, they may externalize these feelings by projecting them onto others. For example, in her research on gender, Hollway (1989) suggests that men frequently use projection as a defence mechanism for dealing with anxiety, emotions and perceived weakness. In this way men project aspects of their own personalities onto women and this is examined in my thesis. Many of Freud's original insights were modified and built upon by object relations theorists.[518] The work of Chodorow (1978) had a big influence upon the 'men's liberation' literature and has remained important to my project.

The Reproduction of Mothering

Chodorow's (1978) work amalgamates object relations theory with classical Weberian sociology in an attempt to explain how capitalist patriarchy becomes embedded in the psyche. Within Western industrialized societies, capitalism has structured women into the mothering role wherein the family pattern is nuclear, defined by paternal absence and exclusive mothering. In this way, mothering is then reproduced through socially induced psychological mechanisms.

Within this context, the pre-Oedipal stage of child development affects the later Oedipal and pubertal stages. From the outset a mother experiences and loves her son analytically – as someone different and separate from herself and through positioning her son as separate she provokes a premature separation. Alternatively, a mother experiences her daughter as someone similar and loves her narcissistically – as an extension of herself. A girl's Oedipal period retains elements of her pre-Oedipal relationship to her mother and builds whatever happens later upon this pre-Oedipal base, whereas a boy's involves a break from it. Therefore, the subjectivities of men and women are constructed differently as a result of their infantile experiences of mothers. As girls come to develop more fluid ego boundaries, developing better relational and nurturing capacities, boys acquire the psychological traits necessary for male domination and participation in the public realm including autonomy, self-assertion and aggression.

There have been several criticisms leveled at Chodorow's (1978) account, and Chodorow herself has acknowledged some of the shortcomings of her earlier work (see 1989). It has been criticised for including a false universalism in the presentation of the nuclear family that essentialises the characters of men and women as non-nurturing and nurturing respectively. Her portrayal of how cultural factors become 'embedded' in the psyche is too passive and simplistic (Connell 1987; Jefferson 1994). Consequently, Freud's emphasis on ambivalence

[518] Object relations theorists place greater emphasis on the social interaction of a child's development. The particular focus is the mother/child relationship within the pre-Oedipal period.

and personal trauma in heterosexual identity attainment remains important, as do his explanations as to how these ambiguities can give rise to fragile resolutions. Finally, there is also a lack of consideration of power relationships and historical-material practices, which stems, in part, from Chodorow's reification of masculinity and femininity as a collection of psychic traits. For instance, patriarchy is depicted as the product of defensive male psyches against mothering. Segal (1990) suggests that there is no grip upon the symbolic power and meanings attached to men and masculinity. Brittan puts the point thus:

> *object relations can be and are read as rendering support for the proposition 'if mothering (is) to blame for male domination, then in the final analysis, men are blameless (1989: 195).*

This factor is no doubt implicated in the popularity of Chodorow's work amongst many male writers on masculinity, particularly within the Men's Liberation mode (Jefferson, 1994). Rather than accounting for male power and privilege, therefore, objects relations theories are based upon them. In contrast, it has been suggested that masculinity becomes an issue precisely because it is so 'valued and desirable' (Segal 1990: 82). A related factor is that attention is diverted away from historical cultural practices (see Segal 1990).

Despite this, Chodorow's recognition that male identities are premised upon the negation of the 'feminine' remains important. This is not to say that men do not have the potential to develop characteristics that have been associated with femininity such as nurturing. However, in the Anglo-American societies to which she refers they are, or have been, actively encouraged to suppress or hide them which is important to my analysis of the 'Fear of Crime'. Another advantage of her work is that places more emphasis on the social and cultural than does Freud. Family forms in Britain and the USA have changed considerably over the last twenty or so years but the nuclear family remains the culturally exalted 'ideal' (Segal 1990; Edley and Wetherall 1995). Moreover, women still provide the bulk of primary childcare, whether through mothering or paid occupations associated with it. Finally, whilst there may be more flexibility within male and female identities, women are still largely defined as mothers, whether or not they have children. Therefore, an emphasis on early exclusive mothering may still be relevant.

