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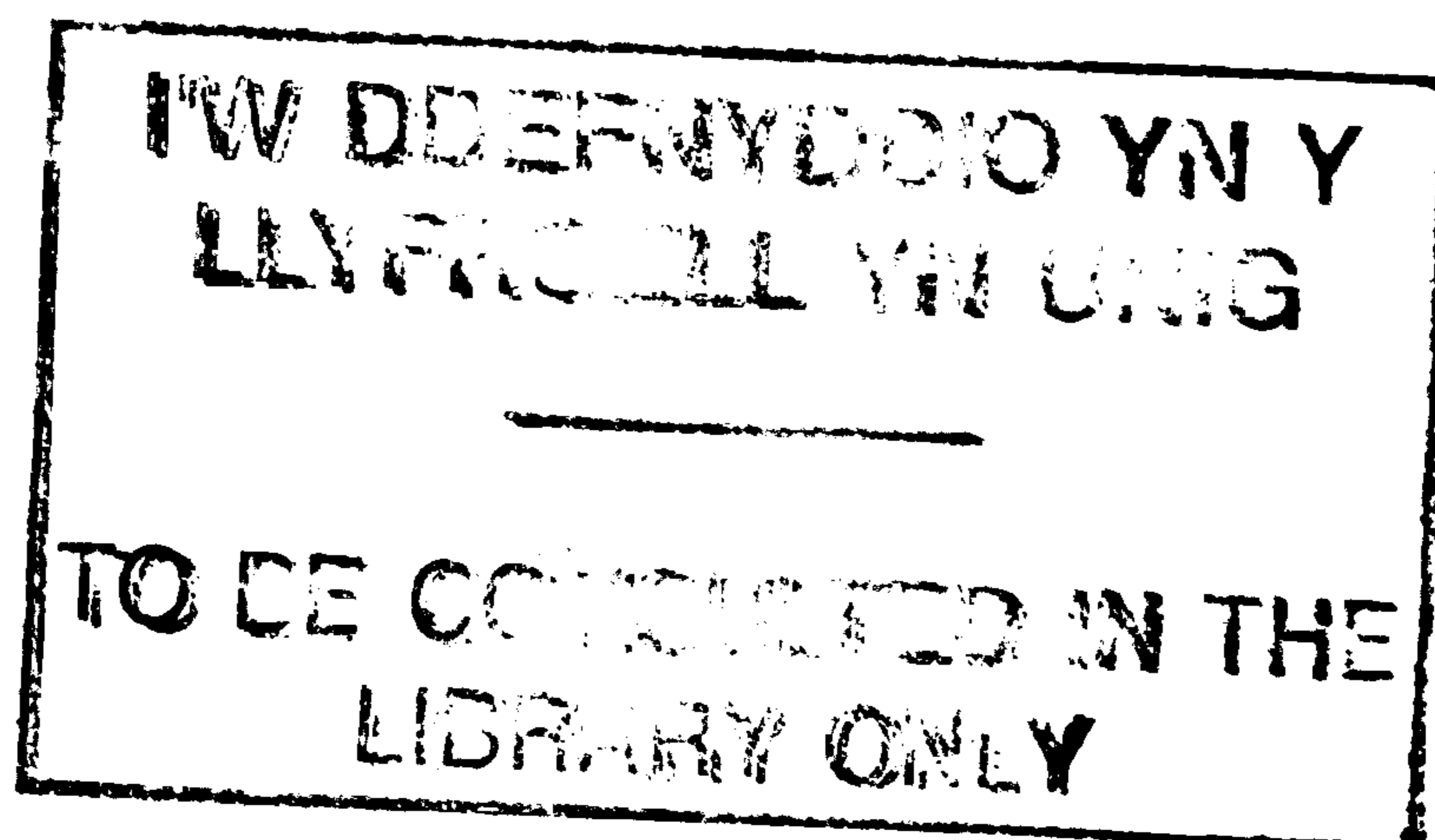
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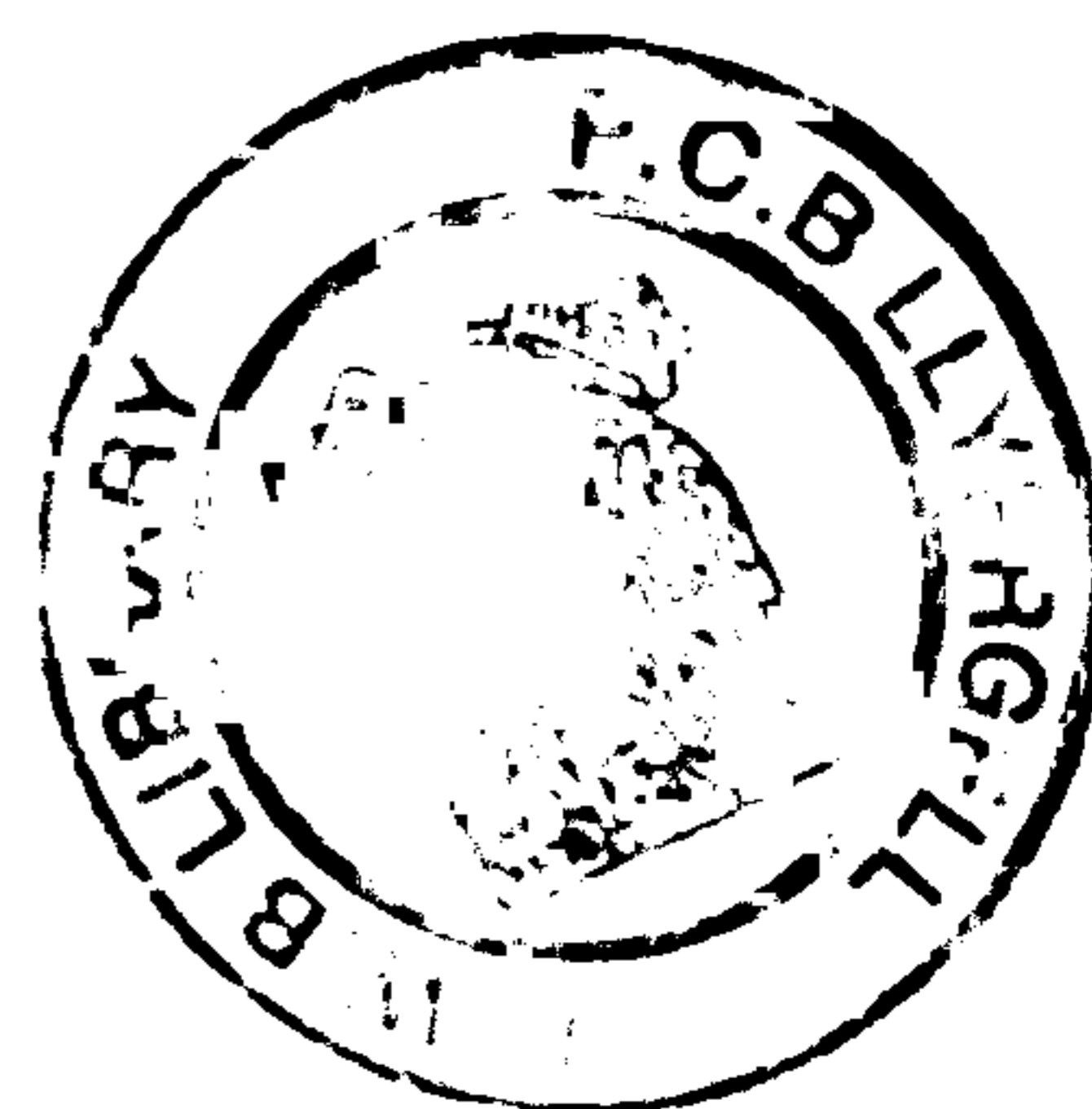
**THE CULTURAL CATEGORISATION OF
CRIME, DEVIANCE AND DISORDER
IN A WELSH MARKET TOWN**



Jane Helen Jones
2002

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology and Criminal Justice.

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ABSTRACT

Incidents of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst, a market town in North Wales, are understood by people living in the town and its hinterland as categories that symbolise cultural identity and belonging. This construction can be linked to both global and local processes, and is effectively what can be termed one 'glocal' response to wider social change (Robertson, 1995). Rural communities across Britain are witnessing local level social, political and economic developments within the broader context of a more general contemporary restructuring of the countryside. In a North Walian context, the issue of in-migration proves to be of particular concern to respondents, as it is believed to threaten ideas about traditional Welsh culture and belonging. In Llanrwst town, one response to in-migration has manifested in the cultural categorisation of incidents of crime, deviance and disorder. Prevailing notions about traditional community and Welsh culture are bound up with this categorisation. They are therefore ideas that need to be considered in any subsequent explanation of how crime, deviance and disorder become markers of cultural identity and belonging. The thesis is significant to our understanding of issues of crime, deviance and disorder in North Wales, because they are forms of behaviour that act to symbolise cultural identity. In sum, the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder acts to symbolise and therefore, construct cultural boundaries. These boundaries are maintained through local level institutionalised and reproduced practices of the categorisation.

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DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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INTRODUCTION

The initial aim of the doctoral research was to understand the issues that surrounded crime in a rural context that would go some way to alleviate the dearth of material available on the subject. However, it soon became apparent that the issue of crime in Llanrwst was symptomatic of much more than a 'common sense' interpretation of a behavioural act that stood outside of the law and was brought to the attention of the police. Studying crime on its own in this setting revealed only a partial understanding of what it meant to local people and was not, therefore, a sufficient area of study. Deviance and disorder also had to be taken account of as distinct categories in order to understand the differentiation of these three forms of behaviour and the significance they held for local people. This was because crime, deviance and disorder were locally understood as markers of cultural identity. Respondents interpreted an act - criminal, deviant or disordered - as a signifier of one's cultural identity and belonging, and thereby, a person's insider or outsider status.

The cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder, the title of the thesis, perhaps should be briefly defined here for the reader, rather than wait for the succeeding discussions to explain this categorisation. Reference to culture and cultural categorisation is simply defined in broad terms as a Welsh or English identity, although this was not a static marker in Llanrwst and the identity of townie also added a further dimension (see chapters four, five and six). However, for the purposes of the thesis culture means straightforwardly a Welsh or English ethnic identity, and there is no intention to delve deeper into the wider debate on the subject. The categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was bound up with culture in Llanrwst, that is, with a Welsh or English identity. For respondents, it was believed, for example, that Welsh people tended to take part in disordered behaviour that was largely alcohol induced and limited to 'healthy' fighting and 'letting off steam'. English people tended to take part together with townies in criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. The disordered behaviour in this sense was more dangerous, and

involved, for example, the use of knives - not healthy in any sense. Different behaviours therefore, signified one's cultural identity, for example, committing a crime, or hanging about town (perceived to be deviant) was conflated with an English or townie identity. Fighting outside the pubs on a Saturday night generally tended to be explained as the farmers 'letting off steam'.

Underlying this symbolisation of acts of crime, deviance and disorder was a concern about the social and economic changes local people were experiencing in the town and surrounding hinterland. Towards the latter half of the last century and at the beginning of the twenty first century there have been and still are, a number of complex processes in play that have resulted in massive developments occurring across the globe. Although these contemporary changes are driven by an increasingly globalised economy, it is by no means a new phenomenon. Historically, economies have been built on international trade, for example, the early Western explorers and merchants trading goods with economically underdeveloped societies. However, it is generally agreed that globalisation has accelerated the economy at a fast pace from the 1970s onwards, for example, the 'birth' of the global corporation and the increasing homogenisation of major institutions of power. Furthermore, political, economic and social bodies, communications networks, production processes and modes of transportation are all experiencing an increasingly rationalised centralisation of their organisations.

These global developments have created an era of uncertainty and instability and Giddens (1990), for example, has argued that global processes have brought into question the conceptual value of rurality as localities have become increasingly homogenised across time and space. Other arguments however, have conflated such change with the strengthening of global heterogeneity, as it is believed that an awareness and experience of diversity and difference has become more accessible - virtual reality, for example, or more concretely, ethnic restaurants on the British high streets or the McDonaldisation of Europe and Asia. Responses to globalisation therefore, do not necessarily align with the homogenisation thesis, and globalisation may

actually contribute to the strengthening of local identities in the face of change, or even produce new identities.

It has also been argued that the homogenising factors believed to challenge traditional markers of identity such as locality, ethnicity, class, gender and generation have been met by different assertions of identity and community (Cohen, 1986). Hall (1992) has argued that such a perceived threat to a familiar way of life has provided the impetus for communities to respond from within to the changes that they directly experience.

The restructuring of the countryside in contemporary times can be located in a broader context of globalisation, and at the local level can be understood as a particularised effect of this process. It is particularised because, as Robertson (1995) has argued, when global meets local, the glocal response is not necessarily the same for all areas. That is, the form the glocalisation process takes is dependent upon the social, economic and political conditions established across time and space.

In the countryside, global developments have contrasted and brought into question notions of rurality. This is because developments have filtered down through social, political and economic channels in various guises directly challenging expectations of what constitutes rural society. For example, many rural communities are experiencing an in-migration of people from other areas. The more affluent incomers price locals out of the housing market, and the less well off take up sub-standard or temporary out-of-season accommodation. An out-migration of young people, a declining agricultural economy and diminishing public services such as the closure of banks, post offices and police stations are also changes being witnessed. Country people are thereby, experiencing sweeping social change that has usually been associated with, and constructed as, the 'problems' of their urban counterparts.

In the Welsh countryside, national and global developments have contrasted and brought into question long-standing beliefs about traditional lifestyles bound up with Welsh culture and belonging. The meaning of rurality, located historically in ideas about the country and the city, and the changing nature of the traditional community, has been challenged by what

could be termed a recursive pattern of social change. The nineteenth century witnessed a massive migration to the city, which caused much concern for the ruling classes of the period. The twentieth century witnessed a reversal of this trend in the form of counter-urbanisation (Champion, 1989). Perhaps, therefore, it should not be surprising that commentators have referred to the restructuring of the countryside and the attendant major social changes in similar terms to the social theorists of the nineteenth century. That is, it has been described as a destabilised and threatened way of life (Giddens, 1994).

In Llanrwst the conceptual reality of a rural community and cultural identity embedded in the landscape has also been challenged by social change. Welsh rural communities in the Conwy Valley in North Wales have conjured up ideas about nature, rugged and inaccessible landscapes and hillside farms. This version has represented an idyllic simple life, and has played a prominent role in the everyday lived realities of its inhabitants as well as to a wider audience.

At the time of writing, the foot and mouth crisis exemplified this position. The media and government publicly displayed their primary concern for the agricultural industry, even though in real terms it only represented a minuscule percentage of the rural economy. For example, agriculture represented 5% of the total employed population in Conwy county and 3.5% (average) in Wales (Conwy County Borough Council, (CCBC), 1997). Such concerns then, were a selective construction. They acted to promote the positive aspects of rural life, whilst simultaneously obscuring by neglect any negative aspects (notwithstanding the visible and therefore distasteful slaughter of animals during the cull period of the foot and mouth epidemic).

Although representations of rural life may be partial versions - 'imagined' constructs of the countryside that draw upon a mythological historicity - they are nevertheless a potent force. They have, for example, proved to be a particularly important resource in the daily lives of the inhabitants of a Welsh market town and the surrounding hinterland, as they experienced at a local level social, political and economic changes.

Conwy county has experienced: unemployment, a declining agriculture, migratory patterns where retired persons have moved into coastal areas, young people have moved out in search of employment and an in-migration of socially disadvantaged persons into temporary accommodation, the closure of local shops and the allocation of Objective One status as an area of social and economic deprivation. Llanrwst town has also experienced similar social and cultural changes visible at the local level. Demographic patterns, for example, have included an in-migration of people that were believed to threaten everyday life. The more affluent in-migrants were perceived as posing a threat to local housing and Welsh cultural tradition, whilst the more socially disadvantaged incomer living in temporary accommodation was believed to import behaviours incongruent with traditional Welsh community life - drug related crime, a transient population and young people hanging around town. This latter group presented a visible threat as aspects of their behaviour - criminal, disordered and deviant - were believed to be unfamiliar compared to a traditional rural way of life.

The in-migrants presented an alternative version to local people's familiar understanding of rural life, and effectively challenged their everyday reality. They also acted to signify an uncertain future. The familiar lifestyle people had come to expect, based on their accumulated knowledge of what they believed constituted a Welsh rural way of life, was perceived to be under threat. In response local concerns about the issue of in-migration became conflated with forms of behaviour and cultural identity. Crime, deviance and disorder effectively acted as symbolic markers of cultural identity and belonging for respondents, and this key idea represents a major theme of the thesis as a whole.

Chapter one is structured around a series of interconnected questions that either foreshadowed, or systematically emerged from the analysis of fieldwork data: conflict in the contemporary countryside: definitions of rurality and community: marking boundaries of identity and belonging and the glocalisation of macro issues. It begins by locating the focus of the thesis from

the global to the local and discusses contemporary issues surrounding the restructuring of the countryside.

In any discussion of how the countryside has changed, it is helpful to retrace its historical version in order to contrast how it may have differed from later versions, and why it was believed to be so. This necessitates an account of the concept of rural, which has met with fluctuating demand moving from concrete to more metaphorical ideas of its value. The rural has long been bound up with the concept of community, and therefore with ideas about an urban and rural dichotomy. Hence, rural has been equated with traditional community, harmonious lifestyles and the 'rural idyll'¹. This has effectively meant that it has been ignored on a number of counts. Criminology, for example, has tended to focus on the city as a site of crime, and rural inhabitants as victims of crime have somehow been relegated to a lesser position in terms of an urban-rural hierarchy. More contemporary debates from social theorists exemplify this positioning.

Similarly, the idea of community has played a large part in subsequent ideas about traditional and modern life bound up with the country and the city from the nineteenth century. Community is a concept that has evolved alongside social change, and it has meant different things across time and space, and even sometimes been dismissed, as indeed, has the concept of rural. Therefore, a chronological account is briefly presented in order to locate its current position in terms of the thesis. Again, the aim is to locate the meaning of community within the realms of the respondents' understandings.

Each major discussion point of chapter one moves from a broader context to a local context, and this is so for the fourth section of this chapter. The existing literature on boundary construction is briefly reviewed, and in particular with reference to the Welsh community studies tradition. Here, relations between English and Welsh are discussed, and are thus, related to the drawing of local boundaries of identity and belonging in Llanrwst. It is also noted, however, that the local context in each of these studies reviewed as well

¹ Subsequent quotation marks are omitted, but it should be noted that the rural idyll is a debated concept throughout the thesis.

as the one conducted in Llanrwst can be set in a wider context of the sociological relationship of newcomers and locals (Elias and Scotson, 1994).

Finally the last section of the chapter again moves from the macro-level to the micro-level, highlighting that concerns about crime, deviance and disorder, about youth, and about rural crime are not new issues, although the latter has been relatively neglected to date. Mapping out the issues in a broader context, helps to locate local concerns about similar issues. More importantly, however, it also acts as a contrast to the new focus of the thesis on these issues. That is, the cultural aspect and the importance of taking into consideration the local context.

Chapter two is an account of researching crime, deviance and disorder in everyday life. It is essentially an individual story that discusses the research relationship between the researcher and the research subjects, the philosophical and procedural issues of social research, and the problems and lessons encountered on the journey. At the outset of the research, data was collected for both a contract with the social services department of Conwy County Borough Council and for the doctoral thesis. This meant wearing two researcher 'hats' for the fieldwork period, and the dilemmas this presented for the research are focused upon in some detail.

Chapter three presents a background to Llanrwst, locating the town in both Wales and England in the broader context. It is necessary, to begin with a historical focus, in order to highlight that the contemporary conflicts discussed in the thesis do indeed, have a historical precedent. In so doing, wars, language and caricatures of the Welsh are discussed with regard to Wales' relationship with England. Crime in North Wales is also reviewed, in order to place Llanrwst and issues of crime, deviance and disorder in a wider context, both historically, and in contemporary times. Finally, a profile of both Conwy county and Llanrwst town are presented in order to provide the reader with some idea about how the general composition of the town has changed socially and economically.

Chapter four follows on with a discussion of how people living and working in Llanrwst and its hinterland witnessed social, economic and political

changes at the local level, and how this manifested in the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. Consideration is given to why and how this categorisation took place. Respondents' concerns about visible changes became transposed into issues of threat and instability and engendered a form of responsive action. A preliminary stage in the responsive action of the respondents interviewed was the construction of a historically imagined version of Llanrwst. In the case of Llanrwst, the 'imagined community'² was a version of reality that acted as both a reference point and a safety net in the divisive conceptualisation of 'traditional' community versus 'modern' community.

The discussion then moves on to explain how the locally constructed dichotomy of traditional and modern life is marked and reinforced by the respondents' perceptions of who does, or does not belong, to the imagined community. Finally, the last section of this chapter begins to explore how local people mobilised the strategic defence of their imagined community through the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder.

Chapter five develops the framework of the cultural categorisation process by focusing on how young people's criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour became institutionalised in local settings. Visible social and economic changes taking place at a local level generated concern amongst respondents, and this concern was subsequently transposed into issues of threat and instability.

One way in which local social and political networks challenged this perceived threat was by stereotyping the cultural identity of the 'typical in-migrant' as 'townie' or 'English' and, in some cases, as criminal or deviant. Such responsive action incurred particular consequences in Llanrwst for young people, in that they experienced both social and cultural exclusion. Two clubs for young people in Llanrwst are primarily focused on: the young farmers club and the youth club. However, consideration is also given to the response by local people to the proposed setting up of a youth drop-in centre in the town.

² Again it should be noted that although subsequent quotation marks are omitted, concepts of the imagined community and traditional community are debated concepts in the thesis.

Chapter six argues that ideas about community and belonging were reproduced through young people's negotiation of cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. Their knowledge of the categorisation process was built up through socialised experiences that were both mediated through primary and secondary agencies, and also through young people's active negotiation of their everyday lives. The outcome of their negotiation of the categorisation process acted to reproduce ideas about culture and identity, and therefore, about what was locally perceived as the imagined community and belonging. Young people's perceptions of their own identity and belonging are discussed, together with their views on who fitted in a cultural sense. Consideration is also given to the young people's perceptions about the cultural categorisation of behaviour based largely on their mediated experiences at a local level.

Following on from the discussion of young people's mediated experiences, consideration is then given to the institutions and organisations that played a central part in the statutory and voluntary organisation of young people's lives at a local level. It is argued that these facilities were bound up with culture at a local level, albeit with different primary influences. For example, the structural framework of the school seemed to organise culture in the sense that it segregated pupils based on degree of fluency in the Welsh language. In contrast, the youth club and the young farmers club were culturally structured through patterns of local attendance. The last part of this chapter moves away from the organised settings in young people's lives to look at how young people similarly reproduced cultural categories of behaviour through their negotiation of time and space outside of more formal environments.

Finally chapter seven summarises the main arguments of the thesis and attempts to locate them in both an academic and policy arena for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

GLOBAL TO LOCAL: THE GLOCALISATION OF A CRIMINOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

Introduction

Contemporary questions regarding the conceptual value of rurality parallel a progression into the twenty-first century marked by processes conducive to the homogenisation of localities (Giddens, 1990). This homogenisation is rooted in the major institutions of power from political, economic and social bodies to communication networks, production processes and transportation. Many rural areas, for example, have witnessed the location of supermarkets on the outskirts of town centres. This strategy has contributed to the demise of local village shops, as they find themselves struggling to compete with the increasingly accessible discounted goods on offer in the larger homogenising retail outlets (see chapter four).