Chodorow's suggestion that from infancy, male and female children should continue to be treated differently by their primary caretakers also remains important and shows how a reworked role theory could still be useful. Frequent criticisms of role theory have included allegations of functionalism and a lack of consideration of power and subjectivity (Brittan 1989; Carrigan et al 1985; Connell 1987; Jefferson 1994; Edley and Wetherall 1995). However, Goffman (1959) provides a different approach by viewing social behavior as a 'situated performance'. Behaviors are structured by roles that simply provide broad outlines for action. This provides a way to incorporate the conscious (and unconscious) psychological and sociological processes involved in how and why people come to associate and dissociate themselves with normative expectations concerning gender.

From infancy onwards, therefore, developing a gendered identity involves active agents drawing upon discursive options within structural circumstances. How an individual draws upon discursive options will be influenced by both structural and psychological factors. An understanding of the latter is provided by the work of Freud (1963) and Chodorow(1978). From Chodorow I draw upon the suggestion that normative expectations about gender result in the differential treatment of boys and girls particularly by their parents and this has repercussions for the formation of gendered identities. Whilst girls may be encouraged to be caring and nurturing, boys may be encouraged to be independent to repress characteristics deemed feminine (i.e. fear) and rewarded for doing so. This is despite the fact that they actually experience fear from an early age, partly as a result of premature separation from the mother. Finally, I utilize Freud's notion of potential bisexuality and the defence mechanisms to show how achieving a heterosexual identity is problematic and often involves individuals repressing desires to conform to 'normative cultural expectations'. The thesis explored the range of variations within masculinities and the discourses and normative expectations involved.

Conclusion – Re-conceptualising Age and Gender

I suggest therefore that we need a re-conceptualisation of the theoretical tools of 'fears', 'risks' and 'incivilities' and that this research can help to provide it. Constructions of 'risks' around crime and 'incivilities' need to include a consideration of gendered identities/selves and linkages to the ageing process. We can connect these components to the work of Beck (1991) on living within a `risk society`. Building upon this work, Young refers to an actuarial stance where people are wary and probabilistic being concerned with damage limitation. The question now, he suggests, is what likelihood there is of your rules being broken and that unit of risk is your chance of victimisation.[519] Young draws on Goffman's notion of the Umwelt. The Umwelt refers to a core of accomplished normality with which individuals and groups surround themselves. The Umwelt has two dimensions: the ore in which one feels *secure* and the area in which one is *aware* - that of apprehension, which shrinks and expands in relation to one`s surroundings. The nature of the Umwelt varies by social category, class and age, it is gendered and racialised. We can use these notions of the Risk Society and the Umwelt to illustrate that concerns around incivilities and crime form part of the social fabric of modernity and that they are troubling because they represent threats to conceptions of selfhood. Indeed, conceptions of selfhood become ever more important in an increasingly fragmented world. Therefore, in terms of the Umwelt, the area in which one is aware, there are perceived threats to selfhood, which will incorporate identifications and comparisons with social categories (Tulloch, 2000) and other more *personalised* components of developmental gendered identities.

[519] In a similar fashion, Giddens had referred to the development of `long-term processes whereby potential threats are avoided or immobilised` quoted in Young 2004: 564.

Appendix Two.

Reflective experiences

I sometimes felt uncomfortable or embarrassed when interviewing the men who were taking part. This was particularly the case with the 'macho men' when they were expressing racist or homophobic views. However, I was careful not to give this impression and to appear neutral because I needed to get their actual thoughts and opinions. I also felt uneasy in the focus group session where there was a lot of shouting and bravado. At time the boys just joked and gave glib answers and I realised that they were not taking it seriously.

Another point of discomfort was with a youth worker who was a gatekeeper to the boys. I knew from his interview narrative that he had extra marital affairs. At several times in the project he suggested that he found me attractive and dropped hints about something happening between us. Although, I didn't feel comfortable with this[520] I felt compromised because of my need to obtain access to young people which would have been much more difficult if I had tried to approach them on the streets. Therefore, I had to try and remain objective about this and found myself being flippant and making a joke out of it. However I often felt vulnerable particularly because I was pregnant at the time and I had felt that with other respondents my pregnancy placed me sexually 'off-limits' and this sometimes made me feel more secure with other respondents when in the field.

A difficult situation arose with Vincent who was a very talkative respondent. When I arrived at his home it was apparent that his wife did not know about the interview. She was about to leave to go out and he explained and that it would take about an hour. During the interview he was trying to look after his three-year-old daughter and we frequently had to stop and so the interview took a long time. His wife returned about two hours later and was surprised to see me still there. She asked for a word with him and then left slamming the door. The respondent returned and shrugged and assured me that he was happy to continue to interview but I was anxious for the remainder of the time I was there in case she came back and there was a domestic confrontation particularly since Vincent had suggested in his interview he was unhappy in his marriage and that was a source of anxiety for him.

There were also issues within the interview situation, for example, one of the 'traditional men' Frank started to cry about the death of his wife and I felt compromised in my position as a researcher here as I had to try to remain objective whilst appearing empathetic.

However, there were many positive experiences in the research and some of these were with younger respondents who I at the outset of the research I had felt might be more difficult to interview. Many of the young men who did not appear particularly keen at the outset of the research began to volunteer to take part particularly once their friends had done so and they often told me how much they had enjoyed it and thanked me at the end. I also felt that the 'macho men' were much easier to talk to on their own and that the interviews provided them with the opportunity to reflect on their lives which

[520] See also Willott (1999) for a similar experience in the field.

some of them did.

Throughout these experiences in the field I had to appear professional at all times and to make sure that my feelings about individual experiences and respondents did not influence my findings – see methods chapter for how I tried to do this.

Appendix Three

Protocol

To hold one to one interviews and to be receptive to any queries raised by my respondents. To offer information about myself, my motives, what I will do with the research and to ensure confidentiality by explaining the use of pseudonyms and the changing of personal details to conceal identities.

Letter of introduction

I am a researcher at The University of Birmingham and I am doing research on men's concerns about crime.

I am interested in interviewing men about what they think about living in xxxxxxx I would also like to discuss views and experiences of crime both within and outside of the area. If you are a man living in xxxx aged between 16 – 21, 25 – 45 or 60 plus and would like to discuss taking part in the study then please contact Loretta Trickett. All names of respondents will be changed to protect confidentiality.

Appendix Four.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

PART ONE – CRIME AND INCIVILITES

Can you tell me who you live with?

Is the property rented or brought?

How long have you lived in the area?

Can you tell me what sort of things you do in a typical week?

Who would you say that you feel most comfortable with?

Is there anything you like about the area?

Is there anything that you dislike about the area?

Are there any places in the area that you like?

Are there any places in the area that you dislike?

Is there anything in your life that you worry about at the moment or that bothers you?

Have you ever had any earlier periods in your life where you were worried or where something bothered you?

Have you ever been worried about someone else?

Do you think about crime at all?

Have you ever had a crime committed against you?

Have your friends or family had crimes committed against them?

Have you ever done anything to avoid a risk?

Have you ever taken a risk or done something that you thought was risky?

What things in life make you happy?

Is there anything that you are not happy with in your life that you would change if you could?

PART TWO – EARLY LIFE AND MASCULINITIES

Do you think that it is different being a man now to when your dad (if they had one, or grandfather) was growing up, or is it the same?

Do you think expectations of men have changed, or are they the same?

Is there anything that you particularly like about being a man?

Is there anything that you particularly dislike about being a man?

If you were to describe yourself to someone what sort of man would you say you were? How would you describe yourself?

Can you tell me what the routine was like in your house when you were very young?

Did you prefer being with your mom or dad, or didn't you mind?

What sorts of things did you do with your parents?

Did your parents show emotions at home like happiness, sadness?

What about your dad?

What do you think you learnt from your parents about emotions?

Do you show emotions yourself like sadness, happiness?

If you have a problem how do you deal with it?

How were you disciplined at home?

Did your parents treat you and your brothers and sisters the same or differently?

Do you think you would bring up your children like your mom and dad did or differently?

Can you remember primary school? What did you like about it? Was there anything you didn't like?

Who did you play with?

What sorts of things did you do at break time?

Were boys and girls treated differently or the same?

Did you have any anxieties at school?

Do you remember any bullying at school?

Can you remember if boys were popular or not?

Would you say you were popular at school or not?

What about secondary school?

Who did you play with?

What sorts of things did you do at break time?

Were boys and girls treated differently or the same?

Did you have any anxieties at school?

Do you remember any bullying at school?

Can you remember if boys were popular or not?