The growth of the globally competitive supermarket has also affected the pricing structure of local agricultural food products, as farmers are bound (politically and economically) into a competitive 'supply and demand' global market. There is however, local resistance to such change, for example, the organisation of 'farmers markets' in the car parks of local supermarkets and in town halls. Global processes therefore, filter down to a local level (glocalisation), (Robertson, 1995) and act to signify an uncertain future for the inhabitants of rural areas.

In response to wider global change, Cohen (1986) has argued that 'sectional interests' at a local level reach beyond traditional markers of identity (such as locality, ethnicity, class, gender and generation) as they extend into 'smaller entities within small local communities'. Identity in this context therefore, is asserted through symbolic means, with people making 'ordinary and remarkable aspects of their behaviour eloquent statements of identity: of their similarity to, and difference from other people' (ix).

In the countryside national and global developments also contrast and bring into question notions of rurality, and long-standing beliefs about

traditional lifestyles bound up with belonging and the countryside become destabilised and threatened (Giddens, 1994). This perceived threat to a familiar way of life at a local level provides the impetus for communities to respond from within to the changes they are directly experiencing (Hall, 1992). For example, many rural communities in Britain are experiencing an in-migration of people from other areas (the more affluent pricing locals out of the housing market, and the less well off taking up sub-standard or temporary out-of-season accommodation).

Other processes occurring at the same time include an out-migration of young people, a declining agricultural economy and diminishing public services such as the closure of banks, post offices and police stations. These changes taking place in the countryside are believed to be harbingers of social and economic 'problems' usually associated with urban living (see later discussion and chapters four). Recent developments have meant that the countryside is also 'visibly' facing consequences of these changes (for example, unemployment, poverty, homelessness and crime).

Rural people perceive these 'new problems' as a challenge to their 'traditional' community life, and any one visible problem can become symbolic of much wider concerns about urban encroachment and a threatened rural lifestyle and identity. The case of Tony Martin, the Norfolk farmer who shot dead a burglar trespassing on his property is a prime example. The ensuing debate, widely reported in the national press and on television during 2000, focused on the changes rural areas were experiencing in terms of an increase in crime and a decrease in rural police resources (Guardian Society 19 July 2000 and 2 August 2000). Social, political and economic issues therefore, can take on specific meanings that in reality are grounded in underlying concerns about a threatened familiar (and hence safe) way of life, bound up with prevailing notions of traditional community (see later discussion and chapter four).

Within a broader framework of political and economic change - self-governance for Wales in the form of the Welsh Assembly, and Conwy county's

eligibility for objective one³ funding status from the European Union coffers - Llanrwst town has also experienced social and cultural changes visible at a local level. Demographic patterns, for example, have included an in-migration to the town and surrounding hinterland of persons from outside the area. The more affluent (working and retired middle class) in-migrants represented particular aspects of threat. Socially, and economically, they competed for limited resources (housing, for example, pricing locals out of the market). Culturally, they were not usually versed in local traditions (such as the Welsh language), and therefore, by default, were not guardians (or reproducers) of Welsh traditional culture and society (see chapters three and four).

Other (less socially privileged) in-migrants were perceived to participate in behaviours that were also incongruent with ideas about traditional rural community life (drug-related crime, living in temporary accommodation and young people hanging around the town). This latter group of in-migrants represented a visible threat to the inhabitants of Llanrwst. Aspects of their behaviour (criminal, disordered and deviant) were perceived to be 'unfamiliar' in comparison to the 'healthier' lifestyle of the local traditional Welsh rural community. Categories of crime, deviance and disorder, therefore, transcended their constituent parts and took on symbolic status regarding cultural identity and belonging. It was a categorisation that proved to be an exceptionally potent concoction in conflating one's behaviour with a particular cultural identity in the town of Llanrwst (see chapters four, five and six).

The discussion so far represents what can be termed the bare bones of the thesis, and is an argument grounded in the ethnographic research conducted in the field during the data collection period (see chapter two). The rest of this chapter essentially represents what Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:175) have referred to as a foreshadowing of the main research question:

Ethnographic research has a characteristic 'funnel' structure, being progressively focused over its course. Progressive focusing has two analytically distinct components. First, over time the research

³ Objective One is the highest form of Structural Fund aid available from a programme of European Union (EU) funding. It is a status awarded to areas whose gross domestic product (GDP) per head is 75% of the EU average.

problem is developed or transformed, and eventually its scope is clarified and delimited and its internal structure explored. In this sense, it is frequently only over the course of the research that one discovers what the research is really 'about', and it is not uncommon for it to turn out to be something quite remote from the initial foreshadowed problems.

That is, the discussion that follows is structured around a series of interconnected questions that either foreshadowed, or systematically emerged from, the analysis of fieldwork data. It begins with the subject of conflict in the contemporary countryside, looking at issues of social and demographic change, and the kind of questions this has raised for rural society. Thereafter, definitions of rurality and community are set out, as ideas surrounding these concepts proved to be important during the analysis of fieldwork data. Local understandings of rurality and community subsumed ideas that acted to mark out boundaries of identity and belonging in Llanrwst. Thus, how boundaries are constructed and maintained is therefore presented as the next topic of discussion. Finally, the localisation of macro issues surrounding youth and crime in the countryside closes the chapter. The aim of presenting, in a sense, the macro context of issues that appeared important at a local level, was twofold. First, it was to acknowledge that the social problems discussed were not distinct to Llanrwst, and second, it was to locate the new focus of the thesis in the existent criminological literature on rural crime (see chapter seven).

The overall aim of this chapter is to contextualise in a wider explanatory framework the micro-analysis of everyday reality in Llanrwst regarding crime, deviance and disorder (see chapter two). It is a structured format relating areas of discussion that are relevant to the underlying argument of the thesis, and is therefore presented as a background introduction to the subsequent discussions. It is not an attempt to cover every aspect of academic knowledge and theory that may be related to the main research question. In any case, how could it be? First, on practical grounds there is not enough space and time to cover this, and second, the focus of the research question and the subsequent analysis is a selected and interpreted version through the reflexive lens of the researcher:

...they are constructions involving selection and interpretation, not mere unedited recordings of sounds and movement (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:176).

In sum, the following discussions are a selected representation of explanations that were bound up with, and therefore, foreshadowed the main thesis: The cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder in a Welsh market town.

Conflict in the contemporary countryside

In recent years the image of the rural idyll has increasingly come under challenge, as major social changes have been witnessed across Britain's countryside. For example, patterns of counter-urbanisation where people move out of the city to the countryside, the out-migration of young people from rural areas, the decline of agriculture, and a growing service sector employment (Derounian, 1993).

Counter-urbanisation and the out-migration of young people from rural areas are issues that have raised concerns at both government and grassroots levels. For example, in mid Wales, the Welsh Development Agency launched a project called Llwybro-Routes (llwybro is literally translated as 'walk'), to assess and address 'the out-migration trend amongst young people in Rural Wales' (WDA, 2001:1). And in north-west Wales, a recent research project commissioned by two local authorities and local business enterprises in conjunction with the University of Wales, Bangor, conducted a pilot study looking at the motivations underlying population change in Gwynedd and Ynys Mon (Isle of Anglesey). This study reported on both the in-migration of people from other areas of the United Kingdom and the out-migration of young people from rural Wales.

Recent population shifts show that young people are moving out of rural areas, and are being 'replaced' by an older and wealthier middle class of people (Derounian, 1993). In Conwy county this does indeed seem to be the case. There are, for example, greater numbers of people of pensionable age (26% as opposed to 20% in Wales), in contrast to young people in this area (16% aged 5-18 years as compared to 18% in Wales) (CCBC, 1997). However, it should

be noted here that not all in-migrants are of a wealthier middle class status, and the in-migration also includes the less well off and a more transient population (see chapter four).

The effects of this demographic shift more generally have led to particular problems in a number of areas. One problem identified, for example, has been the increase in house prices due to the relative wealth of some in-migrants as compared to locals. Effectively, it has been argued that local people have been priced out of the housing market. At the time of writing, this issue has taken on prime importance in North Wales, as the formation of a Welsh political movement 'Cymuned' (community) was set up during 2001, to fight for the protection of Welsh-speaking rural Wales. This movement has placed the issue of housing for locals at the top of their agenda, in an attempt to protect Welsh-speaking communities. The pressure groups' first annual general meeting, held in Harlech during April 2002, voted in principle for the use of civil disobedience when political avenues were believed to have been exhausted (Crump, 2002) (see chapter three).

It could be argued that the 'new' incomers to the countryside do not need employment and services (public transport, schools, village shops), as they can afford cars, and are able to travel further afield to out of town shopping areas. However, the decline of resources in rural areas, for example, lack of affordable housing, the closure of banks, post offices and police stations has also engendered concerns. Not all people in the countryside can afford to buy a house locally, have a car, or travel to out-of-town shopping areas:

The face of our countryside is fair and prosperous. Our lanes are full of Range Rovers. Our country cottages have been improved into residences that sell for astronomical sums, and so have our ancient barns, and sometimes our churches and chapels. Millionaires buy entire Scottish islands. The pony-riding tribe of fortunate daughters parades every Saturday and Sunday morning. Ramblers in vividly bright, expensive garments - designed to insulate them against any experience of country weather - trudge along our footpaths. But one in four or five of people who live in these playgrounds is in poverty. The Minister responsible for the White Paper that ignored poverty is the Secretary of State for the Environment... (Hall, 1996, Editorial).

In effect, it is a situation of the 'haves' and the 'have nots' living side by side.

Over the last decade or so, there have been growing concerns voiced about the way the countryside is changing both in Britain and further afield. For example, the European Commission (1988:23) reported that rural society was '...in flux' and the Archbishops' Commission on Rural Areas reported in September 1990 that there was a crisis in the countryside (Champion and Watkins, 1991:1).

Contemporary developments in the countryside have also been paralleled by a revival of interest in studying change in rural areas. Ironically, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed emergent concerns about the migrating masses to the large towns and cities, and this contributed to the rural-urban distinction, and ideas about traditional and modern community (see later discussion in this chapter). In more contemporary times, counter-urbanisation has channelled concerns back onto the changing countryside. This re-focusing on rural areas has raised questions about the rural-urban distinction, and the existence of traditional society and the rural idyll. For example, sociological concepts of 'conflict' and 'social class' have been applied to analyses of rural society, and have challenged the more traditional notion of a rural harmony and consensus (Champion and Watkins, 1991).

Whereas at one time rural areas were viewed as 'the outer regions' where economic activity was concerned, they have now become much more inclusive in investment interests. This is because rural areas not only offer pleasant surroundings within which to live and work, there have also been vast improvements made in recent years across telecommunications and transport networks (Marsden et al, 1993).

Of course, all this means that people are moving into the countryside in search of a better quality of life. Recent developments, however, raise questions about the welfare of those people living and working in the countryside. As already mentioned, concerns have been raised about escalating populations in rural areas and the availability of already scant resources. This was an issue, for example, raised by respondents in Llanrwst (see chapter four).

Such questions about the limited provision of services and facilities, that are in real terms disadvantaging particular social groups such as the elderly, the disabled and mothers with young children, also act to challenge the adequacy of the more traditional demographic studies. These studies surveyed and analysed social change in the countryside, but tended to neglect everyday reality (Champion and Watkins, 1991). In sum, the increasing concern about social change in the countryside has engendered the view that consideration should also be given to the social and economic networks that exist there, as well as relating demographic and social characteristics to the inhabitants (Walford and Hockey, 1991).

By the second half of the twentieth century there were studies, however, that did begin to address the critique laid at the earlier demographic studies. Pahl's (1965) study, 'Urbs in Rure', for example, viewed country people as more than just persons living in the countryside. Rather, they were viewed as social actors contributing to the economy, and thus society of the countryside. There were also a number of sociological and anthropological studies conducted on rural areas under the umbrella of the traditional community studies tradition. These studies proliferated during the first half of the twentieth century, presenting their own 'versions' of everyday reality. They were, however, later criticised for their implicit functionalism, a perspective that seemed to avoid any discussion of conflict and crime (see later discussion).

Following on from the earlier critiques of the traditional community studies, issues have also been raised about the need to distance conceptions of modern rural society from the age old rural idyll myth, whilst still taking account of the importance it holds in most people's everyday lives. By stepping outside of this mythological construction, attention can be focused on the 'reality' of the countryside, where it has undergone vast change during the last two centuries, and particularly since 1945. These changes have meant that rural life has experienced similar conflicts, that to date, have only really been associated with a growing urbanisation of our cities, for example, conflicts revolving around issues of government, economics, ethnic groups, and neighbourhood 'communities' (Robinson, 1990). These familiar conflicts

associated with city living, however, are increasingly being felt further afield. For example, in Wales, devolution, has led to the setting up of the Welsh Assembly, and hence a restructuring of the political framework. And the conflict over housing for locals has been located in an ethnic struggle to protect the Welsh language and culture from further erosion (see chapter three).

One reason that arguments about the importance of social change in the countryside, and of viewing country dwellers as social actors within both a local and wider social and economic context have been neglected, is because of an urban-centred focus. This gaze has either assumed a generalising applicability across environments, or else drawn its remit from a rural-urban framework that has acted to idealise or even denigrate rurality (see later discussion):

Everyday recognition of places or neighbourhoods as having different potential for living in, or for investment, found no place in a discipline that sought status in generalisation and assumed the 'urban' as a uniform context (Mellor, 1989:242)

Mellor (1989), however, does question the generality of much of post-war British urban sociology, and this raises issues about the importance of places and the local context. For example, it may be the case that rural areas experience different problems, or have a distinct pattern of life because of a differing geographical context - a low population density, and lack of opportunities in terms of employment and local facilities - and these would be issues pertinent to the rural population (Walford and Hockey, 1991).

It has been argued, that a new 'breed' of 'global villagers' are emerging (Philo, 1992), and Bottoms (1994) has located such changes both geographically, as in Mellor's argument about the 'unevenness of development in a modernising economy' (Mellor, 1989:244), and within social theory itself. Giddens (1984), for example, pointed to the centrality of mundane daily social practices to the production of social systems (Bottoms, 1994). That is, for Giddens, social relations are structured in time and space, and are the outcome of the operation of a 'duality of structure'. This 'duality of structure' implies that the concept of 'structure' needs to be separated from the usual use of the

notion in Anglo-Saxon social thought when applied to social systems. 'Structure' for Giddens cannot be conceived in analogous terms, for example, the walls of a building. Rather, for Giddens 'structure' needs to be understood as being involved in, and brought about by, the knowledgeable use of rules and resources by actors as they engage in the routine practices of social life.

Such 'rules' in this context need to be understood as those which actors both draw upon, and reproduce in the course of their day-to-day activities. In sum, this 'duality of structure', refers to the fact that rules and resources are both drawn upon by actors in a routine way to produce their activities, yet they are also reproduced by those activities, thereby, giving continuity to social systems across time and space. For example, if we take public perceptions of safety regarding a particular place, these perceptions may be first influenced by what time of day it is. Second, this 'place' may be shaped by the everyday lives of offenders, victims and potential victims, and their understandings of this 'place'. And, thirdly, all these perceptions and actions together will play an important part in shaping the geographical distribution of offending behaviour (Bottoms and Wiles, 1996). In sum, perceptions of an area are being shaped by both 'the medium and outcome' of social action (Giddens, 1984).

In Llanrwst, Giddens' structuration argument did seem to apply in reference to the local reproduction of culture within two institutions: the youth club and the young farmers club. However, it is not the intention of the thesis to develop either a full-blown account of the theory, or an empirical study framed by it (see chapter six). Bottoms's (1994) point though, about the emphasis on the here and now, on the importance of place, space, and time, and on the way we conduct ourselves in both a local and wider context is a useful one. For example, he further contends that it is an emphasis that has not been adequately taken up by criminologists in modern Britain. There have been local crime surveys conducted (Jones et al, 1986), but nevertheless, placing an importance on specific local environments has been neglected. In sum, concepts of crime and place have been attributed to those few criminologists, and more precisely, those geographers, who have shown any interest in it:

Crime and criminality are highly geographically skewed, and an understanding of this uneven spatial distribution is of crucial importance both to the explanation of crimes and to the social production of offenders. A serious grappling with issues of place and of space in criminological explanation very quickly uncovers a number of important explanatory issues, relevant to criminological theorisation in general, which are all too easily forgotten when the spatial dimension is not addressed. (Bottoms, 1994:586).

The assertion that one's environment is believed to be an influencing factor in criminal and/or deviant behaviour, has meant in the past a concentration on crime and the city. This has contributed to a relative neglect of any serious attempt to focus on crime in rural settings. This begs the question - is it not time the situation was addressed, with the focus on crime and place to include rural areas, particularly in light of the recent restructuring of the countryside. Such a question effectively challenges the image of the rural idyll, and also acts to locate in part the position of the thesis, as a contribution to the relative neglect of a criminological focus on rural areas (see later discussion and chapter seven).

Placing rurality

Concepts of the rural idyll have historically been associated with ideas about a simple way of life bound up with the countryside and an agricultural lifestyle (see later discussion). Not only has this been an enduring idea acting to separate out the country and the city in terms of a healthy or disordered lifestyle, but it has also acted to equate a simple country life with a somehow less superior and sophisticated image, as compared to the city.

Sitting comfortably: criminology, crime and the city

The period between 1900 and the 1970s can be seen as the peak of the time when crime was almost exclusively understood and responded to as an urban phenomenon. Rural crime, like the countryside itself, was seen as a 'backwater', an innocent hangover from old ways, by contrast with both the dynamism and the danger of the cities (Muncie and McLaughlin, 1996:154).

The above quotation refers to the opening of the twentieth century as a period when crime became firmly located within the urban environment. This kind of

thinking has a historical precedent. First, the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a state sponsored 'modern' criminal justice system that incorporated three primary elements: a professional police force, a national prison system, and 'a clear notion of a 'criminal' or 'dangerous' class' (Sharpe, 1996a:135). Second, these developments were set against a backdrop of fear about crime and disorder. This concern was further fuelled by both an underlying anxiety about the revolutionary nature of nineteenth century Europe, and a breakdown in traditional forms of social control bound up with ideas about deference, informal community ties and rurality.

The working classes were retreating from the countryside en masse, in search of employment in the developing industries located in the larger towns and cities. An increasing number of the migrating population began to converge in certain areas, namely the urban centres, and here they gave cause for concern. This was because it appeared that incidents of crime and disorder were rife in the concentrated migrations, an observation backed up by the newly emerging statistical surveys. There were also concerns being voiced about poverty and its inherent trappings of inadequate housing, sanitation, diet and generally poor conditions, as this signified poor health and disease. Disease, however, not only became conflated with the poor living conditions, but also with ideas about crime and disorder. Poverty and crime thus, acted to fuel perceptions of an emergent dangerous population.

Such beliefs were rooted in the work of earlier nineteenth century social thinkers, where disease presented the antithesis to health. The two polar opposites were of great significance, for example, to Durkheim's biological analogy of the workings of society, as he explained on the one hand a healthy stable order, and on the other a diseased disordered society - the 'normal' and the 'pathological' (Durkheim, 1964, first published 1893). The pathological, he argued, was the result of rapid social change, and led to social disorganisation and anomie (an abnormal situation), hence providing the ripe conditions for crime and deviance to multiply. This kind of thinking meant that the city became synonymous with visions that conflated disease and decay with disorder and crime.

Britain was not alone in its experiences of urbanisation and the attendant problems that seemed to follow the ever-flowing migration into city areas. America also identified a rising 'disordered society' and an evolving 'urban underclass' (Heathcote, 1981:345). By the twentieth century, urbanisation, immigration, population growth and mobility were now quite clearly demarcated as urban social problems and provided exotic topics of study for the newly developing sociology departments of the American universities.

The ecological study of crime originating in the early nineteenth century, became a popular focus for the Chicago School of Sociology during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Chicago had experienced a massive immigration from Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, and simultaneously it had witnessed an escalating rate of crime and deviance. The availability of a ready resource of empirical phenomena thus, provided an ideal topic for urban sociology. For example, Park and Burgess (1925) developed the 'zone of transition' theory, linking city developments to both the dynamics of urban change and the problems of crime and disorder.

In Britain, during the early post-war years, a vast programme of expansion was also taking place in the larger towns and cities. The migrating masses paralleled a large-scale reconstruction of areas, in an attempt to both rectify the residual war damage and activate a policy of 'slum clearance'. Implementing a 'slum clearance' plan had a double purpose. First, it was espoused by the politicians and policymakers of the era as a move towards an improvement in the lifestyles of the people who lived there, and second, it was perceived as a way of controlling them. Re-housing 'the dangerous classes' in municipal subtopias would apparently provide them with the opportunities already afforded to the bourgeoisie. Once settled in their new environments, it was believed they would learn to take on the similar habits and values of the middle-classes, thus eradicating their dangerousness (Graham and Clarke, 1996).

Urban society was therefore very much at the forefront of British social policy and developing social scientific research, and this led to a number of 'area studies' being conducted in Britain. However, these tended to be

fashioned in a less coherent manner than similar studies undertaken by the American universities. For example, the earlier studies tended to focus on a particular area rather than present any generalising tendencies (such as the 'zone of transition' theory), and it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that a more focused approach developed.

The sociology of deviance also tended to be a marginalised area within sociology during the first half of the twentieth century, and studies focusing on deviance drew from sociological and empirical phenomena grounded in specific places rather than from an ecological framework (Heathcote, 1981). However, by the 1950s juvenile crime, and crime more generally, was believed to be rising. The post war rhetoric of benefits for all, the Welfare State and the end of poverty did not signify a 'crime free' Britain as had earlier been supposed.

A particularly influential piece of work on sociological research into urban areas was conducted by Terence Morris in 1957, 'The Criminal Area: A Study in Social Ecology', and provided an area study of Croydon. Morris' work stressed the importance of type and area of housing, and the effect of local housing policy when studying delinquency. It was a contrasting approach to the earlier studies of ecological zones and delinquency areas, and led to the incorporation of housing design and allocation, and the concept of housing classes in subsequent British area studies (Heathcote, 1981). This resulted in a number of the area studies conducted from the mid-fifties onwards focusing on both public and private housing and delinquency rates (for example, Ferguson, 1952; Jones, 1958; Wallis and Maliphant, 1967; Rex and Moore, 1967; Gill, 1977; Scraton, 1981; Bottoms and Wiles, 1986).

In addition, considering social meanings and reputations attached to particular places allowed an understanding of how these processes took place. The concept of the 'cognitive map' (Suttles, 1968), for example, where one builds up an internalised picture of an area, has had a great influence on understanding the stereotyping of particular environments. Following on from this work, Walters (1972) developed the idea of a 'dreadful enclosure', where the population within is effectively cut off from life's chances by the stigma

attached to their residential status. Sean Damer (1974) continued in this direction with his investigation of a 'dreadful enclosure' in the Govan area of Glasgow, and Howard Parker (1974) and Owen Gill (1977) looked at life in Merseyside. Parker studied adolescent life in inner city Liverpool and Gill studied 'Luke Street', a slum area of Merseyside. Drawing from labelling, social reaction and deviance-amplification theories, these later works went beyond purely physical and ecological concerns, in an attempt to understand the processes of stigmatisation and the cyclical effect this stereotyping had on the residents (Heathcote, 1981).