Would you say you were popular at school or not?

Can you remember your first date?

Can you remember the first time you learnt anything about homosexuals?

Would you say your childhood was happy?

What was the happiest thing?

What was the worst thing?

Would you change anything about your childhood?

Appendix Five.

Background to respondents

Respondents – Youngest Age Group
16 - 25

Mickey - MM
Age: 16
Ethnicity: White
Lives with: parents, sister
Time in Area: 12 years
On government training scheme - Plumbing/Part time
Car – No.
Several cautions – has been in youth court several times but acquitted.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Brad - MM
Age: 16
Ethnicity: White
Lives with: parents, two brothers, two sisters.
Time in Area: 11 years
At school
Several cautions – has been in youth court several times but acquitted.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Sean - MM
Age: 18
Ethnicity: White
Unemployed
Time in Area: 18 years
Lives with: mother and her boyfriend, two brothers.
Car – No.
Criminal record.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Ricky.- MM
Age: 18
Ethnicity: White
Time in area: 16 years.
Lives with: mom and sister.
Unemployed.
Car – No.
Has just got a criminal record waiting to be sentenced, several previous cautions.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Kris - MM
Age: 21
Ethnicity|: White
Time in Area: 13 years.
Lives with: parents and brother.
Work: Unemployed
Father to a three-year-old son whom he sees at weekends.
Car – No.
Criminal record.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Danny - SM
Age: 20
Ethnicity: White/Irish
Time in Area: 12 Years
Lives with: parents, two sisters (older brother not at home)
Unemployed.
No Car.
No Criminal Record.
Routine Activities, girlfriend, plays in a band, sees other friends in pubs outside of the area.

Craig - MM
Age: 17
Ethnicity: White
Time in area: Used to live in area, doesn't now, but still hangs out there, 6 years residence.
Work: Unemployed, just left prison
Lives with: Mom and boyfriend, two brothers, sister.
Former heroin addict – suspected he was still using.

Criminal Record.
No Car.
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Troy MM
Aged 18
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 18 years
Lives with parents, two brothers and a sister.
Unemployed
Criminal Record.
No Car.
Routine Activities – Hanging Out.

Lee MM
Aged 20.
Time in area – 18 years.
Ethnicity – White
Lives with mother and sister.
Unemployed.
Criminal record.
Car – No
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Gary MM
Aged 22.
Ethnicity – White
Unemployed.
Lives with parents and brother.
Time in area – 22 years.
Unemployed
Car – No
Routine Activities – Hanging out.

Richard
Aged 17
Ethnicity – Mixed Race – White/Afro-Caribbean.
Lives with parents and brother.
At college outside the area doing a course on sound engineering.
Car – No.
Routine Activities – college, DJ groups, DJ-ing in clubs, seeing friends outside of the area.

Kyle
Aged 19
Ethnicity – Mixed Race – White/Afro-Caribbean
Lives with mom, no siblings.
At college outside of the area doing a course on sound engineering.
Car – No.
Routine Activities – college, DJ groups, DJ-ing in clubs, seeing friends outside of the area.

Kelvin
Aged 16
Ethnicity – Mixed-Race, White/Asian
At school
Lives with his mom, father lives in London with his stepsister.
Routine Activities – music groups, seeing friends outside of the area, sometimes in the area at their houses.

Simon
Aged 20.
Ethnicity
Lives with parents and brother, two sisters who have left home.
College and works in the holidays as a sports tutor with children.
Car – No.
Routine activities, college, seeing friends at pubs outside of area.

Kieran
Aged 20
Ethnicity
Lives with mother and grandfather.
College outside of the area, studying film studies, has made a film and is in receipt of funds for another.
Part-time job at video store outside of area.
Car – No.
Routine Activities – college, work, seeing friends at pubs outside of area, cinema.

Middle Age Group

Jeff.- NM
Age: 37
Ethnicity: White
Time in Area: 10 years
Lives with: Wife, two children, girl and boy 5 and 3.
Buying Home
Work: Casino Manager
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – around home and work.

Brian - TM
Age: 32
Ethnicity: White
Time in Area: 33 years
Lives with: on own, home owner, separated
Works: Fork lift truck driver
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – drinking at social club in area, in pubs outside of area.

Robbie.NM
Age: 30
Ethnicity: White
Time in Area: Birth to 21, moved out of area, back 7 years
Lives with: 3 children, 2 girls and 1 boy (under 5), 1 step-child.
Buying home.
Works – welder.
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – around home and children.

Woody. - NM
Age: 30
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 30 years.
Lives with: Wife and 3 children, 1 boy, 2 girls and another stepdaughter (all over five)
Renting home
Works: Welder during the day and courier at night.
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – around home and children.

Warren - RNM
Age: 31
Ethnicity: White
Time in area 23 years.
Lives with: Married two step-children, teenagers, one little boy, two.
Works: Architect
Car – yes.
Routine activities – spends at lot of time with his sister and brother-in-law at their house. Otherwise spends time with wife and children.

Dean - NM
Age: 34
Ethnicity: White
Time in area: 3 years, previously lived on outskirts of area whilst growing up
Lives with: Single, buying home, has two male lodgers.
Works: Landscape gardener, self-employed
Car – yes.
Routine Activities – around church outside area.

Alan - NM
Aged 37
Ethnicity – White.
Time in area – 5 years
Lives with wife and baby son.
Buying home.
Works at optical manufacturers.
Car – yes
Routine Activities – around family and home.

Dave - NM
Aged 28
Ethnicity – White.
Time in area – 4 years.

Lives – with wife and baby daughter.
Buying home.
Works – engineer.
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – around wife and baby.

Andy - NM
Aged 31.
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 5 years.
Lives – with wife and baby son.
Buying home.
Works – clerk.
Car – Yes
Routine Activities – around wife and son but visits social club in area.

Adrian - NM
Aged 29
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 2 years.
Lives with girlfriend – no children.
Buying home.
Works – publishing.
Car – Yes.
Routine activities – with girlfriend at friends, cinema, occasionally pubs all outside of area.

James - NM
Aged 25
Time in area - 23 years
Ethnicity – White
Lives with girlfriend – no children
Renting flat.
Works – doing a teacher training course – paid.
Car – No.
Routine activities – pubs and clubs outside of area, friends houses with girlfriend.

Vincent - RNM
Aged 28
Ethnicity – White
Lives, with wife and two children, 5 and 7.
Time in area – 28 years.
Buying home.
Works – welder.
Car – Yes
Routine Activities – around family and home.

Ian - NM
Aged 29
Ethnicity – White.
Time in area – 28 years.
Lives with wife and baby son outside of area, recently moved.
Buying home.
Works as a youth worker in the area.
Car – Yes.
Routine activities – home and family but drinks occasionally outside of area, musician.

Stephen - NM
Aged 37
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 2 years.
Lives with wife, three children and baby 5 and under.
Rents home through church.
Works – minister.
Car – yes.
Routine activities around church and family.

Trevor - NM
Aged 36
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 6 years.
Lives with wife and four children, 3 under five, one stepson, teenager.
Buying home.
Works – bus driver.
Car – Yes.
Routine Activities – around family and home.

Older respondents

Ron - RNM
Age 60
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 14 years.
Lives with partner, children 2 daughters and 2 sons, left home, grandchildren.
Buying home.
Work: Royal Mail, parcel delivery
How long in area: 14 years

Albert - NM
Aged 66
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 52 years
Lives with wife, two sons, two daughters, left home, grandchildren.
Homeowner.
Retired.
Car – yes.
Routine activities – visiting daughter, dancing.

Tom - RNM
Age: 70
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 40 years.
Retired.
Lives with: Wife, two adults sons, left home, grandchildren.
Brought home.
Car – Yes.
Routine activities – visiting friends and photography club.

Roy RNM
Age: 70
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 5 years.
Widowed lives in rented sheltered housing – two daughters and grandchildren.
Work: Retired
Car – yes.
Routine activities – socialises in communal areas within housing.

Reggie RNM
Age 65
Ethnicity - White
Years in area - 55 years.
Lives with: Wife, son and daughter, left home, grandson.
Homeowner
Retired.
Car – yes.
Routine activities – seeing grandson, playing bingo outside area.

Arthur SM
Age: 60
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 15 years.
Lives with: On own, council rented maisonette, never married, no children.
Work - Retired through ill health.
Car – Yes but banned from driving.
Routine activities – visiting social club in area.