The twenty-five years following the Second World War, however, witnessed no major development in environmental criminology, even though, as discussed above, some significant work was published. Mainstream criminology seemed to have lost interest in studying the spatial aspects of crime (Bottoms, 1994). This was to the extent that Mannheim, a leading British criminologist stated 'ecological theory...reached the peak of its popularity in the period between the two world wars, but has gradually retreated into the background in the decades after 1945' (Mannheim, 1965:532).

By the 1970s, however, the fortunes of environmental criminology began to change as two major developments in thinking emerged. First, the 'rediscovery of the offence', and second, the explanation of offender rates (Bottoms, 1994:592). The rediscovery of the offence meant that rather than the focus being directed onto where the offender lived (for example, Shaw and McKay's (1942) earlier work on areas of delinquency residence), it was argued that consideration also needed to be given to where the offences took place. It did not necessarily mean that offenders committed criminal acts in the areas where they lived. And this new direction in thinking acted to inform a number of subsequent studies about the importance of taking on board a consideration of the spatial aspects of offences (Mayhew et al, 1976; Clarke, 1983; Newman, 1973; Jeffery, 1971; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Wikstrom, 1991; Bottoms, 1994).

This brief review was aimed at highlighting the urban-centric focus of criminology and some of the underlying reasons for this continuing concern. The city as a site of crime has proved a popular conception, and hence attracted innumerable researchers to its domain. However, the term 'environmental' is translated as 'surroundings' in the Little Oxford Dictionary (Swannell, 1988), and therefore, constraining the focus on to city areas does not include surroundings in the broadest sense. Addressing rural areas in the study of crime is an area that to date has been relatively neglected (see later discussion). This may be because crime and criminality are believed to be markedly contrasted in urban and rural areas (Mirrlees-Black, 1998) (see chapter three). As discussed, the focus on the city as a site of crime is one bound up with conceptions of a rural-urban contrast. However, it is also one bound up with ideas about an urban hierarchy, that relegates the rural to some secondary position in more contemporary thinking (see following discussion), and thus acts to maintain the negation of a rural focus.

The 'rural other'

The social 'other' of the marginal and of low cultures is despised and reviled in the official discourse of dominant culture and central power while at the same time being constitutive of the imaginary and emotional repertoires of the dominant culture (Shields, 1991:5).

More than twenty years after Raymond Williams (1973) wrote his book 'The Country and the City', in which he used his personal experiences to distinguish between these two forms of social life, Ching and Creed (1997:2) have argued that 'the experiential significance of the rural/urban distinction still holds'. For example, Misha Glenny (p.38 et in Ching and Creed 1997:2) stated that Sarajevo was not a battle about nationalist conflict, but 'a struggle between the rural and urban, the primitive and the cosmopolitan, and above all, between chaos and reason'.

Thus, the rural-urban distinction has remained a powerful underlying force in moulding the experiences of people in many cultures. And

furthermore, as Ching and Creed (1997) have argued, it is a distinction that acts to 'keep people in their place', even in the face of geographical dislocation (rural to urban migration and vice versa). That is, even in an area where town and country seem a blurred distinction, differences based on particular cultural discourse may exist:

People live the rural/urban distinction through mundane cultural activities such as their selection of music (country versus rap) and their choice of clothing (cowboy boots versus wing tips - means through which identity is commonly expressed...Such choices shape identity in concert with less flexible markers of place such as regional accents and hometown origins (Ching and Creed, 1997:3).

During the fieldwork for the thesis, this distinction did seem to exist in Llanrwst and the surrounding areas, where young people, for example, referred to josgyns⁴ wearing tight rugby shirts and jeans, or as having a particularly strong Welsh accent. Furthermore, townies were quick to disassociate themselves from a josgyn identity, which they perceived as being somehow old-fashioned and un-modern (see chapters five and six). (The distinction made between townies and josgyns does raise questions about exactly what was rural in the context of the thesis and is discussed later).

The rural-urban distinction therefore, is pervasive through social identification as well as political and economic contexts. Again, in the case of Llanrwst, distinctions between Welsh and English people were also understood as distinctions between josgyns (farmers) and townies (English). This latter distinction at a grassroots level could be based on any one or a number of variables, for example, geographical location, language, accent, participation in local activities or forms of criminal, deviant or disordered behaviour. As will be discussed later, the boundary marker was fluid and dependent upon context. The over-arching link, however, was that at a local level, they were all variables bound up with perceptions about what constituted a traditional (rural) and modern (urban) way of life (see chapter four).

⁴ Joskin is an English dialect word written as josgyn in Welsh. Joskin is slang for 'a country bumpkin; a foolish person' (Brown, 1973).

Ching and Creed's (1997) argument about the neglect of the rural was based on the premise that the urban had become the assumed reference point, and that when reference was made to the rural, it thus marked a clear distinction. This 'marking-off' of the rural then acted to politicise the category, hence immediately distinguishing it as the marginalised grouping. The net result of this distinction has been that an urban identity has assumed the cultural hierarchy, whilst the rural identity has had to struggle to gain any recognition. And furthermore, this marginalisation of the rural has been experienced either as invisibility or in an exaggerated denigration:

The town child is knowing, quick-witted, streetwise and learns from every day's new encounters. The country child is slow, innocent and even bovine. Words like clodhopper, bumpkin, yokel and hayseed were invented to epitomise this stereotype (Ward, 1988:24).

The Village Character - wears...awe-struck expression...speaks with guttural unintelligibility, accompanied by emphatic throat clearing and frequent expectoration...rides a bicycle with wonky handlebars...(Duggan, 1998).

Questioning the urban hierarchy in social theory

Some academics have pointed out that the conceptual value of rural is not a useful one against a backdrop of the changing nature of city life, and an increasing globalisation that encroaches on both towns and villages (Lash and Urry, 1987; Giddens, 1990). However, the conceptual value of rurality, whether defined concretely or metaphorically, as in the case of community, does have a significant value (see later discussion on community):

The extent to which the rural acquires meaning beyond the concrete realisation of the image - the image made a permanent physical presence embodied in the house in the country, for example - will be influenced by our participation in distinctive social relationships and cultural practices in everyday life, our 'lived reality' (Crouch, 1992:233).

Recognising this effectively allows a focus on the rural that has been negated in much of postmodern social theory. This is because the city has become the stable reference point:

In much postmodern social theory, the country as a vital place simply doesn't exist. The influential French philosopher Henri Lefebvre for example, simply asserts that the contemporary situation is one of 'complete urbanisation' (Ching and Creed, 1997:7).

This view is grounded in the belief that the city will eventually take over the country, which then acts to justify any marginality of the rural:

To be urbanised still means to adhere, to be made an adherent, a believer in a specified collective ideology rooted in extensions of polis (politics, policy, polity, police) and civitas (civil, civic, citizen, civilian, civilisation). In contrast, the population beyond the reach of the urban is comprised of idiots, from the Greek root *idios*, meaning 'one's own, a private person', unlearned in the ways of the polis...Thus to speak of the 'idiocy' of rural life or the urbanity of its opposition is primarily a statement of relative political socialisation and spatialisation, of the degree of adherence/separation in the collective social order (Soja, 1989:234-35).

And such an assumption of an urban hierarchy further negates any recognition of place with other identity elements such as race, class and gender. However, in reality, place does play an important part in shaping representations of identity:

The rustic male in American culture, works heroically on his farm or in his logging camp, but he is no Lady Chatterley's lover: instead he is often depicted as an almost asexual child more interested in hunting and drinking than women...sturdy grandmothers used to represent East European peasant women. The earth mother image in these countries is partially authorised by women's disproportionate responsibility for agricultural production (Ching and Creed, 1997:22).

And this was indeed the case in Llanrwst, where ideas about rurality and community were bound up with ideas about place and cultural identity (see later discussion and chapter four).

Thus, when focussing on the rural, as Ching and Creed (1997:vii) have argued, it is effectively a challenge to the dominant 'urban gaze and its constant sightings of rural idiocy':

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the **idiocy of rural life** (Wayne, 1986:25, author's own emphasis in bold type).

And furthermore, it is a recognition that:

...the spaces and places of social life are not only the preserve of powerful men but are also occupied by women and by innumerable other 'invisible' groupings trying to adapt as creatively as possible to an environment planned or appropriated to suit the requirements of male order (Philo, 1992:199).

As Ward (1988:10) has also pointed out:

Assumptions of city deprivation were based on an unstated comparison...yet there were many country children who grew up in conditions of disadvantage and deprivation, unnoticed just because of our automatic assumptions about rural life.

In effect, adopting a 'postmodern' perspective that acts to challenge a 'grand theory' of explanation, and applying this to the study of the rural, will cease to allow a neglect of rural 'others'. That is, conventional explanations about the rural (rural hegemony) have acted to deride a more specific local focus of experiential accounts of rural lifestyles:

Those who relate the 'metanarratives' tend to be white, middle-class, middle-aged, able-bodied, sound-minded, heterosexual men living in the major urban centres of the West; those who tell the other and often more local 'stories' tend not to be such things, and as a result their voices are rarely heard and are even more rarely allowed to qualify (let alone to dismantle) the grand moves of the grand masters (Philo, 1992:199).

Thus, viewing space as a social representation allows a deconstruction of the representative characteristics of 'material space', and effectively allows a challenge to be drawn to the power behind such representation of this 'material

space'. Rejecting dominant constructions of rurality embedded in both historical (rural idyll) and contemporary (rural denigration and homogenisation arguments) constructions of social change, and engaging with research that effectively questions such images, will allow for a consideration of neglected issues. In Llanrwst, this has been the case, where the research has recognised that crime, deviance and disorder were issues of importance in whatever sense they played a part in everyday reality.

As Cloke (1997:369) has argued, 'the cultural turn' in rural studies, has effectively allowed for a 'theorisation of difference'. That is, it has begun to focus on a diverse rural population that can be contextualised as 'rural marginalised others' - young people, old people, the disabled, women, new age travellers, gypsies, and lesbians and gays. The setting up of these populations as 'rural others' is within a framework that both reviews and challenges dominant historical and contemporary representations of rurality and the rural idyll:

We see, within such constructions, notions of harmonious rural communities in which each person accepts her or his own class position within a hierarchical society; the 'countrywoman' happily restricted to informal work within the domestic sphere; a contented rural poor looked after by fellow villagers; field 'sports' providing a continuity of traditional country practices into the present; and a sea of white faces living within rural spaces which invoke powerful and mythical symbolism as 'our green and pleasant land'. But there is also considerable political power bound up with these images of the English countryside, and elements of such images can be seen to be embedded within political power relations in Britain. There is both power in the rural, and notions of rurality within the minds of power-holders - certain versions of the rural become elevated to positions of privilege, worthy of protection and actively produced (Milbourne, 1997:2).

Thus, 'the cultural turn' has effectively acted to reveal the power of the 'rich tapestry of myth and symbolism' that has enabled a neglect up until now of these 'others' (Cloke, 1997:369). This direction has also been paralleled by the massive social changes taking place in the countryside more generally. For example, the decline in agriculture and the influx of newcomers who import

differing attitudes and ideas about rural life (see chapter four). Furthermore, these challenges to 'traditional' views of the countryside have acted to make explicit the dominant ideology of the existing hegemony. An example would be the counter-challenge made by the Government and the traditional rural elites, in the form of the introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994:

Within this wide-ranging piece of legislation, we can identify an attempt to re-establish the 'legitimate' claims of certain groups over others in the 1990s countryside - privileging, for example, the claims of the large private landowner over rambler, the hunt practitioner over protester, Morris dancer over raver, Caravan Club member over New Age traveller (Milbourne, 1997:3).

Sibley (1995), has also argued that these attempts to (re)establish order in the countryside can be viewed as the 'dominant classes' equating of rurality with conformity, and hence notions of a 'purified space'. Therefore, any perceived opposition to this 'purified space' in the form of non-conformity and 'difference' is constructed as deviant. In the case of Llanrwst, Sibley's argument can be used in the sense of purified space equating with ideas of traditional community. That is, the perceived non-conformity of in-migrants in terms of being outside of supposedly traditional community social control and Welsh culture effectively challenged this metaphorical construction. Thereby, cultural difference was marked by a categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour in Llanrwst, and this acted to further include and exclude cultural identity and a sense of belonging (see later discussion and chapters four, five and six).

Making sense of rurality

If as discussed above, dominant conceptions of rurality and the rural idyll are challenged, then this raises questions about exactly what is rurality. Similarly, as in the concept of community (see later discussion), rurality is a much contested and debated term. It is necessary, therefore, to locate its conceptual

value for the purposes of the thesis. and in so doing presents a discussion of the broader debate on the subject.

As will be discussed later, historical studies of social change have pointed to the city as a world where impersonal ties and relationships were based on formal exchange and contract. Such concepts have indeed provided a valuable paradigm for subsequent research, and the emergence of a rural-urban continuum (Lee and Newby, 1983). For example, Wirth (1938) a Chicago School sociologist, published a paper entitled 'Urbanism as a way of life' in 1938, which was an attempt to set out both the sociological and practical problems that an investigation of urban society would engender. In so doing, Wirth attached specific characterisations to the city as a way of life, which simultaneously attached implicit contrasts to the rural as a way of life. That is, the rural was assumed to encompass all those attributes not evident in the city, or if they once were present, it was believed that they would soon be destroyed by urbanism. Wirth went on to put forward the case for a rural-urban continuum:

...the city and the country may be regarded as two poles in reference to one or the other of which all human settlements tend to arrange themselves (Wirth, 1938:3).

This theme was also taken up a decade later by rural sociologists, for example, in Robert Redfield's (1947) paper 'The folk society'. Redfield's anthropological work was based on field studies of rural communities mostly in Mexico, in which he attempted to present a view of rural life similar to that presented earlier by Tönnies:

Such a society is small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalised into the coherent system which we call 'a culture'. Behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal: there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relations and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular: the economy is one of status rather than the market (Redfield, 1947:293).

Redfield's work also recognised that the contrast between the urban and the rural was not a simple dichotomy, and he put forward the case for a rural/urban continuum situated between two polar opposites of complete rural and complete urban.

What was significant about Wirth's and Redfield's work was their completely contrasting versions of rural and city life. It was an assumption that was to remain powerful throughout much of twentieth century rural studies, based primarily on the notion of a 'traditional' rural society that was static and unchanging. The urban in contrast was seen as dynamic and expansionist in formula. This being the case, the urban was viewed as an evolving entity that would eventually subsume rurality (the homogenisation thesis).

Thus, sociologists on the one hand conceived of a rural-urban continuum, but on the other hand, they argued, that these boundaries were in the process of becoming blurred. Pahl (1965), for example, referred to the influx of middle-class people into rural areas, and argued that this was effectively creating a 'middle-class cosmopolitan' villager within the midst of the indigenous 'working class local' population. Furthermore, he referred to the village 'in the mind' (p.10), that is, the middle-classes' attempt to create the 'cosiness of village life, without suffering any of the deprivations' (p.11).

Thus, Pahl, in his study of rural Hertfordshire, found it difficult to locate villages into the rural-urban continuum as they were made up either wholly or partly of rural commuters (persons living in the country but working in the towns and cities). In sum, Pahl pointed out that when rural areas were studied, it should be in the form of focusing on the people living in these areas, rather than on the place itself. This was, he argued, because rural society also contained elements of urban society. And it was an argument that intensified as the twentieth century drew to a close:

But the distinction between city, suburb, small town and village grow less tenable as the years go by. In what sense is the villager-dweller who commutes to the city, and whose children commute to the nearest urban school, to be thought of as a villager? (Ward, 1990:ix).

As discussed earlier, the image of the rural idyll has increasingly come under challenge, in the face of major social changes taking place in the countryside. And furthermore, these developments have also been paralleled by a resurgence of interest in the countryside by rural sociologists and rural geographers. Cloke (1997) has argued that rural studies generally have re-emerged into a now elevated position amongst the academic hierarchy of mainstream social science, however, this is not the case to date regarding rural criminology (see earlier discussion and chapter three):

Increasing numbers of people have taken on important dualistic questions of society/space, nature/culture structure/agency and self/other from the perspective of rural studies. However, it is the 'cultural turn' in wider social science which has lent both respectability and excitement to the nexus with rurality, particularly with new foci on landscape, otherness and the spatiality of nature (Cloke, 1997:367).

The resurgence of interest in the rural from some quarters has also raised questions in more contemporary times. The earlier debate between those arguing for its contextualisation within a rural-urban continuum, and those who saw the rural-urban continuum as becoming a blurred distinction remains (albeit in a more sophisticated framework). In fact, currently, the fundamental issue of defining the rural is a contested and debated phenomenon within academia (Halfacree, 1993):

By continually discussing rural in a taken for granted manner (as in rural sociology, Rural Sociological Society, etc) we fail to call into question its realness and inadvertently tend to reify it (Falk and Pinhey, 1978:553).

This is because most people have a general idea of what they believe constitutes 'a village', and equate rural with social, economic and cultural phenomena. Indeed, this seemed to be the case in Llanrwst where some respondents, for example, equated rural with concepts of agriculture, nature and the countryside. However, as will be discussed later, rural can mean

different things to different people. Thus, defining the concept in more concrete terms has become an increasingly difficult task.

The difficulty in 'pinning down' an exact definition of the rural is also endorsed throughout the academic literature on the subject. There exists an abundance of definitions. for example: Bealer et al (1965) identified four basic dimensions of meaning: demographic, economic or occupational, social structural and cultural; whilst Deavers (1992) favoured a single demographic dimension based on the belief that this would allow for a more objective and measurable definition. Cloke (1977 and 1979) referred to an 'index of rurality', contextualised by a continuum placed between two polar opposites of absolute rurality and absolute urbanity. Weisheit et al (1995) have asked the question, is the rural/urban a distinct dichotomy, or is it a continuum that varies in degree between the polar ends (similar to Cloke's 'index of rurality'). This latter definition by Weisheit et al included categories such as rural-farm, rural-non farm, urban, suburban and so on.

It seems then that there are many definitions of the rural, and as Weisheit et al (1995) have argued, no one definition can be construed as more correct than the next. However, they do go on to point out that whilst a precise definition may be difficult, the rural can still be distinguished in important ways from what we term the urban. In their study of rural and small town crime and justice in America, they adopted a definition that incorporated multiple variables and dimensions of the category. In so doing, the rural was utilised as an umbrella term, which allowed its 'real' meaning to be understood from the varying definitions.

Nevertheless, the argument doesn't stop here and there are those who have argued that the rural should be 'done away with' altogether. Hoggart (1990), for example, has argued that whilst researchers may have recognised differences across rural areas, they have paid little attention to an adequate theorisation of the similarities present in causal processes across both the rural and urban divide:

The broad category 'rural' is obfuscatory. whether the aim is description or theoretical evaluation, since intra-rural differences can be enormous and rural-urban similarities can be sharp (Hoggart, 1990:245).

And he goes on to give the example of:

...when the Highland and Islands Development Board identified housing problems in rural areas as retarding the growth of economic enterprises. it was not identifying a rural condition at all, but one that is equally evident in inner cities...(Hoggart, 1990:247).

What Hoggart is saying, is that a theoretical sampling should be adopted when conducting research, rather than a geographical sampling. That is, when attempting to locate place it should be in terms of its contextual causal processes rather than its physical attributes. For example, when studying social conflict, variables should be selected that differentiate between conflicting social groups, rather than, for example, on the basis of the rural-urban distinction. In so doing, the 'true' source of conflict can be discovered in the wider context between social groups (causal processes). And at the same time any artificial barriers such as a supposed distinction between the rural-urban divide will be disallowed.

This dismissal of the rural as an important category, is embedded in social scientific concepts of capitalism that view differences between places as being eroded, firstly by industrialisation, and more recently, by globalisation (Whatmore, 1993). Consequently, Marsden et al (1990), argued, that the disenfranchisement of agriculture and rural has meant a theoretical abandonment of the terms. However, in the case of Llanrwst, even when taking a broad approach to issues of crime in a loosely structured argument about the neglect of the rural by criminologists at the outset, the rural-urban distinction emerged during analysis to be an important consideration in the local context. Thus, however far one may try to disassociate such distinctions, ironically, they can still be an enduring distinction (see later discussion and chapter four).

Thus far, the discussion has focused on the definition of the rural in terms of its socio-cultural characteristics, for example, Tönnies' (1955 first published 1887) usage of the terms *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft*, and Wirth's (1938) definition of the rural-urban dichotomy, in which he distinguished between urban and non-urban societies. Descriptive definitions of the rural have also been discussed, for example, Cloke's (1977 and 1979) 'index of rurality' and Weisheit et al's (1995) categories such as rural-farm, rural-non farm, urban, suburban and so on. Finally, the definition of rural as locality was considered, and in particular, Hoggart's (1990) argument of 'let's do away with rural'. Hoggart was arguing that a distinct definition could not be attached to the rural as an analytical category at the outset, because this would effectively disallow any consideration of wider causal processes that are moulded into local ones. What he was saying was that those structures and processes unambiguously associated with the local level needed to be taken account of, and that by looking at these structures, distinctions could be made between an urban and rural environment (Halfacree, 1993):

...the designation rural would have to identify locations with distinctive causal forces. If these specifications are met, then genuinely local, distinctively rural causal forces can be said to exist (Hoggart, 1990:248).

For Hoggart (1990) then, rural places cannot be generalised under the term rural, as it is only in taking account of broader structures and processes that any similar features rural and urban places may possess will come to the fore. In sum, he was arguing that 'causal processes do not stop at one side of the urban-rural divide' (Hoggart, 1988:36).

Following on from Hoggart's (1990) definition, Halfacree (1993) put forward yet another definition of rural, although it did to a large extent parallel Hoggart's definition of rural as locality, in that he argued it could not be defined as some concrete category. However, instead of defining rurality by seeking causal processes on the rural scale, Halfacree posed a non-tangible space of 'social representation'. Here, he was locating the rural within discourse, its usage being as a symbol to describe something: 'rural is just a

symbolic shorthand (as are all concepts) by which we mean to encapsulate something' (p.29). This kind of approach effectively allows attention to be paid to the actor's view of the world and the overriding realities of everyday life (Schutz, 1970):

...phenomenological philosophy...points to the power of the social context in the construction of social meaning and ultimately social reality (Fiene, 1991:49).

And therefore, the exact structure of the social representation of rurality cannot be simply stated because it consists of:

...an amalgam of personal experiences and 'traditional' handed-down beliefs propagated through literature, the media, the state, family friends and institutions...this 'knowledge' will be both spatially and socially variable (Halfacree, 1993:33).

Whilst this may seem a return to the definition of the rural as a descriptive category, what it does now is to consider a more positive concept of what defines space. For example, the social representation of what constitutes rural is also linked to the commonsense understandings that underlie any definition. Thus, the particular characteristics one gains through experiences and culture, and attaches to social representations of the rural become important, for example, as rural space, as outdoor recreation or as signifying a lack of resources. Furthermore, it also effectively allows a consideration of space in relation to other variables such as class, gender and ethnicity, rather than the previous singular objective category (Halfacree, 1993). Philo (1992:193), for example, has pointed out: what of 'others' living in the countryside, apart from 'white, middle class, middle aged, able-bodied, sound-minded, heterosexual men'.