Gerald NM
Age: 64
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – all his life in same house, never married, no children.
Lives: On own.
Homeowner.
Works: Unemployed.
Car – No.
Routine Activities – cinema and theatre, shops in day, theatre group or friends at night.

Fred RNM
Aged 68
Ethnicity: White
Years in area – 12 years.
Lives with: Partner, female, houseowner (partner), no children.
Retired.
Car – No.
Routine Activities – visiting social club in area.

Harry NM
Age: 60
Ethnicity: White
Time in area – 30.
Lives with: wife and two adult children at home, son, daughter, no grandchildren.
Homeowner
Works: Youth worker in area.
Car – yes.
Routine activities – around family and home.

Sid RNM
Aged 60
Ethnicity –White
Time in area – 33
Lives with wife, no children.
Brought home.
Car – yes.
Routine Activities – around home and sometimes houses of relatives..

Frank
Aged 76
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – forty five years
Lives with – on own, recently widowed, two children, left home and grandchildren.
Home owner.
Retired.
Car – yes.
Routine activities – visiting daughter.

Francis
Aged 68
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 46 years
Lives on own, widowed, son, left home and grandson.
Renting home from council.
Retired,
Car – yes.
Routine activities – goes to local social club and spends time with son and grandson.

Martin
Aged 60
Time in area – 21 years
Ethnicity – White.
Lives with wife and two adult sons, two daughters have left home, grandchildren.
Home owner.
Works – carpenter.
Car – yes.
Routine activities – around grandchildren and goes to local social club.

Seamus
Aged 76
Time in area – 8 years
Ethnicity – White.
Lives on own in rented communal housing, widowed, two sons, three daughters, grandchildren.
Retired.
Car – No
Routine activities – visiting daughters and grandchildren.

Tony
Aged 60
Ethnicity – White
Time in area – 60 years.
Lives with – wife and adult son, no grandchildren.
Homeowner
Works – security.
Car – Yes.
Routine activities – around family, fishing, very occasionally visits a social club outside of area.

Appendix 6.

Breakdown of Parental Preferences.

Type of Man	Mother	Father	Neither Liked both	Neither Disliked both	Grandparents
Macho Ment	Mickey, Sean, Ricky, Kris, Craig, Gary, Troy, Lee		Danny Richard Simon		Brad
Softer Man	Kyle Kevin Kieran Arthur				
New Men	Alan, Mark, Adrian, Ian, Robbie, Woody, Trevor Dean Harry Gerald		Seamus	Andy Jeff	Albert
RNM	Vincent Warren Ron Tom Sid	Martin Francis	Fred Reggie	Stephen.	
Traditional Men	Tony	Roy	Brian		Frank

Appendix 7.

Table on hierarchy of 'public' popularity.

	No hierarchy	Publicly Popular	Publicly unpopular	Neither publicly popular or unpopular
Youngest Group		Mickey Tony Sean Ricky Kris Danny, Craig Troy Lee Gary.		Richard Kyle Kelvin Simon
Middle Group		Alan Jeff, Trevor	Robbie Ian Kieran, Adrian Dean Sid	Dave Andy Woody James Vincent Stephen Brian Warren
Older Men	Arthur Albert Gerald Tony Roy Seamus Martin Fred Francis Tom Reggie Frank Ron			Harry

Appendix 8.

Table on bullying.

Respondent	Type of Man	Parental Preference	Bullied	Not Bullied	Bullying	Resistance
Mickey	Macho	M		X	X	
Brad	Macho	GP		X	X	
Sean	Macho	M		X	X	
Ricky	Macho	M	X		X	
Kris	Macho	M	X		X	
Craig	Macho	M		X	X	
Troy	Macho	M		X	X	
Lee	Macho	M		X	X	
Gary	Macho	M		X	X	
Kyle	Softer	M		X	X	
Richard	Softer	LB		X		X
Kelvin	Softer	M	X			X
Kieran	Softer	M	X		X	
Alan	New Man	M		X		X
Dave	New Man	M	X		X	
Andy	New Man	DB	X		X	
Adrian	New Man	M	X			X
Woody	New Man	M		X	X	
James	New Man	M Sw F	X		X	
Ian	New Man	M	X		X	
Jeff	New Man	DB	X		X	
Robbie	New Man	M	X			X
Dean	New Man	M	x		X	
Trevor	New Man	M	X		X	
Stephen	RNM	DB	X		X	
Vincent	RNM	M		X		X
Sid	RNM	M	X			X
Brian	TM	LB	X		X	

Paternal Preference Codes.

LB – Liked Both.
DB – Disliked Both.
GP – Grandparents.
M – Mother
M Sw F– mother switched to father.

Appendix Nine.
Table on Current identities by Name

Macho Man	Traditional Man	New Man	Reluctant New Man	Softer Man
Mickey (Y)				
Luke (Y)				
Sean (Y)				
Ricky (Y)				
Kris (Y)				
Craig (Y)				
Troy (Y)				
Lee (Y)				
Gary (Y)				
	Brian (M)			
	Roy (O)			
	Frank (O)			
	Tony (O)			
		Alan (M)		
		Dave (M)		
		Andy (M)		
		Adrian (M)		
		Woody (M)		
		James (M)		
		Ian (M)		
		Jeff (M)		
		Robbie (M)		
		Trevor (M)		
		Dean (M)		
		Albert (O)		
		Gerald (O)		
		Seamus (O)		
		Harry (O)		
			Vincent (M)	
			Stephen (M)	
			Warren (M)	
			Reggie (O)	
			Sid (O)	
			Martin (O)	
			Ron (O)	
			Tom (O)	
			Fred (O)	
			Francis (O)	
				Arthur (O)
				Kieran (Y)
				Simon (Y)
				Kyle (Y)
				Richard (Y)
				Kelvin (Y)
				Danny (Y)

Appendix 10.
Table on parenting.

Respondent	Type of Man	Same	Differently	How
Mickey	Macho		X	*Less strict*
Brad	Macho	x		
Sean	Macho		x	More strict
Ricky	Macho		x	More strict
Kris	Macho		x	More strict
Craig	Macho		x	Would not leave
Troy	Macho	x		
Lee	Macho		x	Less strict
Gary	Macho	x		
Kyle	Softer		x	Less strict
Richard	Softer		x	More involved
Kelvin	Softer		x	Less strict
Kieran	Softer		x	Would not leave
Simon	Softer	x		
Danny	Softer		x	More strict
Arthur	Softer		x	Less strict no hitting
Alan	New Man	x		
Jeff	New Man		x	Less strict No hitting More involvement
Dean	New Man	x		
James	New Man		x	No hitting More involvement
Ian	New Man		x	Less strict More involvement
Dave	New Man		x	Less strict More involvement
Andy	New Man		x	Less strict No hitting More involvement
Trevor	New Man		x	Less strict No hitting More involvement
Robbie	New Man	x		
Woody	New Man	x		
Adrian	New Man		x	More involvement
Gerald	New Man	x		
Harry	New Man		x	Less strict
Seamus	New Man	x		
Albert	New Man	x		
Vincent	Reluctant NM		x	Less strict More involved
Warren	Reluctant NM		x	Would not leave
Stephen	Reluctant NM		x	Less strict More involvement
Reggie	Reluctant NM	x		
Sid	Reluctant NM		x	Less strict
Francis	Relcutant NM		X	Less strict
Tom	Reluctant NM		x	Less strict
Ron	Reluctant NM	x		
Martin	Reluctant NM		x	Less strict
Fred	Reluctant NM	x		
Brian	Traditional Man	x		
Frank	Traditional Man	x		
Roy	Traditional Man	x		
Tony	Traditional Man		x	Less strict