In sum, Halfacree's (1993) promotion of the rural as social representation has allowed for a diversity of definitions, and presented a challenge to any rural hegemony. This is an argument that has been further exemplified by Sibley (1995:107), in his point about a countryside hegemony acting to preclude the existence of all other possible versions of country life:

The countryside, it seems, belongs to the middle class, to landowners, and to people who engage in blood sports. [It is a] vision of a peaceful rural community [that] clearly excludes others who live in the English countryside but who do not participate in country sports, including many commuters, working-class families and those who value an alternative life-style, like New Age Travellers.

In the context of Llanrwst, rural did indeed mean different things to different people. For some locals and in-migrants rural was equated with an agricultural way of life, and was therefore bound up with representations of a traditional community. For others, rural symbolised a safer place from the crime of city life, a rural retreat to a better life. And even further, others perceived rural as a visible and controlling space, where people watched what you were doing (see chapters four and six). Halfacree's definition of rural as social representation is therefore, a useful framework within which to locate respondents' understandings of rural in both Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland.

Furthermore, Halfacree's framework also pointed to the underlying commonsense understandings of rurality that acted to underpin subsequent definitions. This allows for interpretations of an index of rurality (as already discussed), where an absolute rural and urban are placed at opposite ends of the continuum and in-between a range of differing degrees are situated (Clope, 1977; 1979; Weisheit et al, 1995). In this sense, the market town of Llanrwst could be located as semi-rural or semi-urban dependent on who was doing the defining. For example, for local people living in the hinterland Llanrwst town was believed to be more urbanised than their own localities, but for in-migrants Llanrwst town was described as more rural than the places they had moved from. Similarly, and perhaps easier to differentiate, the outlying farms could be defined as absolute rural, and the smaller villages as rural space. Just as a point of interest here, the latest Home Office Bulletin on rural crime in England and Wales (Aust and Simmons, 2002) listed the forty-three Police Force Areas (PFA), and of the four classified as 'most rural' North Wales was included in this category. Thus, in this categorisation, the whole of North Wales was defined as rural.

In sum. and for the purposes of the thesis, the definition of the rural as an umbrella term (Weisheit et al, 1995) that takes account of its varying categories seems most appropriate. This is because it allows a consideration of the variety of contextual variations of meaning that the respondents during the fieldwork phase referred to (Halfacree, 1993).

Defining community

At a local level, people who either lived or worked in Llanrwst and the surrounding areas witnessed changes in their everyday lives. These changes can be located in a broader context of social and economic developments taking place in the countryside generally, as already discussed. One particular issue, however, that proved to be an important signifier of change at a local level in Llanrwst was the in-migration from other areas of Britain. In-migration became a focal point for voicing local concerns about perceived changes to everyday life. The in-migrants were believed to threaten perceptions about a traditional way of life bound up with Welsh culture and ideas about belonging.

Effectively, modernising influences were said to be imported by the in-migrants, and that these posed a threat to a familiar way of life. This dichotomous version has resonance with the age-old opposites of rural and urban, country and city, healthy and diseased and traditional and modern (see earlier discussion). In order to understand such a response, and how it became channelled into a process of culturally categorising criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, it is necessary to 'dig deeper' at the underlying concerns that motivated such a response. These underlying concerns at a local level were bound up with ideas about traditional community, rurality and belonging. However, they were not new, rather, as the following discussions exemplify, such thinking has long existed on a wider scale.

History and community

As an analytical concept, community has its historical origins in the theories of social change that developed during the nineteenth century and even earlier.

These theories commonly formed elaborated contrasting pairs of categories, of which the most important were those between rural and urban communities, and between community and non-community. Despite their differences, the emergent theories of social change tended to focus around one basic theme - a movement from an old to a new emerging social order. They were all based, either implicitly or explicitly, on an underlying notion of the changing basis of human relationships, for example, from a pre-industrial order to an industrial order, from folk society to modern society or from the primitive to the modern (Worsley, 1970).

Conceptions of community, and of its place in the changing social order, thus, proved a great concern for contemporary social theorists (Worsley, 1981). And there have since been many contributions to the development of the rural-urban continuum (for example, Tönnies (1955 first published 1887), Durkheim (1964 first published 1893), and Redfield (1947)).

Cultural assumptions about rural life often meant an assumed unity between locality, local social system and community. Rural villages, thus, were assumed to consist of closely-knit inhabitants living in happy communion, whilst those living in cities were perceived to be isolated, lonely individuals, lacking any sense of shared identity (Newby, 1980):

The country village has always had a special place in our affections. To many of us it represents the ideal community. We take it for granted that village life provokes a sense of neighbourliness and friendship - a sense of belonging. Village life seems to proceed at its own pace, with its own priorities, undisturbed by the upheavals of war, politics and the modern urban rat-race. The timbered cottage, and quaint country pub, clustered around the ancient church and village green, summarise our rural heritage (Newby, 1988:31).

Indeed, it was a central idea in nineteenth century explanations about the major social changes that were taking place in Europe at that time - revolution, industrialisation and the vast migration from the country to the city. For example, Ferdinand Tönnies, a German theorist of the period, utilised the twin terms of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, in order to explain and contrast life in

both the country and the city. *Gemeinschaft* represented community and community-type relationships that were characteristic of the pre-industrial world. *Gesellschaft*, in contrast, represented a society associated with industrialisation and the decline of community in the modern world (Newby, 1980). It was a line of thinking that endured, as exemplified by its influence on the subsequent community studies undertaken in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s.

Community studies tradition

Nostalgia for the 'good old days' of rural life thus, predominated the earlier studies undertaken during the first half of the twentieth century. It was a concept of equilibrium that framed the inquiries at the outset, and remained almost unquestioned by the British community ethnographers for the subsequent twenty years. The result was that rural community life was perceived to be a framework of stable, corrective influences. Rees's (1950) study of Llanfihangel Yng Ngwynfa in mid Wales, for example, described a 'classless' society, where there existed a limited differential in wealth within the community. Even when Rees did refer to conflict it was described in terms of its integrative nature and as an accepted part of the community (Day, 1998).

There were other studies also conducted in Wales, for example, in South Cardiganshire by David Jenkins; Central Cardiganshire by Emrys Jones; the Llyn Peninsula by T. Jones Hughes and in Merioneth by Trefor M. Owen, (published as a collection in Davies and Rees, 1960). These studies all provided a vision of the rural idyll that acted to influence anthropological writing in a number of ways (Rapport, 1993).

This line of thinking, however, was not just confined to the Welsh studies (see Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, for example), and neither was the *gemeinschaft* concept of community confined strictly to rural areas. Young and Willmott's study of 'Family and Kinship in East London' (1957:11-12), for example, described a working-class neighbourhood in Bethnal Green where community in the traditional sense was quite clearly evident:

The wider family of the past has, according to many sociologists, shrunk in modern times to a smaller body....But as a result of the social changes set in motion by the Industrial Revolution, relatives have, we are told, become separated from each other. In urban, if not in rural areas, children remain with their own parents only while they are still dependent. The literature of psychology, too, contains a great deal about parents, very little about grandparents. We were surprised to discover that the wider family, far from having disappeared, was still very much alive in the middle of London.

Platt (1971) has termed the considerable expanse of community studies witnessed during the 1950s and 1960s as 'the old tradition' of community studies, as by the late 1960s and early 1970s they were considered outdated and attracted numerous critiques, not always in a positive light. Strong criticisms were made of their underlying theoretical and methodological assumptions, for example, their approach towards describing the community under study as having a self contained nature, somewhat separated from the world outside, and lacking in internal conflict and tensions (Bell and Newby, 1971; Harper, 1989; Rapport, 1993). Payne (1993) sums up the old community studies by arguing that they had effectively discovered all there was to know about the social life of small settlements. And thus, together with the subsequent criticisms of spatial determinism and inadequate theorisation by academics such as Gans (1962), Pahl (1965) and Stacey (1969), community studies were left behind as new developments entered the arena.

Gans' (1962) work to some extent echoed the findings of the Bethnal Green Study by Young and Willmott (1957) in his work of an Italian neighbourhood in Boston entitled 'The Urban Villagers'. That is, he found it very difficult, for example, to place the urban villager within a rural-urban continuum. Likewise, Pahl, in his study 'Urbs in Rure' on rural Hertfordshire discovered that there were people living in the country but working in the towns and cities. Other studies conducted during the 1960s also showed that many communities suffered from issues that were a far cry from the *gemeinschaft* properties espoused by the earlier theorists. Littlejohn (1963), Rex and Moore (1967), and Stacey (1969), for example, all pointed to 'serious

class division and antagonisms' amongst the communities under study (Crow and Allan, 1994:14).

On a more positive note, Crow and Allan (1994) have pointed to the wealth of information uncovered about ordinary people's lives in both urban and remote rural communities in the twenty years after the Second World War by the old tradition community studies. There was, however, very little work conducted in this direction during the late 1960s and 1970s in rural Wales apart from Emmett's work on Blaenau Ffestioniog in North Wales (Emmett, 1982a: 1982b). In a wider context, this period witnessed a focus largely directed at locational problems rather than the study of 'social places', and Day and Murdoch (1993:84) argued that Bell and Newby's (1971) 'textbook account of this tradition turned out to be, in effect, its death knell'. In another assertion of this idea Day and Murdoch (1993:84) quote from the work of social geographer Cooke (1988) that 'relatively little of social scientific value could be said to have been bequeathed to later generations of researchers either by the concept of community or the methodology of community studies'.

Nevertheless, by the mid 1980s and 1990s, however, researchers once again had turned to 'community studies' with a revived interest in the study of locality and community life. This time though, they were armed with the knowledge of earlier pitfalls and theoretical and methodological inadequacies (Crow and Allan, 1994).

Rapport (1993) argued that developments in the field of community studies were beginning to highlight aspects of social life in a number of ways, and these aspects of social life could only properly be appreciated by focusing on a particular behaviour or institution. This was because from one example to another, there would be in some instances an overlapping of behavioural sameness and difference simultaneously. For example, one case may show experiences of a cutting back of rural services in a location, whereas another case may highlight the decentralisation of manufacturing in a different location. Therefore, rather than being able to conclude a generalising behaviour across village and town settings, he was arguing for a number of

cases of social life that would allow instead an aggregation of partially connected behaviours.

Following these developments, Crow and Allan (1994) have pointed to a wealth of empirical investigations conducted into local social life. Rapport (1993), for example, conducted a study of Wanet in an attempt to provide a micro-level analysis that focused on actual interactions and features of cultural behaviour. This was carried out with a clear emphasis on diversity and change, rather than as an inward looking study of a self contained nature reminiscent of the old tradition community studies.

Later studies, therefore, have attempted to discover the 'essence' of rural communities through an analysis of process and transformation (Harper, 1989). Studies of life in the Welsh countryside from a new community studies approach have, for example, tended to focus on conflict and change (Bowie, 1993; Day and Murdoch, 1993; Jones, 1992). Consideration was thereby being given to social, cultural and economic issues in both a local and broader context largely connected to the restructuring of the changing countryside.

Interest in social change during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was fuelled by the migratory patterns of developing cities. In more recent times however, social change and migration to the countryside have encroached on this 'urban' bias. This has stimulated the emergence of a distinctly rural focus that has taken account of sociological concepts of 'conflict' and 'social class' in an analyses of rural society. The effect has been to challenge the more traditional notion of a rural harmony and consensus (Champion and Watkins, 1991).

Taking Newby's (1979) work as an exemplar, he has pointed to the new arrival in the countryside of the 'urbanite' who comes in search of the tourist brochure rural idyll. These incomers, he argued, posed a threat to the existent social relationships of rural community life where the occupational community based on agriculture was facing disintegration by the creation of new social divisions. Recent social changes in the countryside have thus, raised questions

about exactly what is the meaning of community, as indeed they have done about definitions of rurality in contemporary usage (see earlier discussion).

Making sense of contemporary ideas about community

As the preceding discussion highlights, community has a long history, and historically it was largely embedded in ideas about the movement from a traditional to a modern community. Later studies have since, however, pointed to the value of community as an analytical concept for sociology, and indeed, the debate still exists in contemporary times. For example, Stacey (1969) has argued that the concept of community had become hopelessly debased, and Hoggett (1997:7) has hinted that the idea of community in the traditional sense is waning, as people in many urban areas do not have a close association with their neighbourhood:

...one of the distinctive features of the society towards which we seem to be heading may be the decoupling of the sense of community from the sense of place.

Recent developments in community studies have not only witnessed an ongoing debate about the concept of community, but also viewed its shift onto a definition of locality. By redefining the concept, it has been claimed that researchers would gain a better understanding of the places and communities they were studying (Cooke, 1989). This argument was grounded in evidence that pointed to 'residual cultural forms' of community found in marginal rural and declining industrial places (Cooke, 1990:36). It was also an argument that asserted the traditional community had been eroded by modernity (Crow and Allan, 1994).

Certainly, places are changing, for example, the restructuring of the inner city and dockland areas, which marks a discontinuity with the past. Foster's (1999) study of the Isle of Dogs in London's Docklands, for example, talked about the tension between the traditional residents and the new incomers. Here, Foster argued, there was a paradox of traditional and modern meeting head on in the regeneration of the area and it resulted in an enduring tension between locals and incomers. A similar tension was also apparent in Llanrwst

in that respondents' ideas about traditional and modern ways of living conflicted. This subsequently engendered a local response - the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour (see chapters four, five and six).

Considering historical ideas about community, therefore, proved important for the thesis because they were ideas that appeared to endure in contemporary times in Llanrwst. However, drawing on past constructions is not sufficient. In order to locate the importance of community, and the power of the concept for understanding the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, the exact nature of community in the local context needs to be focused upon. Yes, local people seemed to draw on historical ideas about traditional and modern concepts of community, but the question is, if these concepts endured, then in what sense did they exist? And what power did they emanate?

Crow and Allan (1994) have asserted that:

...'community' is a key sociological variable, and one which adds an important dimension to the analysis of social relations in a variety of settings (xiii).

Even though the debate about community continues, Crow and Allan's assertion about the importance of community was indeed relevant during the analysis of respondents' interviews. The definition that emerged during analysis of the data took on a more contemporary (metaphorical) understanding, but this did not negate its conceptual value or power in any way. Taking account of Crow and Allan's argument about community as a key sociological variable, and also focusing on the changing parameters of the definition of community allowed for an understanding of what the term meant at a local level in Llanrwst.

The imagined community

However much one tries to move away from the concept of community as in Cooke's shift towards the defining concept of locality, its original definition

never disappears entirely (Crow and Allan, 1994). Rather, community is something that is referred to in everyday life as a matter of course:

A new generation of sociological and geographical researchers appear to have registered the fact that outside of the seminar room the idea of community appears to remain alive and well and people, misguidedly or not, continue to refer to it either as some thing they live in, have lost, have just constructed, find oppressive, use as the basis for struggle, and so on (Hoggett, 1997:7).

Day and Murdoch (1993), also highlighted the importance of community in their study of locals and incomers within the Upper Ithon valley:

In these processes the notion of 'community' plays a central part. As they come to terms with broader structural change, people judge what is occurring in terms of the impact on 'their' community. If social researchers have a responsibility to follow the accounts of those actively involved in social processes, then this would seem to argue for the reinstatement of 'community' as a term at the centre of the study of social space (1993:10).

Community can be taken, then, to mean something to someone in the context of its use. Its meaning does not necessarily have to be something measurable in concrete terms, rather, it can be an idea, a metaphoric construction defined by its user(s).

Conceptualising community in everyday reality, and as Crow and Allan (1994) have argued, as embedded in the organisation of different social networks (for example, family, friends, interest groups), will allow for a more fluid dimension. That is, its boundaries are not then constrained as a distinct definition, but rather the boundary is open to interpretation and setting (see later discussion). In this way community can be utilised, constructed in a particular way, drawn upon as a resource, and activated as a measure or response in contrast to perceptions of a challenge or threat to social networks, and hence community (see chapter four, five and six).

Community, can thus, be a concept expressed as a 'symbolic boundary', that is, a boundary which appears only in the mind. This can vary from person to person and from time to time. For example, as already discussed the

traditional boundaries of country and city could be said to be disintegrating as new communications technology and geographical mobility have expanded the potential limits of symbolic boundaries.

Cohen (1985) has argued that the concept of community is best understood as a symbolic construction, and linked in with the recent developments in the sociology of identity. By constructing the symbolic community, people are able to use it as a resource, and a reference point of their own identity and the identity of others. In a sense, people can relate their identity to their idea of community. This provides a safety net in which to locate oneself, and maintain ideas about culture and belonging in a world that is becoming increasingly fragmented along traditional identity markers such as class, ethnicity and age.

This was particularly the case in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland where ideas about traditional community were linked to a Welsh identity. Constructions of traditional community acted as a safety net in response to a perceived threat to Welsh culture from in-migrants. Historical ideas about rurality and agriculture and a traditional way of life were prominent in Llanrwst. It was after all a market town that served the outlying areas made up of scattered farms and small village settlements (although this role was perceived to be under threat). But it was more than this. Ideas about the traditional community were bound up with ideas about Welshness. The Welsh farmer, a *josgyn*, was symbolic of traditional rural Wales and the 'farmer' was - and still is - traditionally constructed as 'he'. He had links both with an agricultural way of life and with the Welsh language. In-migrants were perceived to threaten this traditional lifestyle that was bound up with ideas about the environment, community control and Welsh culture. Explicit references for example, were made to the decline of community buildings, loss of control and English people moving in to the area (see chapter four).

Rees (1950) referred to a similar linkage of traditional life and Welshness in his study of Llanfihangel, in that he believed that modernisation was threatening both Llanfihangel and its Welshness. Modernising influences, he argued, also meant anglicised influences (see chapters three and four). In

contrast, however, to Rees, where his version of everyday life was largely expressed through his own views of a harmonious life (see earlier discussion), any versions of harmony and traditional community in Llanrwst are presented as the respondents' imaginings. In this sense, it is not the researcher doing the harmonious versioning in the following accounts, rather, it is the respondents.

Constructed versions of community therefore, are no less powerful in their ability to shape perceptions and motivate actions. And furthermore, such versions can also act to neglect 'reality'. Community, therefore, even in a symbolic sense, is a powerful concept and referent point. As Anderson (1983) has argued, its imaginary dimension is no less important than its structural determinants. Feeling part of a community, for example, gives people's lives meaning and a sense of belonging. It does not matter that the community is an imagined version, not definable in some uniform or concrete way. It still has the power to shape interpretations and actions on the basis of its construction (see chapters four, five and six).

Marking boundaries

The power of community as a social construction also lies in the way it both implies similarity and difference. One is either a member of a version of community or one is not. In between there is a boundary that acts to either include or exclude. This boundary is what Cohen (1985:12) has argued should be the focus of attention. The boundary effectively discriminates, it 'marks the beginning and the end of community'. By marking the boundary, the community takes on an identity, and this is maintained through interactions that distinguish the parameters of insiders and outsiders. These parameters can range from formal to informal measures, for example, legal boundaries, racial or linguistic, or even boundaries that exist in the mind. This latter point about metaphoric boundaries means that divisions can fluctuate within and across sides. Of course, ideas about community can also be partial constructions, for example, as already mentioned, idealising memories about how community used to be, and thereby, neglecting any negative aspects (see chapter four).

In Llanrwst, boundary markers were important. Respondents' versions of traditional and modern community were bound up with ideas about cultural identity and belonging. Marking the boundaries between Welsh, bilingual and English people were linked to ideas about josgyn and townie identities and the infiltration and perceived risk to a familiar lifestyle posed by English in-migrants. These boundaries however, were not always static, and markers of identity could change dependent upon context and who was doing the marking (see chapters four and six). It was as Cohen (1985:13) has argued:

As one goes 'down' the scale so the 'objective' referents of the boundary become less and less clear, until they may be quite invisible to those outside. But also as you go 'down' this scale, they become more important to their members for they relate to increasingly intimate areas of their lives or refer to more substantial areas of their identities.

In Llanrwst, the boundary between ideas about traditional and modern community was important to the respondents, because it marked a way of life they perceived was being threatened. The boundary marker between what was believed to constitute the traditional community (bound up with ideas about Welshness) and the perceived threat from modernity (bound up with ideas about anglicisation) acted to include and exclude, and thereby, created a sense of belonging for some and exclusion for others. Marking the boundary between traditional and modern ways of living by culturally categorising criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour also acted to maintain ideas about identity and belonging (see chapters four, five and six).

The boundaries were what could be termed 'culturally defined' because they encapsulated varying, but linked ideas about forms of behaviour and cultural identity. Concepts of Welshness, the Welsh language, ethnicity, traditional lifestyles, topography, 'normal' disordered 'letting off steam' behaviour and healthy living were contrasted by respondents with concepts of Englishness, the English language, ethnicity, modern lifestyles, in-migration, 'dangerous' disordered, deviant and criminal behaviour and polluting influences. Such different beliefs proved a powerful symbolic force in the

drawing of boundaries. For example, conflating a josgyn identity with a healthy, natural lifestyle was one reference point that marked the boundary drawn against the unhealthy living of the 'contaminated' townie and in-migrant. Contrasting ideas thus became powerful symbols and automatically marked, and gave rise to, inclusionary and exclusionary practices (see chapters four, five and six).

Mary Douglas (1966) has argued that the use of particular words such as dirt and decay all signify much more than a literal status. They are words that conjure up ideas about disease and danger, and hence engender a prescribed remedy to eradicate the 'problem'. It is very similar to the idea of a disordered population signifying a diseased and dangerous class in the inner-city during the nineteenth century, and Campbell's (1993) reference to the inner city constructed as the labyrinth of society (see earlier discussion). In Llanrwst, such ideas about the danger and contaminating effect imported by in-migrants (see also chapter six) did indeed give rise to prescriptive responses, for example, in the case of controlling young people's time and space (see chapter five).

Effectively, ideas about cultural identity were bound up with a number of variables as already discussed, and similarly particular variables acted to represent ideas about cultural identity. This reflexive interpretation was based on the respondents' everyday reality, and therefore, it was not one that could be shared by the wider population, rather one had to 'live' the 'symbolisation' in order to understand it. It is as Cohen (1985:14) has argued:

Symbols do more than stand for or represent something else... They also allow those who employ them to supply part of their meaning... age, life, father, purity, gender, death, doctor, are all symbols shared by those who use the same language, or participate in the same symbolic behaviour through which these categories are expressed and marked. But their meanings are not shared in the same way. Each is mediated by the idiosyncratic experience of the individual.

By living everyday reality therefore, one came to understand the representation of the symbols (see chapter two). Geertz' (1975:5) classic quote exemplifies

precisely the meaning of symbolisation: '...man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun...'. And similarly, Cohen (1985:19) has summed this up quite nicely in his argument: '...boundaries are symbolic receptacles filled with the meanings that members impute to and perceive in them'.

Of course it cannot be argued that there was a 'symbolic purity' practised by the respondents during the fieldwork phase. Rather, interpretation was dependent upon context (see earlier discussion and chapter six). Ideas about a josgyn or in-migrant identity seemed to conjure up a particular image, however, when a number of young people were specifically asked during interviews 'what is the difference between Welsh and English young people?' a number of respondents could not think of anything (although others referred to distinguishing forms of behaviour, see chapter six). Yet they knew whether they were a josgyn, a townie or an English person by their own self-selection. It was as Cohen (1985) has argued:

...common ownership of symbols may be so intense that they may be quite unaware or unconcerned that they attach to them meanings which differ from those of their fellows...the symbol can function quite effectively as a means of communication without its meaning being rigorously tested (p.21).

Drawing 'local' boundaries

It has been argued that the distinction between city, town and country has become blurred (Ward, 1990; Giddens, 1994) (see earlier discussions), and one could argue a similar case then for the boundaries between Wales and England. This is particularly so when one considers the recent furore over the decline of Welsh speaking communities (see chapter three). However, as the thesis argues, this is not necessarily the case. Rather, in Llanrwst the boundaries have been defined through respondents making 'ordinary and remarkable aspects of their behaviour eloquent statements of identity: of their similarity to, and difference from other people' (Cohen, 1986:ix). And one way they have done this is through the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder.

Boundaries between Welsh and English have, however, been drawn across other categories and through other processes both historically and in more contemporary times (see chapter three). In fact, it could be argued that it is only when ethnic groups come into contact with each other that their identity persists as a recognised group. And furthermore, this recognition only persists if the boundary is maintained. The boundary, then, is not a static demarcation, rather, it is based on a continuing social interaction:

Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation...(Barth, 1969:15).

The drawing of boundaries, thus, cannot be simplified into some straightforward cultural dichotomy, the mere subjective nature of the process ensures this cannot be so. As Mewett (1986:184) has argued:

Boundary construction and maintenance is very much part of the 'cultural stuff' of everyday behaviour, which in turn is embedded in the local social organisation.

Whilst respondents in Llanrwst may have taken recourse to some common shorthand symbol such as a *josgyn*, for example, this did not mean that its symbolic value signified the same constituent parts for everyone (see earlier discussion). *Josgyn* may signify: 'farmer', 'Welsh nationalist', 'a *gwenny* person' (old fashioned), a person 'wearing a tight rugby shirt and jeans', someone who 'attends the young farmers club', someone with a 'strong Welsh accent', someone 'from the hills', or from a 'respectable family', a person 'drinking on the square and getting into fights' and so on (various definitions were given during course of fieldwork by different respondents). Thus, the complexity of definitions meant that one may or may not be a *josgyn*, dependent upon who was doing the defining and in which context (see also chapter six).

Frankenberg (1957) in his study of 'Pentrediwaith' (Glynceiriog) in mid Wales highlighted the flexibility in criteria used by respondents to establish

belonging in the village. Whilst the villagers may have used socially defined variables that were also common to other Welsh villages such as kinship, chapel membership and Welshness bound up with home and place of birth, they did so quite flexibly:

The criteria of 'English-speaking' and 'Church-membership' no longer divide merely the main economic classes but also forms the basis of less fundamental divisions within the village. These attributes, which are associated with class differences in Wales as a whole and which have been so important in Welsh history, play a different role inside the village. For, as I have described, a substantial number of ordinary wage-earning villagers do not, in fact, normally speak Welsh or attend Chapel. Husband and wife may prefer to speak different languages and profess allegiance to different denominations. Next-door neighbours and friends may be divided in their membership of Church and Chapel. Only in specific social contexts do these differences become significant (1957:149-150).

It seems then, that one could be a stranger in one context and not so in another:

Strangers, however, do not form in any sense a corporate group. A stranger in one context is not, necessarily, a stranger in another. In order to risk unpopularity in a limited sphere of activity, it is not necessary to be an outsider to the whole village, but only to be remote from those groupings whose immediate interests are affected or whose feelings are hurt (1957:65).

Day (1998) has argued that community 'need not rule out difference', and that within communities members draw from both an accumulated knowledge and other criteria in their everyday understandings (see for example, chapter six). In asserting this argument, Day was questioning Young's article (1990) that set out some of the shortcomings of the idea of community. Namely, its exclusive nature that can mean an enforced homogeneity over difference. However, the important point he makes for this thesis is that community, as indeed, any other categorisation, implies exclusion if one is not included in the category.

At the point where inclusion and exclusion meet there must be some kind of boundary marker between the two. This has been exemplified already in the earlier discussions on placing rurality and defining community, where each

concept has been bound up with a number of attributes that include the idea of Welshness and a *josgyn* identity. The subject of the thesis - the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder - was bound up with ideas about belonging or not belonging, locals and in-migrants and Wales and England.

However, focusing attention on the relations between Welsh inhabitants and English in-migrants is not a new subject (see earlier discussion and chapter three). Frankenberg's (1957) study, for example, talked about the conflicts and cross-cutting of English and Welsh relations that was managed locally, but at the same time divided the community over forty years ago. Emmett (1964) followed with a study of Llanfrothen in North Wales, in which she argued that the locals used exclusionary practices in the face of a perceived threat from outside. 'Deviant' behaviour such as salmon poaching, for example, was to be understood as a response to English officialdom, a grouping that also included the English middle-class settlers:

All their resentments as working-class people against the ruling class; as country people against the towns, as ordinary people against powerful officials, are poured into the Welsh-versus-English mould and give strength to the battle which it would not otherwise possess (1964:134).

Emmett (1978; 1982a; 1982b) also conducted work in the nearby small industrial town of Blaenau Ffestiniog and later contended that:

This repeated discovery that life in Welsh-speaking North Wales could be made sense of only in terms of a struggle which in many important manifestations is cultural did not stem from a personal commitment to Welsh tradition, culture or cause. Nor does it signify acceptance of the view that all social interaction must be seen as political. It is simply the case that consciousness of national identity saturates life in the area of Wales I know something of and colours or shapes very much of observable behaviour (1982a:167).

Day (1998:249) has argued that it is clear (as exemplified by, for example, the works of Frankenberg and Emmett) that community has become 'a contested phenomenon, and competing definitions of community are articulated in opposition to one another'. This can be said to be the case in Llanrwst, where

ideas of traditional and modern community conflicted and even differed in versions of either one according to respondents.

Day has also argued that some of the more contemporary contributions in the academic literature have begun to pay attention to how people use and negotiate their understanding of the rural context (Halfacree, 1995; Jones, 1995; Cloke et al, 1998). He points out that this stance has relevance for contemporary understandings of community, for example, he referred to 'conceptions of community' being 'closely entwined with notions of the rural' (1998:250). Indeed, it is a contention that is evident from the earlier discussions in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole.

Halfacree (1995:15) has talked of perceptions of community signifying 'insularity, judgementalism and intolerance of diversity', which one could also argue was the case in Llanrwst. However, underlying such a description, one needs to also take account of the perceived cultural threat to everyday life that manifested in any subsequent actions (the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour).

Cloke et al (1997) conducted a study based on four areas across Wales looking at community and marginalisation. One of these areas was Betws-y-coed, which is just four miles from Llanrwst. In their study, they looked at how respondents talked about community, rurality and identity and how the contrast between Welsh and English respondents differed significantly. Day (1998) has argued that Cloke et al's discussions of notions of Welshness and Englishness, presented through respondents' words, created particular images and stereotypes of English newcomers and the Welsh. However, he went on to say that these identity markers were far too simple, and that in fact each grouping subsumed a diversity of differences across Wales.

On the subject of diversity at a local level, identity in the case of Llanrwst is presented as shorthand labels of josgyn, townie and English. These were labels used by respondents, but each is more complex than it may appear. As Day (1998) pointed out in reference to Cloke et al's (1997) work in the broader context of rural Wales, such a simplified differentiation of identity was in fact a much more complex process that shifted according to context, and was

never a static marker. This complexity of identity was true even in Llanrwst, and did emerge from fieldwork analysis (see earlier discussion and chapters four and six). However, it was also the case that the focus of the research tended to look at the 'minority of the worst' and the 'minority of the best' (Elias and Scotson, 1994) because that is what emerged as important for respondents during the process of analysis. In so doing, this tended to 'streamline' identities to a certain extent. Bowie (1993:168-169), has also pointed to the fragmented nature of Welsh identity once one begins to go beneath the surface:

Wales presents to the rest of the world a coherent picture of cultural self-sufficiency and a firm sense of identity. As one begins to penetrate beyond this refracted image of Welshness...the unproblematic and monolithic nature of Welsh identity begins to fragment. One is left not so much with a coherent notion of Welshness...as with a sense of many conflicting and interlocking definitions of identity which actively compete for symbolic space and public recognition.

The work of other researchers has thus shown both the 'local' flexibility of boundary marking and symbolisation, and its inclusionary and exclusionary nature. It is as Elias and Scotson (1994:157) have argued, that whilst one may focus on particular questions of a research project that address a number of 'local social problems', they are in fact part of a greater sociological problem. Discussing the migratory aspects of social mobility, Elias and Scotson point to how particular aspects of movement may be focused upon such as geographical mobility, or encounters with racial, ethnic or social class differences. They go on to say that:

The newcomers cast in the role of outsiders are perceived by the established as people "who do not know their place": they offend the sensibilities of the established by behaving in a manner which bears in their eyes clearly the stigma of social inferiority...the latter show the flag: they fight for their superiority, their status and power, their standards and beliefs, and they use in that situation almost everywhere the same weapons, among them humiliating gossip, stigmatising beliefs about the whole group modelled on observations of its worst section, degrading code words and, as far as possible, exclusion from all chances of power-in short, the features which one usually abstracts from the configuration in

which they occur under headings such as "prejudice" and "discrimination" (1994:158-159).

Indeed, the local construction of boundaries bound up with cultural concerns in places such as Llanrwst also generated much of Elias and Scotson's argument. See, for example, the wider sociological argument of insiders and outsiders they refer to illustrated in the empirical analysis of chapter four, and the exclusionary processes they discuss seemingly inherent in the organisation of young people's daily lives in Llanrwst in chapters five and six. Therefore, whilst the micro-analysis of the thesis has focused on the local situation, this can also be located in more generalised sociological arguments about insiders and outsiders, boundary marking and maintenance, the restructuring of the countryside and the impact of global to local (all topics discussed in this chapter). Furthermore, the thesis can also be presented as a contemporary contribution to the earlier works of such writers as Frankenberg and Emmett, (see chapter seven).

Localising macro issues

The enduring 'problem' of youth

Pearson (1983) has argued that the 'problem' of youth and crime is nothing new, and pre-dating to at least the eighteenth century, a number of 'respectable fears' can be traced. That is, the process whereby the present is contrasted negatively with a supposedly positive past. It seems that whenever reference is made to accounts of one's youth, young people's behaviour is remembered as part of some 'golden past' that was always better (see chapter five). Pearson, however, contends that this is not really the case, and his historical accounts of youth from the Victorian era support his argument. It is very similar, to the arguments discussed about the rural idyll and crime in the countryside, whereby an imagined community holds sway with reminisces about the past (see earlier discussion and chapters three and four).

Pearson, for example, referred to the street arabs of the 1830s, the garotters of the 1860s, the street gangs of the 1890s, the immoral youth of the 1930s, the teddy boys of the 1950s and the football hooligans of the 1970s.

And Muncie drawing from Pearson's work has listed a catalogue of complaints about youth dating from 1610 to 1993:

I would there were no age between 10 and three-and-twenty, or that youth would sleep out for the rest; for there is nothing in the between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancientry, stealing, fighting. (The Winter's Tales. Act III, scene III, c.1610)...The manners of children are deteriorating...the child of today is coarser, more vulgar, less refined than his parents were (Howard Association, 1898)...The adolescent has learned no definite moral standards from his parents, is contemptuous of the law, easily bored. (British Medical Association, 1961)...We will never get reasonable behaviour among the young until we bring back National Service. Without decent standards to guide them, the young have become lawless. Before the war there was little lawlessness. We need to return to those days. (Newspaper editorial, 1985)...In the last 30 years the balance in the criminal justice system has been tilted too far in favour of the criminal and against the protection of the public. (Home Secretary 1993). (Muncie, 1999:50).

The emergence of the juvenile delinquent

The early nineteenth century was an era when youth emerged as an identifiable social problem. As already discussed, the early nineteenth century was a period that witnessed the rapid urbanisation of industry, and an attendant migration of the population from country to city in search of work. Such social change exacerbated concerns amongst the middle-classes about controlling the masses, and children were also part of this focus. Early in the century, children worked long hours performing arduous tasks for poor returns in a number of industries. Legislation, however, began to change the life of the child. The 1819 and 1833 Factory Acts set out that no child under the age of nine was to be employed. Effectively, this meant that parents were forced to seek work in order to compensate for their loss of earnings through their child's labour. Consequently, many children were left unattended for long periods (Muncie, 1999). Hendrick (1990) has argued that the 'Factory Child' was overtaken by the idea of the 'Delinquent Child'.

The labelling of the delinquent child is an interesting process for the concept of young people's deviance referred to by respondents later in the

thesis. Children during the nineteenth century who were visible on the streets attracted attention, and their use of public space was conflated with their vulnerability and propensity to commit crime:

Each year sees an increase of the numbers of street-children to a very considerable extent, and the exact nature of their position may be thus briefly depicted: what little information they receive is obtained from the worst class - from cheats, vagabonds, and rogues; what little amusement they indulge in, springs from sources the most poisonous...(Mayhew, 1861:479).

In more contemporary times, Sibley (1995:xii) has talked about the distinction between young people being either consumers or non-consumers in public space. He contrasts his own experience as a teenager in the 1950s where he describes:

...sitting for hours over a cup of coffee in an ABC café in a north London suburb, undisturbed by staff, it appears that the boundaries between the consuming and non-consuming public are strengthening, with non-consumption being constructed as a form of deviance.

And he goes on to say that this view of youth and space has gained the support of empirical evidence, such as a study conducted by the Home Office on 'downtown drinkers' in Coventry, where it was reported that:

Unruly groups of young people were seen as a problem by approximately two out of three interviewees. As with litter, the problem is not just a local matter. Throughout the country, shopping centres often serve as convenient places for youth subcultures to meet - places to which there may be a lack of obvious alternatives. On the other hand, the mere sight of such groups, however rarely they actually infringe any laws, can be alarming to others.

In Llanrwst, the young people visible on the street during the evening, did indeed, seem to present a problem for respondents, or at least they were constructed as such. Young people 'hanging about' with nothing to do were believed to be either 'up to no good' or in danger of being contaminated. If they were female then they were also believed to be in danger of being morally

corrupted. These young people, however, were identified as either townies or in-migrants and never josgyns. Thus, particular young people's behaviour in public space was bound up with notions of deviance. It was deviant because such behaviour did not conform to respondent's ideas about where young people should be and what they should be doing (see chapters four and five).

As already intimated, and indeed also highlighted at a more local level by the Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit (1999), people living in the borough were particularly worried about young people hanging about on the street (see chapter three). The visibility of young people in public space, therefore, is not a 'new' behaviour, exclusive to Llanrwst. Rather, as already discussed it has been a cause for concern across time and space. However, what is significant in Llanrwst, is the aspect of associating such behaviour with one's cultural identity. That is, the deviant status of a young person acted as a symbol of their cultural identity. And, similarly, cultural identity was also used to reflect one's deviant status (see chapters four, five and six).

Crime pervades young people's lives in the countryside

During the last decade of the twentieth century, the lifestyles of young people in rural areas appeared to be a cause for concern. The image of the safety of the rural idyll was being questioned by reports of a growing incidence of crime in rural areas. In 1995 for example, Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) (1995:5) announced that:

The fear of crime is becoming more pronounced in rural communities. This is reflected in numerous local press reports of people calling for measures to address local crime waves.

And Crime Concern published details of their conference report 'On the Right Track: Diverting Young People from Crime in Rural Areas' (1996:4) which stated that:

Crime has been rising faster in rural areas than in towns. And whatever the absolute level, it is perceived by rural people as a worse problem because of this sudden increase, the isolation and the feeling of vulnerability of many households and the difficulties

of policing dispersed populations. Only 2% of parishes have a police station.

Young people in rural areas also attracted the attention of the press regarding the problem of drugs: 'there is growing evidence that youngsters in rural areas are finding it increasingly easy to obtain drugs from dealers' (Reid and Gillan, 1994):

No village is now safe from drugs: A Home Office report last week revealed that the drug problem in rural areas is now as bad, if not worse, than it is in the cities (Reid and Gillan, 1994).

The image of sleepy rural towns is being shattered by a pervasive rise in drug and alcohol abuse (Cunningham, 2000b).

And at both a national and local level reports also appeared spasmodically on the issue of drug taking in rural areas (Davidson et al, 1997; Henderson, 1998; Waddon and Baker, 1999):

In Llanrwst, drugs were conflated with in-migrants, and concerns were also apparent about the perceived increase in crime in the area from talking to respondents. Ideas about the contamination of young people from in-migrants at a local level was epitomised by the case of Jamie Bulger during 1993. The two ten year olds - Jon Venables and Robert Thompson - who had committed the murder were said to have stayed in Llanrwst during the trial. Whether this was true or not, it conjured up the idea of the dangerous in-migrant. For example, one reference was made by a respondent to the mugging of an old man by a 'nine year old from Liverpool' and 'we had kids here a couple of years ago who were unbelievably streetwise from Merseyside' (see chapter four).

Contemporary issues in rural crime

The apparent concern with crime in rural areas can be located in a broader context. It could even be said that it reached a peak in the period surrounding the Tony Martin case during 2000. Martin was a Norfolk farmer who shot dead a burglar on his property. It was a case that regenerated much debate in social and political circles across the country about police resources and crime

in rural areas. For example, the Guardian Society reported 'in response to fears of rising crime in rural areas, a new roving police force is on trial in Lincolnshire' (Cunningham, 2000a).

It should be noted, however, that media interest in the case was professionally handled by the publicity agent Max Clifford, who took on the case, and the ensuing debate was reminiscent of the age old dichotomous construction of rural versus urban as the following extract from the Guardian highlights:

A load of palpable nonsense has been talked about rural crime since the verdict in the Martin case. Those most at risk from burglary were, are, and will remain low-income council tenants on inner city estates. Shotgun owners living in detached houses in the country are not the usual victims of break-ins' (The Guardian, 25 April, 2000).

The debate also proved to be a convenient soapbox for William Hague, the (then) leader of the Conservative Party. Hague's publicity campaign across Britain for the forthcoming local government elections focused on the issue of the right of homeowners to attack intruders in their own home (Baldwin and Landale, 2000).

The increasing concern being voiced from both members of the public and government about crime in rural areas also generated limited academic interest. Bottoms (1994:648), for example, argued that rural areas 'must be one of the most under-studied topics in criminology, and, curiously, even environmental criminologists have shown very little sustained interest in it'. Any literature available, however, tends to be scattered across the media, voluntary sector pamphlets, government bulletins and statistical reports, and academic sources.

The media

As well as the Tony Martin case, more specific rural crimes have also attracted some attention in the media. Wildlife crime has apparently witnessed a surge

as criminals switch to 'easier' crimes, undeterred by the legislative control of the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 (RSPB, 1997):

Criminals are turning to stealing birds, plants and bulbs from the countryside as a lucrative alternative to burglary and stealing from cars because the chances of being caught are less and the penalties minor...Michael Meacher, the environment minister, said his department was setting up a national wildlife crime unit at a cost of £440,000 (Brown, 2000).

These somewhat fragmented reports of rural crime come and go in the media, and can be understood largely in terms of a response to a timely and topical moral panic of the moment, engineered by a broader social and political climate, as in the case of Tony Martin. The basic premise for motivating public concern about rural crime in the media seems to be based on engendering a fear of crime, rather than basing the claims on any substantiated empirical evidence.

Statistical evidence

The main source of evidence, if it is used, are the recorded crime figures. The national press have publicised the crime figures at regular intervals and reported a 'rise in rural crime', and a shift in the balance of crime from urban to rural areas. The Criminal Statistics for England and Wales (HMSO, 1992) have pointed to a considerably higher rate for some rural areas as compared to the 6% average rise in the recorded crime rate for England and Wales generally. For example, recorded crime rates were reported to have risen by 20% in Cheshire, 13% in Staffordshire and 14% in Avon and Somerset.

In 1999 the recorded crime figures for the year to March 1999 highlighted an overall shift in the balance of crime from urban to rural areas (Travis, 1999). During the same period the Home Office was reported in the Sunday Times to be launching an 'assault on rural crime as new figures show many country dwellers are suffering an increase in violence, sex attacks and burglaries'. The then Home Office minister Alun Michael announced a 'zero tolerance' approach 'to cutting crime in villages and hamlets', and Dr Roger

Matthews, reader in criminology at Middlesex university was quoted as saying 'The crime hotspots are moving out of the inner cities. The changing pattern suggests a different profile of offender - young people who are driven by other things besides poverty, such as drugs, the desire for enjoyment or a bit of excitement' (Ungoed-Thomas and Rufford, 1999).

The National Farmer's Union (NFU) conducted their own nationwide survey in 1995 in response to the Home Office statistics released during April of that year, which showed a sharp increase in recorded crime for England and Wales over the preceding ten years. The NFU believed the recorded crime figures to be 'misleading' as they did not break down incidents into 'small enough areas to be an effective measure of rural crime' (Pexton, 1995:1). They did however, acknowledge that the British Crime Survey (BCS) has shown that over 70% of crime is not reported to the police by the public.

The NFU survey consisted of over 1,200 farmers' responses, and concluded that 'eight out of every ten farmers have been the victims of crime in the past three years...the incidence of criminal activity in our countryside is increasing...and if these rates continue...then almost everyone here...could potentially be a victim of crime in the coming years' (p.2). It seems, however, that the conclusions drawn were more speculative than factual. For example, the claim that the survey was 'one of the most comprehensive surveys of rural crime ever taken' negated its comparative comment of an 'increase in criminal activity' as any comparison was being made with data collected for different purposes and by different methods.

Nevertheless, farm crime is still a serious issue that brings about its own particular problems of policing such widespread and isolated areas. It also seems that modernity has reached the perpetual problem of poaching and rustling, as gamekeepers and farmers are provided with hi-tech gadgets to keep them 'one step ahead of poachers, sheep rustlers and countryside criminals' using satellite tracking devices to locate wildlife (Seenan, 1999).

Whatever fears the public may have about rural crime channelled through the media, and indeed whatever increases there may be in offences committed in rural areas according to the recorded crime figures, a report by Mirrlees-

Black (1998) on rural areas and crime based on findings from the BCS 1996, concluded that the risk of being a victim in rural areas was lower than elsewhere in Britain. The report compared findings from the BCS for rural, urban and inner-city parts of England and Wales for 1995. Its main findings also highlighted that: people living in rural areas were far less concerned about becoming a victim; felt safer on their local streets and held a more confident regard for local policing.

Whilst these findings from the BCS are illuminating, Lee (1982) has pointed out that people living in rural areas had very different ideas about becoming prey to victimisation on the streets as they perceived their environment differently. Therefore, standardised questions across rural and urban areas may not elicit a correct balance of views regarding issues of crime, as differing beliefs and concerns about crime and victimisation are not taken into consideration.

Matthews (1995:3-4), has reiterated some of these concerns regarding both the recorded crime figures and those produced by the British Crime Survey. He pointed out, for example, that the BCS produced a different range of data in comparison with the recorded crime figures, and that whilst the BCS highlighted a greater number of offences overall, it did not necessarily make it any more realistic than the official figures. In sum, he was arguing that: ‘...we are left with the problem of assessing to what degree these differences arise from methodological procedures, different levels of reporting, or changes in the actual levels of victimisation’.