Appendix 11. Emotions how dealt with at home and by current selves

Respondent	Type of Man	Home Expressed	Home Not Expressed	Self Withheld	Self Talks	Self Cry
Mickey	Macho		x	x		
Brad	Macho		x	x		
Sean	Macho		x	x		
Ricky	Macho		x		x	
Kris	Macho		x		x	
Craig	Macho		x	x		
Troy	Macho		x	x		
Lee	Macho		x	x		
Gary	Macho		x	x		
Kyle	Softer		x	X		
Richard	Softer		X	X		
Kelvin	Softer		X		X	
Kieran	Softer					
Simon	Softer		X	X		
Danny	Softer		X		X	
Arthur	Softer		X		X	X
Alan	New Man		X		X	
Jeff	New Man		X		X	
Dean	New Man		X		X	
James	New Man		X		X	X
Ian	New Man		X		X	
Dave	New Man		X		X	X
Andy	New Man		X		X	
Trevor	New Man		X		X	
Robbie	New Man		X		X	
Woody	New Man		X		X	
Adrian	New Man		X		X	
Gerald	New Man	X			X	X
Harry	New Man	X			X	X
Seamus	New Man	X			X	X
Albert	New Man	X			X	
Vincent	Reluctant NM	X		X		
Warren	Reluctant NM		X		X	
Stephen	Reluctant NM		X		X	
Reggie	Reluctant NM		X	X		
Sid	Reluctant NM		X	X		
Francis	Reluctant NM		X		X	
Tom	Reluctant NM		X		X	
Ron	Reluctant NM		X		X	
Martin	Reluctant NM		X	X		
Fred	Reluctant NM	X			X	X
Brian	Traditional Man	X			X	
Frank	Traditional Man	x				
Roy	Traditional Man	x				
Tony	Traditional Man		x			

Responses were based on emotions being expressed by fathers.
Of those men that said they tried to talk the ones marked with an asterisk stated that they struggled.
Of those men who cried those marked with an asterisk stated that they sometimes broke down after bottling things up for a long time.

Appendix 12

What would you change about your life

Respondent	Type of Man	School	Job	Health	Bereavement	Personal	No change
Mickey	Macho						x
Brad	Macho						x
Sean	Macho	x	x				
Ricky	Macho	x	x				
Kris	Macho	x	x				
Craig	Macho	x	x				
Troy	Macho						x
Lee	Macho	x	x				
Gary	Macho						x
Kyle	Softer					x	
Richard	Softer					x	
Kelvin	Softer	x					
Kieran	Softer					x	
Simon	Softer		x				
Danny	Softer					x	
Arthur	Softer			x			
Alan	New Man	x	x				
Jeff	New Man		x				
Dean	New Man					x	
James	New Man	x	x				
Ian	New Man				x		
Dave	New Man						x
Andy	New Man		x				
Robbie	New Man						x
Trevor	New Man					x	
Woody	New Man						x
Adrian	New Man						x
Gerald	New Man						x
Harry	New Man						x
Seamus	New Man				x		
Albert	New Man				x		
Vincent	Reluctant NM					x	
Warren	Reluctant NM					x	
Stephen	Reluctant NM						x
Reggie	Reluctant NM					x	
Sid	Reluctant NM	x	x				
Francis	Reluctant NM				x		x
Tom	Reluctant NM						x
Ron	Reluctant NM					x	
Martin	Reluctant NM						
Fred	Reluctant NM						x
Brian	Traditional Man					x	
Frank	Traditional Man				x		
Roy	Traditional Man				x		
Tony	Traditional Man					x	

Personal issues included

Wishing he could change his unhappy marriage - Vincent
Wanting to change violent society, Kyle, Richard, and Kieran
Wishing son didn't have special needs – Trevor

Wishing he had not taken heroin – Craig
Wishing parents had not split up – Kieran, Craig, Sean.
Wishing he could take early retirement – Tony
Wishing parents had not divorced – Kieran, Craig, Sean.
Wishing he had emigrated to Australia – Martin.
Wanting to leave area – Reggie, Jeff, Andy, Alan., Robbie, Dave, Stephen, and James.
Wishing he had not incurred injuries in wartime – Ron.

Appendix 13

Danny on making a distinction between shoplifting and more serious crime.

"I've robbed beer from shops...but I've never like just gone and robbed a house, I've never robbed a car, I was never into any of that...they [other gang members] would go and do it....I'd watch them do it, perform in the cars or whatever, but I was never actually into the robbing and stuff...it wasn't me I was never into taking...into getting into the back of robbed cars....I was never into taking people's property really....for...I mean, a couple of cans of larger isn't gonna hurt anybody ...I mean, I've had the police at my door, but.it's never been for like, burglary, car theft, anything like that, it's was always, 'You were with so and so, on such a date and they it was just the way I was brought up...I contradict myself by saying robbing a few cans of larger from the shop..... it's still taking property that's not yours but . I just didn't think it was right to go into someone's house and take stuff that they'd worked hard were involved in, and we want to speak to you and stuff like that'