Another interesting observation he made in his analysis is that there was a vast difference between groups of the population generally, and also within a given area. Bearing this in mind he advised: ‘rather than a focus on abstractions and generalisations’ we should consider ‘crime trends...spatially and socially’. This argument leads back to one of the core themes of the thesis as it goes on to discuss that ‘one of the basic axioms of criminology [is] that crime is predominantly an urban phenomenon’. Furthermore, Matthews referred to ‘one of the more significant recent developments in England and Wales has been a shifting balance between urban and rural crime’ and

tentatively suggested one cause as being: 'the gradual erosion of the urban-rural divide'.

Empirical studies

How should one approach the study of rural crime, then, and take account of distinctive issues appertaining to rural areas? This is a question, particularly in the context of a more qualitative methodological approach that is little developed in this sphere. There have been few empirical studies conducted by criminologists in Britain on rural crime (Jones, 1998), and even some of these have only retained minimal concern with 'the notion of rurality' (Moody, 1999:8).

Shapland and Vagg's (1988) 'Policing by the Public' was a study conducted during 1983-85 of two rural areas (Southton and Northam) and four urban areas in the Midlands. The authors were concerned with patterns of informal and formal social control, and patterns of cooperation between the public and police. The study involved an analysis of crime using crime reports for the stated areas, together with interviews with both the police and members of the public. One of the main conclusions drawn was that the rural communities tended to use a greater measure of informal social control mechanisms as compared to the urban communities.

At the outset of their study, Shapland and Vagg (1988:1) realised that in order to 'set off in search of some answers required not only the conceptual baggage of criminology, but also...some ideas more familiar to rural sociologists and anthropologists'. They soon found problems of defining community, for example, and whilst able to draw from other disciplines, found comparatively little work undertaken at a similar level within the criminological sphere.

One study that was undertaken from an anthropological perspective, however, was the work of Young (1993) entitled 'In the Sticks: Cultural Identity in a Rural Police Force'. Young, was already a policeman working on his doctoral thesis on the anthropology of policing an inner city environment in 1983 when he found himself being transferred to the West Mercia

constabulary. On taking up his new position of superintendent he contrasted the move in terms of a 'culture shock' regarding his past policing experiences:

Early on in the sticks two or three such stories and incidents occurred which I felt seem to be specific pointers to the rural style of policing. Some apparently insignificant events here have an importance that is forcing me to create a new set of semantic boundaries, and replace those I have honed and developed when I lived and worked in a large city environment (1993:91-92).

He found vast differences in rural and urban policing and also in the expectations of the public as the following extract from his field notes reveals:

I visit Ledbury, a lovely small town west of Malvern well beyond the Severn and almost on the fringe of what is often described as 'deepest Herefordshire'. The section has an inspector, 2 sergeants, and 14 constables, as well as a detective constable. Yet it has only had some 170 crimes in 10 months this year. The section covers a large rural area of Hereford where not a lot happens, and, as a result, even tiny events are given a response and a policing presence that is astonishing. 'It's what the population of Ledbury and its surrounds expect', I am told, for they have always had such a police presence. Twenty years previous as a detective constable in the old Newcastle City Police, my allocated section (some few hundred yards square) had almost 400 crimes per year and one man in uniform on each shift. Is it comparable? Probably not! (1993:93).

Young argued that life in the sticks was an 'almost innocent way of life' with a certain specificity about reported incidents, in that similar occurrences were highly unlikely to come to the attention of an urban police force, for example:

'I want to report a lost duck'
'A lost duck! From where Sir?'
'From my front garden, since yesterday. I was there then...'
'What's the address Sir? (this turns out to be in the rural depths of the subdivision)
'Isn't that out, in the back of ...village?'
'Yes, that's right'
'Are you troubled with foxes at all in the area Sir, I know the hunt comes through your area occasionally?' (1993:116).

Young's work reminds us of the early traditional rural community studies approach as he described rurality bound up with an 'almost innocent way of life' in contrast to his past experience of the city whilst working for Newcastle City Police. Not wishing to negate his own personal experiences of a rural versus urban contrast, his anthropological background and approach should be considered, as well as his status as a police superintendent when reading his accounts.

Other studies have paid even less attention to the notion of rurality in studying areas away from the city. Tuck (1989), for example, conducted a study of non metropolitan violence sponsored by the Home Office in response to conclusions drawn from a 1988 survey of England and Wales by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). And Loader, Girling and Sparks (1998) conducted a two-year study of youth, dis/order and community in an English 'Middletown'.

However, there are a few studies that have been concerned with rurality, and it is this limited collection of work that the rest of this section addresses in order to identify any apparent distinctions that we should be aware of in studying rural crime. Laurence Koffman (1996), conducted a victimisation survey during 1993 in Aberystwyth in mid Wales (a university town situated within a predominantly rural area) in order to present a comparative data set with crime surveys conducted in urban areas. The BCS had revealed in its sweeps that there had been a decline in public confidence in the police during the 1980s, and the 1988 sweep had pointed to this situation particularly in small towns and rural areas (which is a contrast to the later findings by Mirrlees-Black (1998), see earlier discussion). Koffman found that there was a relatively low positive response regarding confidence in the police, which he found surprising in an area with a low recorded crime rate, for example, 16% of respondents felt the police did a very good job and 48% thought they did a fairly good job. More than 50% of all the respondents believed that crime had increased over the last two years. It seems then that perceptions of crime differed to the 'reality of crime' according to the recorded crime rates (as was

the case in Llanrwst. see chapters two and three). Koffman's survey also acted to highlight the relative neglect of victimisation research in rural areas.

Shucksmith et al (1996). in a study of rural Scotland did allocate a section to the topic of rural crime in their book entitled 'Rural Scotland Today'. And Simon Anderson (1997a) under the remit of The Scottish Office conducted a study of crime in rural Scotland in an attempt to address the relative neglect about the nature and extent of crime in rural areas. Shucksmith et al reported on three areas of concern according to local residents: local youth and travelling criminals; police responses to the increase in rural crime and the lifestyle changes brought about by rural crime in terms of being more security conscious:

Now it's just a habit that you lock things, take the keys out the car, the tool store gets locked, even if I'm working round the back and if there's nobody about the house I turn the key in the lock and stick it in my pocket. There was one or two cases that folk would be working, working with a machine round the back and maybe somebody would come in and lift the wife's handbag, or nick the cheque book, or lift the video and the telly and things. Nothing serious, but it's still bloody annoying (1996:368).

Although there were cases where respondents in the study felt that rural areas were safer in contrast to cities and towns.

Well I mean Dundee is only 20 miles from here. They've got rapes, murders, drugs, you name it. You can't believe there's just 20 miles away from here and there's none of that here (p.413).

The local police attributed much of the fear of crime to media representations, and believed the rural residents' fears were largely unfounded. However, they did recognise that security was an issue and local residents were advised by the police about being complacent.

Anderson (1997a). concluded that crime in rural areas of Scotland had always been a problem, even if rates were lower in comparison to those crimes committed in the cities. He argued that whilst rural residents may fall victim to the same kinds of crimes as people did elsewhere in the country, the nature of rural living may have added to the issue, for example, a lack of services and

physical isolation. He also pointed to particular rural crimes such as poaching, farm crime and crimes against wildlife, which he pointed out were difficult as yet to quantify. In trying to explain the apparent 'worsening' of the crime problem in rural areas he talked of 'a greater potential for conflict and a reduced capacity for informal social control brought about by population growth and change in the countryside' (1997b:1). He also referred to the changing nature of rural policing as the 'village bobby style of policing in rural areas is reducing in all but the most remote communities' (1997a:88).

Anderson's final remarks proved useful for the research, as he pointed out the need to move beyond simple definitions (for example, ecological statistical data) of urban and rural when looking at crime. Rather, he argued, a more beneficial approach to understanding rural crime would be to:

...examine perceptions and experiences of crime in rural areas in relation to issues such as the nature and extent of population change within rural communities, their degree of proximity to large centres of population, the characteristics of social relationships within the community, or of relationships between the community (or different sections of the community) and the police (1997a:89).

Yarwood and Edwards (1995) argued in their study that rising trends in crime in rural areas may be explained by the fact that some rural residents may surround themselves by a false sense of security, based on the premise that crime only occurs in urban areas. This, then in turn, led to a complacent attitude with regards to security measures (for example, leaving one's door unlocked when going out), which effectively made the inhabitant an easier target for crime.

Derounian (1993) has also used elements of this argument when he pointed out three basic elements in the urban-to-rural displacement of crime: first, criminals look for 'softer' targets as crime prevention measures are increasingly used in urban areas; second, rural inhabitants are only now beginning to acknowledge the need for crime prevention measures; and third, criminals today are characterised by a growing pool of experienced car thieves, and thus are highly mobile.

Another influence on the countryside in recent years, has been the restructuring of the police force nation-wide as already mentioned. Yarwood and Edwards (1995) have argued, such 'streamlining' has resulted in an increase in people's perception of risk, and an accompanying emphasis on voluntary participants to combat the shortfalls from the public purse. However, this has been particularly felt by those inhabitants of rural areas, who are in effect experiencing a 'double jeopardy' situation. That is, on the one hand they are experiencing a dramatic increase in crime in those areas once believed to be 'crime free', whilst simultaneously they are witnessing the closure of local police stations.

This development has led the way for proactive, community based crime prevention initiatives, such as the Cambridgeshire and Peterborough Rural Crime Task Group (Home Office, 1997), made up of a conglomerate of the district councils, the county council, the police, Peterborough City Council, the probation service, the National Farmers Union, and the Women's Institute. The overall strategy of this multi task force was aimed at examining the crime trends and problems experienced in local rural areas, in order to identify the main issues and implement any necessary responses. For example, they set up safer villages initiatives, neighbourhood watch schemes, village appraisals and rural policing.

Such local initiatives it seems were based on the premise that they may be of particular benefit to those localities traditionally perceived as 'tight knit' in character:

...rural communities are small-scale and close-knit. People know each other, not just their neighbours but the whole community. Patterns of interaction tend to be local because the locality may itself be large. Rural communities tend to be integrated by traditions of mutual help and self-reliance. (Davidson et al. 1997).

In contrast, however, the BCS (Hough and Mayhew, 1985) reported that such perceived 'tight knit' areas as agricultural communities were in reality not receptive to the idea of schemes such as neighbourhood watch. Yarwood and Edwards (1995) have argued that this negative response to community

initiatives may partly be due to a lack of community integration, due to the way the countryside is generally experiencing restructuring. For example, the changing nature of the housing market they argue, has contributed to the disintegration of local connections, and thus, cultural integration.

The final and most up to date study of rural crime in Britain at the time of writing entails an edited collection by Gavin Dingwall and Susan R. Moody (1999) entitled 'Crime and Conflict in the Countryside'. This work presented a number of contributions from academics across Britain in an attempt to address both theoretical and definitional factors, as well as more practical issues appertaining to crime and criminal justice in rural areas. Its real purpose seems to be an introduction to the subject matter of rural crime, and to begin opening up the issues that need to be addressed in any subsequent study. In effect, it points the way for future work, and illuminates the distinctive issues that need to be taken account of in this type of endeavour. It also echoes very much the sentiments of Anderson (discussed earlier) to take account of the everyday reality of rural residents.

Moody (1999:24), for example, argued that 'the field of rural criminology remains largely unexplored, at least in any analytical or critical sense'. And furthermore, she pointed to the importance of taking on board, in the midst of a global world, whether it is still possible to distinguish between urban and rural. If this is possible, she argued, we need to ask what kinds of assumptions or 'realities' underlie such distinctions, and what do these distinctions mean in terms of crime and criminal justice in the context of residents own daily lives, perceptions and experiences of crime. There are then a number of questions these points raise, and Moody has highlighted some of them: 'Is there any link between a distinctive rural 'way of life' and the undoubted difference in crime rates in the city compared with the countryside? Are the actions and perceptions of rural residents affected by where they live? (and) Are ruralities experienced as different from urban environments by outsiders?' (1999:19).

Moody (1999:24) also talked about the different meanings attributed to rural that are bound up with 'class, race, gender, age and income, as well as

specific locality' and how these effect both the perceptions and actions of rural people's lives. It is this point that motivated a certain excitement during the course of the research. As already discussed, the rural can be defined concretely, for example, in terms of socio-economic statistics, or a more metaphorical understanding can be adopted. In undertaking the latter direction for the Ph.D. meant that rural residents interpretations were taken into account during the research. This allowed for the necessary dimension of cultural identity, bound up with concerns about social change, to be considered when trying to understand the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder. In essence, what emerged from fieldwork analysis of observations and interviews with respondents, subsequently informed the central tenet of the thesis.

Summary

The discussion presented above has largely been structured around a series of interconnected questions related to the fieldwork data. It began with the subject of conflict in the contemporary countryside, in an attempt to review some of the issues of social and demographic change that have subsequently raised questions for rural society. It was followed with explanations of the definition of rurality and community, both concepts that have received much attention regarding their conceptual value since the nineteenth century. It was important to review the arguments surrounding rurality and community because they were indeed, relevant concepts to the respondents during the research. That is, local understandings of rurality and community subsumed ideas that acted to mark out boundaries of identity and belonging in Llanrwst.

How boundaries are constructed and maintained, was therefore presented as the next subject of discussion, whereby relations between Welsh locals and English in-migrants were focussed upon in a review of the Welsh community studies tradition. However, such relations were also briefly considered in the broader context of an overarching sociological problem, for example, Elias and Scotson's (1994) argument of newcomers and locals.

Finally, the localisation of macro issues surrounding youth and crime in the countryside closed the chapter. This was an attempt to present the macro context of issues of young people and crime, before moving to a local level, as indeed, the other sections of the chapter set out to do. By acknowledging that the social problems and issues discussed were not distinct to Llanrwst, left open the way to locate the new focus of the thesis in the existing criminological literature on rural crime (see also chapter seven). The overall aim of this chapter was to contextualise in a wider explanatory framework the micro-analysis of everyday reality in Llanrwst regarding crime, deviance and disorder.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCHING CRIME, DEVIANCE AND DISORDER IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Introduction

The research began with the aim of finding out about young people and crime in Llanrwst, a Welsh market town. There was no definition predetermined of the age of a young person set at this stage, rather, this definition would come later according to the data collection and the views of the respondents (see later discussion). This is because definitions of a young person's age are prescribed differently in different contexts. For example, the provision of the youth club from the statutory sector cited the age range eleven to twenty-five:

The Youth Service is an educational service providing informal learning opportunities for young people aged 11-25 years old (CCBC, 1997b:16).

In contrast, a member of the criminal justice system referred to young people as those up to the age of eighteen.

Whilst the research question had a focus (young people, disorder and crime), it was not a developed one, and was certainly not one that could be held up and tested at this stage. It had not yet been decided what the unit of analysis or the boundaries of the research would be. For example, was the focus on perceptions of young people and crime, on youth sub-cultural groups, on young people received into the criminal justice system and so on.

The initial question had been generated by an apparent concern from local people about the perceived increasing disordered and criminal behaviour exhibited by young people in the town. This concern at a local level had been channelled through elected town and county councillors to the local authority. The local authority subsequently gained sponsorship monies in order to conduct a pilot research project into the apparent problem, and I was employed as a researcher on this project for twelve months from January 1999. At the same time I would be able to conduct research towards my Ph.D.

The pilot study conducted for the local authority effectively acted as an exploratory excursion for subsequent refinement and tightening up of the Ph.D. research question. This is not to say that I started out with a blank slate, rather I had a framework of knowledge and ideas, but little else regarding the research sample or unit of analysis. As Denzin (1989:49) has argued 'Researchers work outward from their own biographies'.

According to the grounded theory approach adopted at the outset, the apparent lack of specific direction regarding the research question presented no great difficulty, rather it was part of the process. After all, the whole purpose of conducting research from a grounded theory method is to generate explanations from the data. Data collection therefore, precedes any major form of empirical analysis and theoretical discussion. Rather, the whole process of data collection, continual analysis, and further theoretical sampling are what drives the research forward to subsequent presentation of evidence and explanations (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

This chapter is effectively an account of the methods and methodology of the doctoral research undertaken for the thesis. It is an individual account in the sense that it is a representation of the relationship that developed between the researcher, the philosophical and procedural issues of social research, the research subjects, and the problems and lessons encountered on the journey, particularly when wearing two research hats.

Conducting the research was a learning process because the textbooks can not, and did not, cover every incident that may arise. It was acknowledged, at the outset that part of the process involved a learning curve, particularly for a relatively uninitiated field researcher of doctoral candidate status. Reading other researchers' accounts of their experiences in the field helped, particularly in the fact that such accounts reflected that it was not only novice researchers that encountered problematic or difficult situations during the research process.

The framework of this chapter is structured chronologically from the inception of the thesis to the data analysis stage. The necessary discussions will be presented to acknowledge the methods used and the methodological approaches adopted, but these are already familiar territories in the academic

world. Therefore, a greater part of the discussions will focus on the particular issues the researcher was faced with as a relative novice in the field.

What better place to start the chapter than at the beginning. At the outset it is important to locate oneself philosophically, that is, to know where one is coming from. Ontological understanding of the social world is an appreciation of how one views the world through a particular lens. How to develop and project this lens is bound up with epistemological concerns on ways to measure the social world from the perspective one adopts. In other words, it is a case of the researcher 'seeing', and working out how best to show others 'this seeing' through methodological consideration.

Another necessary part of social research, whether we like to admit it or not, is the financial aspect. Money is a practicality of everyday life, and cannot be ignored. It is also a consideration that when securing funding, one may put oneself in a situation that may prove contradictory, or raise ethical questions of both a personal and more general nature. This was the case in this research, and such questions had to be worked around if it was to be practically possible to conduct the research for the Ph.D. The discussion thereby, moves to a discussion of the ethical questions and the difficulties of wearing 'two research hats' during the fieldwork phase.

The whole research process of the thesis can be broken down into three distinct phases: the exploratory phase, the main data collection phase and the data analysis phase. Of course, in a sense, all three were bound up together and data collection and analysis were a continual process of learning, directing and focusing the material. The exploratory phase consisted of a period of observation during October 1998 to March 1999. During this time, contacts were made and developed, and informal 'conversational' interviews conducted with a wide range of respondents who either lived or worked in the town and surrounding hinterland. The main data collection phase continued from March 1999 to November 1999 and included interviews with both adults and young people from the town and hinterland areas. The data analysis phase spanned the whole period of the research from 1998 to the writing up stage during 2001/2002. However, before the chapter moves on to a discussion structured

around the three phases of the research process, brief consideration is given to the methods and methodology framing the data collection. The chapter ends with a consideration of the research relationship and how factors such as cultural identity, age and gender were negotiated during the research process.

The beginning

Philosophical underpinnings

The research tools that social scientists use during the course of their data collection have been much cited in academic texts (for example, Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979; Gilbert, 1993; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The methods undertaken in research work have been tried and tested across time and space. Of course, there are different contexts whereby research tools and methodological approaches are applied, and thus, different experiences arise out of the active processes involved in data collection. These experiences are what makes the research individual, in the sense that it is the researcher's own ontological understanding (way of seeing) of the world that meshes with their epistemological approach (way of measuring the world as they see it) in order to create a version of social reality.

As Popper (1959) has argued, scientific observation is always selective, because the researcher chooses what they are going to observe, and they do so within a particular context. Reality, therefore, has been shaped by that choice. In line with these arguments, the thesis is submitted as an account that claims the researcher's own version of reality, rather than one overarching and single truth about the participants under study. This versioning of events is bound up with both the qualitative paradigm adopted and the researcher's own reflexive view of the world.

The social construction of reality is a guiding framework endorsed within the qualitative paradigm of social research. It has its origins in the work of Max Weber. Weber began with the individual, arguing that it was he or she that was capable of 'meaningful' social action, rather than groups or collectivities. For Weber, *verstehen* was the key. This was a method that spelled out the task of the researcher: to understand through the actor's eyes

rather than one's own. (Parkin, 1982). Furthermore, when we try to make sense of meaningful action, he argued that we not only needed to observe the action, but also place it in a wider context so that its meaning could be derived. It is only when the researcher locates actions in a wider framework, that he or she, would be able to make sense of such action.

Weber's argument proved to be an influential one during the research process, from the data collection stage through to the analysis. Following a grounded theory approach (see later discussion), the initial aim of the research had been to look at the issues that surrounded young people and crime in a rural context, and thereby address the dearth of material on the subject to date. However, it soon became apparent that the issue of crime in Llanrwst was symptomatic of much more than a 'common sense' interpretation of a behavioural act that stood outside of the law, and was subsequently brought to the attention of the police. Studying crime as a singular phenomenon in this setting would only reveal a partial understanding of what it meant to local people. It was therefore not a sufficient area of study in and of itself.

As Weber advised, actions needed to be understood in a wider framework, because the wider framework says so much more. For example, one of Weber's major works 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (1930), looked at the relationship between Calvinism and the development of capitalism. He argued that the hard work ethic bound up with the Calvinist religion was one causal factor in the development of capitalism. Whilst his work has been criticised on this subject, it is the point that Weber was making about how individuals are creative social actors and thereby, interpret and respond to each other's actions that is important here. That is, actions need to be placed in context, if they are to be understood in terms of both cause and effect. Put simply, if A hits B, then B may hit A back. Why did A hit B and why did B hit back?

This was indeed the case in Llanrwst. Deviant and disordered behaviour would also have to be taken account of as distinct categories alongside crime, if one was to understand the differentiation of the three behaviours and the significance they all held in conjunction with each other for everyday reality in

this market town. This was because during observations and interviews it seemed that crime, deviance and disorder were locally constructed as categories that marked the offenders identity in cultural terms. Local people interpreted an act (either criminal, deviant or disordered) as a signifier of one's belonging (or not belonging) to the 'community'. That is, if they were an insider or an outsider. Outsiders (in-migrants) were believed (and constructed) to be a threat to the local community and culture.

This threat also needed to be contextualised further, by questioning what kind of threat was being perceived by local people. In particular, questions arose around why the threat was located in people moving in to the area. Peter Winch (1958), for example, talked of the meaningful understanding of social actors' beliefs and values in the particular social constructs in which they are located. For Winch, this was the essence of sociological analysis.

Understanding the social construction of reality was therefore an important dimension, if underlying contextual questions were to be addressed during both the data collection and data analysis stages. For example, I had already understood respondents' references in a general sense to 'the community', but this needed further clarification. What did community really mean? As discussed in chapter one, it is a widely contested concept in the sociological literature (Crow and Allan, 1994). What I needed to do was find out what community meant to the respondents in the study. Guided by the overarching approach of grounded theory, the concept of theoretical sampling channelled the data collection towards trying to understand the social construction of community. This proved to be a major analytical theme, whereby theoretical consideration led to Anderson's (1983) concept of the imagined community as a way of explaining the local construction of traditional community versus modern community (see chapters one and four).

The social construction of reality was therefore a pertinent representation regarding local perceptions of crime, deviance and disorder. A continual process of theoretical sampling and analytical deconstruction throughout the data collection and analysis stages of the research produced answers to the

research questions posed by the thesis. It was the case, as Berger and Luckman (1966:15) had advised:

...that the sociology of knowledge must concern itself with whatever passes for 'knowledge' in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria) of such 'knowledge'. And in so far as all human 'knowledge' is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, the sociology of knowledge must seek to understand the processes by which this is done in such a way that a taken-for-granted 'reality' congeals for the man in the street. In other words, we contend that the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality.

Operationalising resources

In 1998, having just completed a Masters dissertation entitled 'Reviewing the rural as a site for criminological investigation: two case studies of rural women', I decided that studying crime in rural areas was an area that held many possibilities for further research. The beginning of the Ph.D., therefore, began with the closing sentence of the masters: 'In sum, the geography of rural crime (either concretely or metaphorically understood) raises intriguing questions which await further investigation by criminology'.

At this time, there was very little criminological interest in rural crime as an area of research (see chapter one). However, at a local level there were some concerns being voiced about young people and crime in Llanrwst town (see chapter five). Such concerns at this time proved timely to the commencement of the Ph.D., because they provided the impetus for gaining the necessary financial resources for me to begin the research.

Concerns from local county councillors about 'a mini crime wave' in Llanrwst town had been raised at local authority level. At the same time, representatives of the social services department had recently returned from a meeting with the Wales Office of Research and Development in Cardiff about the possibility of future funding for policy related research in the area of health and social care. There were also issues being raised by public bodies (youth justice team, local authority, county councillors, police and probation services) about the impending implementation of youth offending teams from April

1999. For example, questions were raised about how the new teams would service scattered populations across rural areas.

An initial meeting with the social services team proved fruitful, and it was agreed that I would work as a self-employed researcher for twelve months for the local authority on a project entitled 'The social exclusion of young people in the rural context: a case study of Llanrwst'. It took some time to get the funding off the ground and trawl through the bureaucratic system, whereby I would need to be hired on a self-employed basis. Thus, from initial meetings during September 1998, actual inception of the research was set from 1 January 1999 for approximately twelve months, or completion of final report whichever was soonest. Anticipated final report date was set for December 1999.

It was agreed that the final report was to be a 'hands on' working report and not an academic presentation. And furthermore, the writing of the final report was to be led by the social services team. Monthly meetings were set in order to chart progress and sort out any problems as and when they arose. At the first meeting the social services team set out the chapter outlines of the envisaged report, and invited other members of the local authority (youth services, youth justice team, public protection) and voluntary sector (Conwy Voluntary Services Council (CVSC)). However, after the initial couple of meetings attendance soon dwindled to leave the social services team, youth justice team and myself in regular attendance. At the same time, I would be able to conduct research for the Ph.D. on young people and crime in a Welsh market town.

The advantages of this double purpose of research were believed to be positive at the outset. Forging a working relationship with the statutory sector would allow easier access to other public bodies such as the criminal justice system network. It would also open up other information sources that may be relevant to the research. For example, official data on youth and crime in the local area, although of course under the caveat of confidentiality and anonymity. Not least, it meant that I would have the financial backing to commence the Ph.D.

As the research progressed, however, it became evident that there were also disadvantages to the working relationship with social services, and not everyone viewed the services they provided in a positive manner. Rather, being associated with such a statutory body, was on occasion, regarded negatively by respondents. For example, when conducting participant observation in the youth club in Llanrwst, I was advised by one of the organisers not to mention my 'involvement with social services when talking to the kids'. In order to counter this response, I soon learned to switch to postgraduate cap status. With my Welsh accent and links to the University at Bangor, my role as student researcher was quickly accepted. For example, when I was asked why I had chosen Llanrwst I offered the postgraduate role explanation of the importance of studying Wales and promoting links with the local area. This explanation seemed to 'get me in' and one local voluntary organisation actually thanked me for choosing Llanrwst. This strategy, however, did raise ethical questions of honesty and openness with respondents when conducting the research (see following discussions).

Wearing two hats

The initial research question for the Ph.D. was similar to the research question set by social services: a study of young people and crime in a Welsh market town. However, for the Ph.D., the research methodology and research tools were firmly located in the ethnographic tradition of qualitative research. This was because in order to try to understand how members of a market town perceived young people and crime, it was believed that one needed to observe their everyday life. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) have pointed out, methods for conducting research need to be selected according to the research question. In this vein, it was believed that both observations and interviews were the main tools that would elicit the form of data framed by the initial research question. In order to supplement this data collection, the local paper, the North Wales Weekly News would also be reviewed throughout the data collection period for any relevant articles appertaining to the research question.

The research for the statutory sector included both qualitative and quantitative research methods due to their concerns about the reliability of using qualitative data. This concern about qualitative data was not limited to the local context and was an issue that has been more widely discussed in other statutory contexts (see later discussion).

The conflicting roles of research for two purposes

As already mentioned, at the outset of conducting fieldwork for the thesis, research was also being conducted for social services. The double role of research continued for twelve months until the research project for social services was complete. The second year of the Ph.D. research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) as part of a two year funded Ph.D. Studentship. The first year of the research however, formed a major part of the fieldwork phase, and it was during this period that difficulties were recognised. These difficulties could be said to be due to trying to adapt to both the needs of a more practical and policy oriented research and a more academic and reflexive research. As Finch (1986:1) has noted:

The history of social research in Britain over the past 150 years has both run parallel to and been closely intertwined with the development of social policies by central government, including educational policies. Yet predominantly the kind of research which has been both stimulated by and has been fed into social policy has been of a very specific type: positivist in conception, quantitative in orientation, and often relying on the social survey. In the late twentieth century, when the field of social research encompasses a much wider range of techniques and orientations, 'policy research' still essentially means research of that type. In particular, approaches which can be put under the label of 'qualitative research' at best play a minor part in policy-oriented studies.

However, the paradigmatic distinction linked to policy-oriented research that Finch refers to is not helpful in the context of this thesis. This is because whilst the Ph.D. research was situated academically and reflexively, it was also situated in a policy context. Understanding issues surrounding crime, deviance and disorder and young people in a Welsh market town had significance for

policymakers. For example, looking at what rural restructuring meant at a local level generated issues about young people and social exclusion, the role of the imagined community, and fears about changing values and identities in terms of in-migration and cultural difference. These were issues that were pertinent to local policymakers, and this was particularly so because they were matters that were important to local people's everyday reality. The issues raised were elicited through a qualitative research methodology, an approach that was particularly suited to understanding the social world on a small-scale analysis in the format of a case study approach (see later discussion).

Finch's argument about the predominance of quantitative research in policy oriented research does perhaps reflect a common view of its perceptive value. Nevertheless, such generalisation acts to negate policy-related research that does take account of a more qualitative approach (for example, Anderson, 1997a; Henderson, 1998). Notwithstanding this point, however, an illustration of Finch's point can be made by reference to a study conducted by Cloke et al (1997) for the Welsh Office, the Welsh Development Agency and the Development Board for Rural Wales. Their research looked at lifestyles in rural Wales in the early 1990s and aimed to place this in the broader context of 'changing policies and opportunities' (p.5). However, the Welsh Office, then under Redwood and Hague, preferred not to publish the findings. Of course there can be all kinds of explanations for this, for example, one can surmise that the version of everyday reality presented raised a number of 'awkward' social economic and political questions for government. In this sense then, the 'truth' of qualitative research can also act to negate its application.

Research 'technician' versus independent social scientist: a question of ethics

Finch (1986:200) has talked about the researcher's role as technician when gathering facts for policy-oriented research that is directed, for example, by researchers employed by central or local government departments. She posed the question 'should you be prepared to act in the role of technician of policy?'. And whilst she went on to say that most qualitative researchers would answer 'no' to this question, she did point out that there are questions of choice, for

example, the possible rationalisation by the researcher of the small price to pay for obtaining access or funding.

This was a major question that had to be faced regarding the commencement of the Ph.D. As already discussed, there were obvious advantages to the relationship between the researcher and the local authority's social services department in that access and funding would be forthcoming. But yes, there were also ethical questions regarding the role of the researcher. For example, when wearing the hat of statutory body researcher personal questions were raised about my role, that is, was I effectively undertaking a role of spying on the population.

In order to justify at least to oneself the value of the nature of the research as a whole, I had decided early on in the fieldwork to separate out the information gleaned into two piles: one for social services and one for the thesis. In sum, a lot of the data collected was not used for the statutory sector report. This then raised questions about the selection and dissemination of data collected. I managed to work around this by arguing that a lot of the data was too sensitive to be discussed at a policy level. For example, at council meetings, or release to the public during the first year of the research, (as had been envisaged at the outset by the sponsors). I believed that releasing information at this stage may well close doors for future data collection for the continuing Ph.D. process. As Finch (1986:206) has argued:

Where any information is fed back directly into the small-scale situation, there is much greater potential for identifying individuals.

In some respects the quest for quantitative data by the sponsors of the pilot project acted as a buffer for using less of the qualitative material gathered. Minimal qualitative data was required to back up the statistical data, and this largely focused on a small number of interviews conducted with young people who had left school and hung around outside the local youth club. In this way, local politics were left out of the equation, which was deemed necessary due to the sensitivity of the information at this stage of the project, and the avoidance of creating any local political waves before the project had been completed.

The statistical data came largely from the statutory sector's own databases and the criminal justice system, although there were large gaps identified in this data due to the inadequacy of the current recording systems. For example, when trying to access court statistics, the nearest court at Llandudno covered the Llanrwst area, but the figures included people from outside Llanrwst who committed crime in Llanrwst. It also excluded those from Llanrwst who committed crimes outside the area. There were no details available of where crimes had taken place, and also motoring offences such as speeding were included (see also chapter three).

Another possibly negative effect of using statistical data for the pilot study, was that very early on it was concluded by the agencies involved in gathering the statistics that perceptions of crime and disorder in Llanrwst were not matched by the available statistics. For example, there was very little data available on youth crime in Llanrwst, and nothing for the outlying districts. This raised questions about the lack of official data and the mismatch of grassroots concerns. For example, one respondent from the criminal justice system argued that the lack of statistical data was because there was no problem. Another argued that the lack of recorded data was because the police dealt differently with youth at a local level in Llanrwst and the surrounding areas, and tended to contain the incidents. In a sense these early observations could be understood as little more than anecdotal evidence, and therefore, pointed the way to a more in-depth study with local people to find out a more valid explanation regarding young people and crime.

Methods and methodology

Case studies: case within a case

From the beginning of the research it was decided that a case study approach would best suit the whole project. A case study according to Yin (1989:13) is:

an empirical enquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

What he is arguing is that the case study method allows for a consideration of contextual conditions that may be relevant to the phenomenon under study. It does this by incorporating 'multiple sources of evidence' (Yin, 1989:23) during the inquiry, which effectively makes it an 'all-encompassing method' (Yin, 1989:13). This was a useful strategy of the case study method for the research in Llanrwst because a number of different data collection tools were to be utilised from the outset, a situation arising from the collaborative aspect of the project (see later discussion). It was also a useful approach for the small-scale focus on Llanrwst:

It is an approach which views any social unit as a whole. Almost always this means of approach includes the development of that unit, which may be a person, a family or other social group, a set of relationships or social processes (such as family crisis, adjustment to disease, friendship formation, ethnic invasion of a neighbourhood etc) or even an entire culture (Goode and Hatt, 1952:331).

However, this did not mean that by focusing on one example that the local social processes could not be located in a broader context. Indeed, the research conducted in Llanrwst highlighted this point, whereby the local cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder could be located in the wider context of insider/outsider relations and the restructuring of the countryside more generally. What it did mean though, is that the particular response to immigrants in Llanrwst can be viewed as an 'exemplary' case study (Yin, 1989) that acted to highlight more generalised processes (see chapters one and seven).

The case study approach was adopted for a number of reasons. At the outset the research was exploratory in manner and as Yin (1993:xi) has argued, case study research is 'appropriate when investigators desire to define topics broadly and not narrowly'. It was also deemed appropriate because, as already stated, during the research phase questions arose about contextual conditions that proved to be the driving force for the symptomatic conditions explicitly displayed in the categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder.

After starting out in the field with a loosely structured idea of researching young people and crime, the adoption of a case study approach was further

broken down into two distinct stages. Phase one, the exploratory case study, which in a sense acted as a prelude, but was also an integral part of the main data collection period. The distinction, and at the same time link between the phases, was that theoretical sampling techniques and analysis channelled the phase one research towards a more focused approach during the second stage. Yin (1993:6) has pointed out that, once conducted, the exploratory phase 'should be considered completed...and a whole new set of sources of information' focused upon. But he also goes on to say that case studies can be used for the purposes of exploration, description or explanation and that the boundaries between these strategies can overlap:

Even though each strategy has its distinctive characteristics, there are large areas of overlap among them. The goal is to avoid gross misfits-that is, when you are planning to use one type of strategy but another is really more advantageous (1989:4).

In this research, the exploratory phase effectively formed part of the main data collection phase also, in that it guided theoretical sampling. Part of the grounded theory approach, for example, discusses the merits of directly observing a social phenomenon in its 'raw' form (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Phase two, the main data collection period, collected data during fieldwork conducted in the town with adult members of the population, and in the secondary school with young people aged 11 to 18 years.

The series of interviews conducted in the secondary school is effectively a micro-level analysis of young people, and was therefore situated as a case within a case. Yin (1989:150) has argued that 'the case study must display sufficient evidence' and that:

The exemplary case study is one that judiciously and effectively presents the most compelling evidence, so that a reader can reach an independent judgement regarding the merits of the analysis. This selectiveness does not mean that the evidence should be cited in a biased manner-for example, by including only the evidence that supports an investigator's conclusions. On the contrary, the evidence should be presented neutrally, with both supporting and challenging data.

The focus on young people in the secondary school was channelled from theoretical sampling and analysis of data gathered from local adult members of Llanrwst town and the surrounding hinterland. It seemed that these adult respondents strongly linked young people to issues of crime, deviance and disorder. In order to understand these concerns, and indeed follow Yin's (1989) advice about presenting an unbiased case, it now seemed necessary to focus on young people themselves as a unit of analysis. This was a stance adopted in order to fully explicate the main research question, which by now had focused on the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. If the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was to be understood in its entirety, then the analytic focus needed to take account of both an adult and a young person's perspective. Furthermore, by taking into consideration young people themselves, the wider analytic framework of the whole case study was also channelled onto a microcosmic aspect. This focus similarly acted to replicate at a more micro-level of analysis the whole process of construction, maintenance and reproduction of the cultural categorisation argued in the main case study approach, and thereby, added credence to the central argument of the thesis.

There have been many criticisms made of the case study method, not least about the ability to generalise from such data. Yin (1989:10) has argued, however, that case studies are 'generalisable to theoretical propositions' if 'not to populations or universes'. Situating the research conducted in both a wider and local context, it could be argued that explanations of both contexts have generalising components. For example, in the wider context global change, and in the local context the particular glocal response (see chapters one and four). That is, broader social and economic changes taking place in Llanrwst have been transposed onto the issue of in-migration at a grassroots level. In-migrants have been perceived to represent a threat to local constructions of the imagined community, a community whose boundaries have been reinforced in the face of threat. The local generalising response has been the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder.

Situating a Welsh market town within the community studies tradition

The case study of young people and crime in Llanrwst can be situated within the wider context of the community studies tradition. It is difficult to define community exactly (see chapter one), and as a concept it may mean many things to many people. There have even been calls to abandon the concept of community altogether as an analytical concept, for example, Margaret Stacey (1969) argued it had become debased as a tool of social analysis. Elias (1974:xiii) has also talked of its particular endurance in signifying some kind of past idyll since the earlier writings of nineteenth century social thinkers such as Tönnies and Durkheim:

...ever since, the use of the term community has remained to some extent associated with the hope and the wish of reviving once more the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people vaguely attributed to past ages.

Of course, at the time of Stacey's paper, the community studies tradition had met with much criticism due to its 'implicit functionalism' (Crow, 1997), and also Stacey talked about how it had taken on further definitions of geographical area and sense of belonging. These were two definitions that she argued could not be reliably defined. For Stacey the term 'local social system' represented a more exact concept.

Community studies did tend to 'fall by the wayside' for the next decade or so following Stacey's seminal paper, although they re-emerged during the 1980s. At this time they were conceptualised as 'locality' studies and tended to focus on geographical areas and their role in an increasingly restructured economy (Crow and Allan, 1994). Such a focus on spatial restructuring, however, acted to hide from view everyday reality in the sense of what places meant to the people who lived in them. The focus on spatial aspects of the economy and locality tended to look at cities or regions rather than smaller foci such as village or small town.

This is the point at which the thesis can be said to come within the community studies tradition, as a study of locality at the micro-level of

analysis. The aim is to understand everyday reality from the perspective of local people, set within the broader context of social change.

However, community as a concept does not have to be some concrete concept, rigid and singularly defined. Anderson (1983), for example, has argued, the imaginary dimension of community can be as powerful as its structural composition (see chapters one and four). Crow and Allan (1994:xiii) have argued that 'community is a key sociological variable, and one that adds an important dimension to the analysis of social relations in a variety of settings', and this indeed proved to be the case for the research undertaken. It was only during the fieldwork data collection process that I came to understand the importance of what community meant to respondents. Its significance may have been metaphorical, and an imagined version of community, but this did not diminish its value in any sense. Rather, constructing a version of the traditional community at the local level, in the face of threat from outside modern influences, proved to be a key underlying theme when understanding the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder (see chapters one and four). It was as Day and Murdoch (1993:108) have stated in their study of the Welsh Valleys, where they referred to the 'locals' and 'incomers' daily lives:

In these processes the notion of 'community' plays a central part. As they come to terms with broader structural change, people judge what is occurring in terms of the impact on 'their' community. If social researchers have a responsibility to follow the accounts of those actively involved in social processes, then this would seem to argue for the reinstatement of 'community' as a term at the centre of the study of social space.

It is here located contemporarily within the community studies tradition that the research is situated. The case study focuses on the underlying local concerns about the loss of the imagined community in the face of social change. Such underlying concerns, it is argued, were responded to by local people in their cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder. This categorisation acted to signify cultural identity, draw boundaries of traditional community versus modern community in order to distinguish insiders from

outsiders, and to construct the imagined community as a safety net in the face of change.

Research tools

The methods used to conduct the research for the Ph.D. were firmly located in the quest to understand everyday reality regarding young people and crime in a Welsh market town. As Pearson (1993:x) has argued:

Differences in method in ethnographic research will, if one is true to ethnographic principle, often result from differences in culture, the interpretations and uses of social space, etc, rather than differences in scientific philosophy.

Pearson's contention raises questions about whether epistemological differences are tightly bound up with different research methods, or whether this alignment should in practice be separated. Bryman (1984) for example, argued that the qualitative and quantitative debate confuses epistemology and methods, when in his view there is a difference between the two. What he is saying is that whilst the philosophical underpinnings of positivistic and interpretivist epistemologies may be different, the methods we have come to associate with them (qualitative and quantitative) are not related to them in a straightforward manner.

For the Ph.D. this was reflected in the sense that methods were guided by the research context. Ethnography encompasses distinctive ideas about how to understand research subjects and observe everyday life through a number of methods, and these methods were selected according to purpose and context (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1983). For the research conducted for social services, however, it seemed that epistemological differences were tightly bound up with research methods and the gathering of such prescriptive evidence did not always match the purpose of the research question (see earlier discussion). For example, the quest to source statistical data on the use of the library as a 'one stop shop' for local people to present their queries or questions did not necessarily link up with understanding young people and crime.

The observational method was believed to be best suited to the initial phase of the Ph.D. research, because this was in a sense an exploratory phase, where I would have time to adapt to the fieldwork setting and familiarise myself with the area. An account of this method related to experiences in the field is presented later under the exploratory phase section. The main data collection phase of the Ph.D. was followed up with both in-depth interviews and observations. During the whole period of the data collection, as already mentioned, newspaper articles were also collated from the local newspaper the North Wales Weekly News for subsequent analysis (see later discussion).

The exploratory phase

The main gatekeeper of a 'snowball' sample

A steering group meeting was held on 8 October, 1998 set up by social services. In attendance were members of social services, the youth justice team and Conwy Voluntary Services Council (CVSC). The social services department provided partial funding for CVSC, and the member they had invited proved to be the 'perfect' gatekeeper. He had an office in the centre of Llanrwst, was well known in the locality, and he knew the local area. He had an extensive network of contacts across both the statutory and voluntary sector, as well as at a more grassroots level with local people. It was agreed with both social services and CVSC that I could use the office in Llanrwst as a base to work from, and as a place to conduct interviews if necessary for the duration of the research.

The CVSC gatekeeper initiated the process of a snowball sample (Roseneil, 1995), whereby I was introduced to another key person involved in local politics at a grassroots level. From here the network of contacts grew to an actual total sample of 52 respondents of the adult population and young people who had left school in addition to the 43 young people interviewed in the school (see later discussion).

The adult sample accessed through a snowball technique covered a wide range of people from different backgrounds: unemployed, employed, benefit recipients, retired, inactive in local politics, active in local politics, males,

females, disabled, Welsh, English, born in Llanrwst, in-migrants and so on. As McCarthy (1990) has argued, the larger the sample size, then the more likelihood of capturing the variability of the population under study. Of course, not everyone in Llanrwst could be involved in the research, as the population in total was 3,200 (estimated figure for 1997 James et al. 2000), not including those that lived outside the area and worked in Llanrwst.

Each person that I was introduced to either in person or through word of mouth proved to be a rich source of data. It was only on one occasion where I had arranged to meet a particular respondent that he did not turn up. I had called on his place of work and he had apparently retired the previous week. However, the person I spoke to was so concerned that I had not had a wasted journey that they quickly made a phone call and sent me on my way to speak to another local resident.

'Getting in' had been relatively easy because the main gatekeeper had such a varied network of local people on different levels, and took great steps to ensure that I was accepted by referring to my local origins when introducing me. However, there were some relationships that were more difficult to forge with members of statutory agencies. Here, I felt that perhaps I was received in a more cautious manner, with people questioning the reason for my research and who would see the end results. For example, when talking to a member of the criminal justice services I was asked not to discuss personal views about drugs and keep to policy directives. There were also problems with discontinuity of respondents in-post. During the research, one informative male member of the criminal justice services moved on and it proved more difficult to pick up with another incumbent, who incidentally was a female.

Finally, in an attempt to counter any bias that may have been present because the main gatekeeper and local networks were directing my contact with local people, I also attended local groups such as the Women's Institute and the Brownies, and spent time talking with people in cafes, outside the youth club and in local shops.

Observations

During the exploratory phase of research, observations played a large part of the data collection. In effect, it was a learning curve to get to know the area, the kind of people who inhabited it, the main gatekeeper's role within the town and the network of contacts with which he could put me in touch. I spent at least two days a week in Llanrwst over an initial period of six months from October 1998 to March 1999. These days were alternated across both weekdays, weekends, day-time and evenings in order to gain as full a picture as possible of everyday life in the town. Llanrwst, is approximately forty miles from my home and the cost of the eighty-mile round trip was alleviated by the main gatekeeper picking me up at a central point in Bangor to make the journey to Llanrwst.

It was a time of regular reflection and reviewing of the data on a daily basis, in order to look at emergent ideas for a more focused research strategy. In the beginning it was difficult to really comprehend the whole idea of doing research, I mean what was I supposed to be looking for? But as Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory method set out, this was all part of the process.

As I gathered information, this needed to be analysed for following up on the next visit, or as Glaser and Strauss have advised, issues that appear in the data guide further theoretical sampling. Thereafter more directed methodological tools can be utilised such as interviewing and observations to follow up on any emerging concepts.

It was also an important consideration that any theoretical questions I held were translated into everyday language when talking to respondents. For example, rather than refer to the question of crime and people moving into the area, the subject needed to be phrased something like 'who do you think is responsible for crime?' And even here the question of crime was not broached by myself if at all possible, rather this was left as a subject to be first initiated by the respondent.

A question of ethics in undertaking covert observation

The observations conducted during the exploratory phase of the research could be described as partially covert. This was because whilst I was honest with those people I came into contact with as far as stating that I was a researcher from the University looking at Llanrwst town and young people, I did not always convey my relationship with the statutory sector. It was a strategy that seemed necessary during conversations, particularly when people started to talk about how the town had changed as people had been moved into the area through the perceived 'social engineering by social services'.

And this was particularly so when speaking to the young people. I did not want them to be wary of speaking to me, thinking that I was acting in some kind of official capacity. For example, when hanging outside the youth club with a group of young people who were smoking and drinking and talking about drugs (one had been excluded from school for this and was being processed through the criminal justice system), then any link with the statutory sector would have acted to erect an invisible conversation barrier.

There were also other occasions when I was not directly honest with respondents about the true nature of the research. For example, one respondent understood that I was conducting a study of the community and would like to know more about its history. He was involved in a restoration project and asked if I would like to know about this. Whilst it was a subject that may well be useful in providing a background to Llanrwst, my real purpose was to understand how he perceived the town in more contemporary times. I experienced some personal dilemma in not wanting to lead respondents, for example, I wanted to avoid setting out issues about crime and young people, but rather hoped that if this was an important issue the respondent would broach the subject themselves. The danger of this, however, was collecting lots of information about nothing in particular, but according to the grounded theory method, open coding of such data would allow for later theoretical sampling of relevant issues that emerged from the data.

Of course there are ethical questions regarding honesty. Douglas (1976) defends what Bulmer (1982:4) has called the link between 'covert observations

and espionage'. For Douglas, social life was inextricably bound up with suspicion and deceit. therefore, he questioned the need to move away from such inherent characteristics. One may ask however, as Warwick (1982) has done, if the end justifies the means? In the case of this research the answer would have to be yes, particularly, as such little information was actually used in the final report for the sponsors of the pilot project. In this sense there was little possibility of the respondents being identified, which does present an issue in such a small-scale study.

Regarding the questions of respondents' anonymity in the Ph.D. research, this was largely overcome by using pseudonyms, the time that had lapsed from the fieldwork being conducted and the production of the thesis, together with a sensitive presentation of the data used.

The main data collection phase

By the time the main data collection phase had commenced, and true to the theoretical sampling technique, the research question had been refined, and a clear focus on the question of the categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour had emerged from the analysis to date. The unit of analysis had also been refined, and the research still in the frame of a case study was channelled in the direction of both adults and young people's everyday reality. Young people seemed to imply a group of males and females aged eleven to eighteen, and also defined locally as those not yet legally allowed to consume alcohol in a public house. This group was identified as a distinct problem (see chapter five). Another group of young people identified were those of legal pub age from eighteen to twenty five, although this second group were also conflated with an adult identification. This latter group apparently posed a different kind of problem, largely disordered, and culturally defined, due to an excess of alcohol consumption in the pubs (see chapter four).

The pilot project for the local authority had been completed earlier than expected and the required materials forwarded to them by Summer 1999. The second and third years of the Ph.D. research had won a funding award from the

Economic and Research Council which enabled me to carry on with the Ph.D. research. It was also a time to say goodbye to the double research role that by now had presented me with both ethical and personal dilemmas. The main data collection phase continued from March 1999 through to November 1999, and included a series of interviews with the adult community and young people in the school. In total during the exploratory and main data collection phases, fifty-two respondents (not including those with the young people in the secondary school) were interviewed.

The interviews

During the exploratory phase, interviews were conducted as part of the observational method. They were interviews held as conversations, unstructured and loosely guided by myself. It was important to do this so that respondents could determine what was important to them, rather than the researcher determining what was important. For example, in a large number of the interviews conducted, the subject of crime was not raised by the researcher first. It was only when the respondent mentioned issues relating to crime or disorder that the conversation was channelled along this route.

This was a similar stance taken in the interviews conducted with the young people in the school. Again, young people were not openly asked about issues in relation to crime and disorder, rather it was left to the respondents to discuss what they perceived pertinent issues were. Of course if it seemed that the subject was never going to arise 'naturally', then I would prompt the matter as surreptitiously as possible. The interviews conducted in the school were aided by a schedule of relevant topics (see later discussion and Appendix 1 and 2).

In the secondary school, which was situated on two sites, I conducted in total fifteen interviews in the junior school site. This included five pupils from each of the Years 7, 8 and 9. Each year had five classes: two Welsh classes; one bilingual class and two English classes. The sample consisted of 8 females and 7 males drawn on an alternating basis (male, female, male, female and so on), across a pattern of one pupil from each class.

In the senior school site I conducted twenty-eight interviews. Years 10 and 11 were again separated according to Welsh, English and bilingual classes, and of each of these years I interviewed seven from each, with one extra female from year 10 and one extra female from year 11. Again the sample was drawn on an alternating male female basis across the two years. The two extra females were an addition to the sample at my request to speak to pupils who had moved to the area from England recently. Originally, it had been intended to interview one male and one female, but on the day of the interviews the male did not turn up and was substituted with the female. Years 12 and 13 represented the lower and upper sixth forms. These two classes were not separated out into English, Welsh or bilingual classes but were all mixed. Out of years 12 and 13 I had planned to interview 7 from each class. However, two male pupils did not turn up making the final sample 7 females and 5 males.

Gaining access to interview the young people in the school had been relatively straightforward. I had an initial meeting with the headmaster following a telephone conversation. At this meeting I was able to explain that I was conducting research into young people in Llanrwst and what they did out of school. It was arranged that I would come to the school for two days during June, 1999 to conduct the first set of interviews with Years 7, 8 and 9. These pupils were selected by the headmaster on what he termed a random basis out of those living in Llanrwst town. As there were five classes in each year, one pupil represented each class, totalling fifteen, and were as discussed above, a mix of both male and female pupils. Deciding to interview children from Llanrwst only for Years 7, 8 and 9 represented an age range spanning eleven to fourteen. It was felt that at this age range, young people living outside the area would be less likely to travel to Llanrwst in the evenings.

There are questions about the selection of the sample. Although I was assured it was a random sample, and indeed, the headmaster was himself undertaking a Ph.D. at the University at Bangor and so might be expected to understand research conventions, it also needed to be taken account of that he had a first hand knowledge of the pupils he was selecting. For example, would he exclude certain pupils based on criteria he felt to be important, such as a

particularly disruptive pupil. However, I decided not to question his decision as he had assured me he had chosen pupils at random on a number of occasions for various tasks. However, as already discussed, I did ask to speak to pupils who had recently moved into the area. I felt that questioning him would have been counterproductive to conducting the research, and I did not want any difficulties with the relationship to develop. He also gave me an example of how random the sample was in that he had chosen one pupil who was doing well in the Urdd (Welsh League of Youth) and another who did not turn up for school on a number of occasions. My fears about such a 'suspect' sample however, were alleviated after speaking to the pupils, as it was apparent that I was talking to a mixed range of abilities and pupils from different backgrounds.

For the next visit to the secondary school, which had to be postponed until October 1999 because of the impending Summer term examinations I had decided to interview young people who also lived outside the area. This was so that I could gain some comparative data on young people living in the town and in the surrounding hinterland. This would be particularly relevant now that the research question had been refined to the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. Culture, for example, played a large part of the categorisation and was bound up with geographical place (see chapters four and six).

The actual time I was allowed with each pupil had to be negotiated. Initially I was given ten minutes. I believed this would not be long enough to develop some kind of rapport with respondents, talk generally to set them at ease, and then try and elicit any relevant information for the research. I managed to negotiate twenty minutes with each pupil, and this seemed to work well. It was neither too short to gain relevant information, nor too long a period, when the young person's concentration may wane.

Access to the young people was given to me by the headmaster. I had already been police checked by social services at the outset because of the possibility of working with young people. The headmaster also spoke to the pupils during assembly and asked them to tell their parents that they had been

picked to speak to me. They were then to report back with their parents confirmation that they could take part in the research. No-one declined to be interviewed.

Each interview with the young people was tape-recorded so as not to lose any of the valuable information, and to enable me to concentrate fully on developing the relationship and to build a rapport and trust with the respondent. This was particularly important, as I did not want the young people to view me in an authoritarian role, such as their teacher, but rather as someone not unlike themselves, a student trying to learn about a subject. I also had a schedule of questions for the interviews with the young people in order to guide my questioning and keep it focused. This was deemed necessary due to the short time allowed with the interviewees, although it only acted as a framework, prompting the course of the interview when it was felt necessary. After interviewing Years 7, 8 and 9 the schedule was updated (see Appendix 1 and 2). This was because for Years 10, 11, 12 and 13 young people living outside Llanrwst were also interviewed (see later discussion).

Documentary sources

At the outset I had decided to collect newspaper articles from the local paper, The North Wales Weekly News, for the whole period of the fieldwork. This was because the paper had been referenced early on by the social services team as to the concerns being voiced in Llanrwst. Furthermore, an early meeting with the newspaper's librarian elicited a file that had been kept on crime in Llanrwst, and a number of cuttings proved useful as a background source for the research. This was particularly so in providing information on the mobilisation of local people to provide a place for young people to go off the streets (see chapter five).

Using these sources as documentary evidence provided a back-up to other sources of data collection (interviews and observations). They were viewed as important in the sense that the media is an influential socialising agency, and in a small town, the effects can be magnified (see chapter five). In effect, the strategy of the case study that espouses a triangulation of methods

allowed links and checks to be made between the data (Yin, 1989; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). In sum, gathering data on the same event in different ways increased awareness of a subject and helped to control any bias in the analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Data analysis: an ongoing task

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have advised that when conducting research using a grounded theory method, theory generation is systematically obtained from the data rather than by logico-deductive methods. However, they have also advised that the researcher should adopt a close relationship with the literature as well as the data in order to generate theory:

The library offers a fantastic range of comparison groups, if only the researcher has the ingenuity to discover them (1967:179).

Reviewing the literature at the outset had been a method undertaken in a general sense. However, it was not until I was 'knee-deep' in the fieldwork that I began to relate the data in a more effective way to literary comparisons. This was because for some time during the exploratory phase I was not really sure what I was looking for. Once I began to 'see' things more clearly, then engaging with the literature proved a more fruitful method in guiding theoretical questions and further sampling.

The earlier analysis of the data collection seemed to project the main argument of the thesis forward rather than from drawing recourse from examples illustrated in the literature. This was possibly due to the relative dearth of material available on rural crime. As Glaser and Strauss (1967:179) further advise:

Of course, if his interest lies mainly with specific groups, and he wishes to explore them in great depth, he may not always find sufficient documentation bearing on them.

It was only towards the latter half of the fieldwork phase that emerging concepts were related to the literature to aid and develop the analytical framework of the argument. For example, the symbolic and imagined status of

community (Cohen, 1985. Anderson, 1983) and the boundary marking of insider and outsider status (Elias and Scotson. 1994).

The whole process of data collection presented a major task of analysis. The forty-three taped interviews with the young people were all transcribed. The fifty-two interviews conducted with other members and young people were not tape-recorded. This was a decision taken so as not to affect conversations and interviews that were largely conducted in public places or respondents' own homes. Producing a tape recorder would have added a formality to such an informal setting. However, this meant that notes had to be quickly scribbled after each interview, and written up in a more legible format at a later date. There were also the observational notes made in the field and the trawling through the pile of newspaper cuttings collected during the period of the research.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) advocate a continuing process of data collection, analysis, reflection, coding strategies and theoretical sampling. The whole approach is bound up with the idea that theory is grounded in data. Thus, empirical investigation and linkages with theoretical explication are part of the same process. Following the framework advocated by Glaser and Strauss in its entirety can be a difficult process, and many who have espoused using such an approach have not followed the 'interweaving of data collection and theorising of the kind advocated by Glaser and Strauss' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994:5).

From my own experiences of the method, I cannot argue that I followed Glaser and Strauss to the letter, but as far as possible I engaged with the stages of the process to: 'develop categories; saturate categories; abstract definitions; use the definitions; exploit categories fully; note, develop and follow-up links between categories; consider the conditions under which the links hold; make connections, where relevant, to existing theory and use extreme comparisons to the maximum to test emerging relationships' (Turner, 1981:231).

Reflecting on the research relationship: reflexivity, identity and leaving the field

Leaving the field

Leaving the field was a relatively easy process technically in that the end of the data collection period was signified by the exhaustion of categories that appeared to be relevant during the ongoing analysis. However, on a more personal note, it seemed that there were endless possibilities and reasons for continuing with the data collection. There were so many more people that could be interviewed, meetings to attend, activities to get involved in. I had become 'known' in the town and people were keen to talk about issues that were important to them, and in which they felt I had an interest. In some senses I felt as if I was letting them down by not continuing to hear what they had to say, but the time had come to withdraw and begin the massive task of writing up the thesis.

Negotiating identity in the research relationship

Of course just because people were eager to talk did not mean that my role as researcher was an easy one. Rather, there were all kinds of considerations that needed to be taken account of when conducting the research - my age, my gender in relation to the respondents, my dual role of public service researcher and student (see earlier discussion) and my cultural identity and knowledge of the Welsh language.

All these aspects were important during the research, and furthermore, adopting a reflexive stance throughout the fieldwork helped me to adapt my role according to the situation. For example, as discussed earlier in this chapter I was able to take a flexible approach to my role as public service researcher and student depending on context. This was similarly so regarding cultural identity, although as discussed below was more difficult in assuming a *josgyn* (Welsh) identity. How respondents viewed me must have impacted on their behaviour towards me, as indeed, their behaviour affected the kinds of questions I asked. It is as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:14-15) have argued that when conducting research its reflexive character should be recognised:

...that is, to recognise that we are part of the social world we study...This is not a matter of methodological commitment, it is existential fact. There is no way in which we can escape the social world in order to study it...instead of treating reactivity merely as a source of bias, we can exploit it. How people respond to the presence of the researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations.

Language

Here I locate myself with regard to a cultural identity that is necessarily bound up with the Welsh language. For example, whilst I may regard myself as having a Welsh identity, this is not always the perception of others. Often I am spoken to in Welsh and answer in English, engendering the reply 'oh you're English'. This leads me to question whether this means English-speaking or English cultural identity? I was born in North Wales and went to school locally in Bangor. My parents were both born in England, although they had spent the greatest part of their lives in North Wales. We did not speak Welsh at home, and I did not speak Welsh with my school friends. I was in a class that could be termed English, as then in the 1970s there were two classroom divisions, either Welsh spoken as a first language or English spoken as a first language. It was compulsory to learn Welsh up to the age of fourteen, and as soon as I could I dropped the subject as I seemed to have little aptitude for learning to speak it. I would therefore, in terms of the *josgyn* (Welsh), *townie* (bilingual) and English identity categories used in the thesis place myself as a *townie*. Although as discussed in chapter one this is a simplified categorisation, and is indeed highlighted by my own negotiation of cultural identity (see later discussion). I have, or so I have been told, a strong Welsh accent, and have since attended evening classes as a Welsh language learner. I am currently able to understand more of the language than I can speak.

The ability to use the Welsh language did not seem to be a problem during the period of the research, and it certainly did not exclude me from any interviews I wanted to conduct or meetings to attend. As already mentioned, my Welsh accent and links to the University at Bangor opened up many opportunities for data collection, and where necessary wearing the social

services researcher had filled in any gaps. One respondent early on in the research, for example, remarked on my strong Welsh accent, and then proceeded to tell me about the problems people from places like Yorkshire and Glasgow were causing. It was as if I could empathise with him about the English and Scots causing the problems, because of my accent, even if I didn't speak the language.

On another occasion I attended a Women's Institute meeting and after the speakers (of which I was one), we all sat down and shared tea and cakes. One lady gave me her telephone number and told me about some books written in Welsh that may help. I explained to her that I did not speak Welsh and asked her to tell me the names of the books so I could write them down. She said 'you are Welsh because you can spell them'.

There were occasions when interviewing respondents in English seemed a particular advantage. For example, in the youth club the young people only spoke English even though some of them could speak Welsh. For them, speaking Welsh was classed as old fashioned and because I was obviously townie (not using Welsh) we had something in common.

Being perceived as a townie meant I could be located as either bilingual or English by respondents and thus, I was in a sense, in the middle. I could play up to either identity, depending on the context. However, this was more difficult regarding a josgyn (Welsh Welsh) identity. I don't think I could ever have taken on that role completely. To be a josgyn, for example, I would have to have been able to speak Welsh fluently. It was thus, an aspect that did act to locate me on the bilingual to English side rather than the bilingual to josgyn side of the cultural divide.

Some of the Welsh young people whose first language was Welsh, obviously found it more difficult to converse in English during interviews. Although they did not say this, I feel sure they would have been more comfortable in their own language, because on occasion they seemed to find it difficult to express themselves (and this was noted during transcriptions also). This does raise questions about whether I would have elicited any different

information if the interviews had been conducted completely in the Welsh language.

Age

When conducting the interviews with young people, it was very much a negotiated role. I consciously paid attention to my dress. For example, when interviewing in the school I wore casual clothes to make it as informal as possible. I did not want to appear as a teacher or someone in authority, but someone whom they could relax with and talk to. The pupils however, had little choice to speak to me as they were scheduled to do so. At the outset some appeared nervous, but after a few minutes became more relaxed. Some of the teenage boys did seem to find it quite difficult talking to me. After all I was a stranger asking them questions, and they seemed reluctant to answer at first. They still regarded me as someone in authority. For example, when I returned to the school later in the day, some of the boys said 'hello miss'.

In the youth club, it was a more informal setting. At first I felt awkward standing around, and talked for some time to the adult youth workers. However, lots of the young people appeared inquisitive and started asking me questions after a while. There were a group of older youths hanging about outside, and I went to speak to them. They were drinking cider and smoking and at first they were a little unsure of me. One girl asked me if I was in the police, and how could they trust me. Others were more friendly and began asking me what I was doing. Once the conversation got going they offered me some of their cider and seemed to accept me. I got to know their names and on other occasions when I was in town they would say hello. I was even asked if I was coming to the youth club by a group of boys who were walking home from school on another occasion.

Gender

I spent a large part of the exploratory phase walking around Llanrwst on a regular basis during different times of the day and evening. There were disadvantages and advantages to being seen as a lone woman wandering

around apparently aimlessly at times. For example, finding oneself in isolated areas of the countryside was sometimes met with an uneasy feeling. This personal feeling of vulnerability was countered to a large extent though by the fact that my gatekeeper always knew where I was. At all times of the fieldwork - daytime, evenings and weekends - he was never very far away as he travelled with me to Llanrwst and had an office in the centre of the town. However, more positively, it seemed that a woman on her own was less threatening when approaching people directly in the street to ask questions. Of course, because I carried a rucksack and dressed in waterproofs walking around in the rain, there was also the possibility that I was taken as a tourist. However, as soon as I stopped people to ask questions and they heard my Welsh accent they were helpful and seemed interested to know more (see earlier discussion).

My gender role did not seem to present any problems during the course of the interviews with both the young people and the adults. Whilst there have been accounts of the hierarchical relationship inherent in the interviewer-interviewee situation (Oakley, 1981), my own experiences did not reflect this. It may have been because when I did interview male members of the criminal justice system, I was able to use my public service research hat, and at that time a partnership approach to dealing with youth crime was being developed (see chapter five).

Summary

This chapter has been an attempt to convey my own personal experiences in the field and the problems I encountered on the way. The whole process was a learning curve from inception of the research to final writing up. Each stage was distinct in the sense that it had to be personally negotiated, learned or worked-out. It was not easy, but then how could it be? Presenting accounts of everyday reality is a complex task, explaining them is even more difficult:

Research is concerned neither with the production of fantasies about the world, nor with mere mechanical fact-gathering. In social inquiry, there is an interaction between the researcher and

the world, and in this interaction, the "quality" of the properties of the world must be recognised and respected by the researcher. Research analysis is the process of teasing out these properties and gaining a fuller understanding of them (Turner, 1981:228).

Using a grounded theory approach for the first time was difficult, and there are dangers for the inexperienced researcher. For example, the 'need to remain aware of the dangers of developing indefensible arguments from their data' (Turner, 1981:227). However, this was addressed by careful consideration of the data collection that covered a number of qualitative methods during a fairly substantial period of time spent in the field:

...the grounded theory approach is likely to be of maximum use when it is dealing with qualitative data of the kind gathered from participant observation, from the observation of face-to-face interaction, from semi-structured or unstructured interviews, from case-study material or from certain kinds of documentary sources.

At the outset, I had begun the research wearing two hats: public service researcher and academic researcher. The two roles presented particular ethical questions and personal dilemmas as the fieldwork phase progressed. The pilot project for the statutory sector was completed very early on in the Ph.D. process and left undeveloped the main research question of the thesis at this stage. However, now that the Ph.D. process has come to an end, the wealth of rich data generated, and the theoretical explanations for the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour could act to inform policy development at the local level. The conclusions of the thesis may draw on materials from an 'unconventional source' compared to those usually used by policymakers, but does this make them less valid. Everyday reality must surely count as important, because that is what informs and shapes our experiences, and similarly our experiences in turn create our everyday reality. If we attempt to understand the processes involved from both sides of the equation, then this will allow us to address any issues that arise out of this process.

CHAPTER THREE

WALES, ENGLAND AND LLANRWST

Introduction

There is an old saying well-known in Llanrwst - Cymru. Lloegr a Llanrwst (Wales, England and Llanrwst) that is said to originate from one of two sources. First, Llanrwst was supposedly beyond the realms of legislation, an entirely lawless jurisdiction under the control of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem rather than the realm during the Middle Ages. Second, Llanrwst was said to be omitted when the surrounding lands of what was then called Gwynedd were divided among the Noble Tribes of North Wales during the Middle Ages. This meant that Llanrwst was not classed as part of North Wales and nor was it part of England (Llanrwst Town Guide, undated). Whatever the origin of the old saying, it is a legacy that still seems to hold some significance for local people living in the town and surrounding hinterland regarding a 'Llanrwst identity' as being distinct from either a josgyn or an English identity.

After the Edwardian conquest in 1282, Wales was 'characterised by grave disorder and lawlessness' (Rees, 2001:1). According to historical accounts, the new system of administration imposed by the English had in part contributed to a crisis of law and order during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wales was divided into two separate administrative systems that differed from the system of shires in England. The first system saw the crown take charge of the property of the Welsh princes, and entrust local control to crown officials in North Wales and South Wales. The second system was related to the Marcher areas that were situated along the Welsh English border. Control of these areas was in the hands of the lordships, and it was effectively a 'buffer zone between Wales proper and the neighbouring English counties' (Rees, 2001:7).

The following discussion in later chapters of the thesis considers the relationships between josgyns (the Welsh), townies (Llanrwst residents) and the English, and how they negotiated their identities in everyday life. Rees (2001:5), in his book on Welsh outlaws and bandits, has pointed to the importance of banditry on a cultural level in the sense that it found: 'expression

in folklore, poetry, song and art, reflecting different, sometimes ambiguous, conceptions of political order...'. In contemporary Llanrwst the traditional relationship that was perceived to exist between josgyns and townies was believed to be changing as English in-migrants moved into the town. The three basic cultural distinctions referred to by respondents - josgyns, townies and English - sometimes resonated with the old saying. Llanrwst people were described as being a 'proud, independent people' by some respondents, and this was linked to the old saying which has even formed the title of a Welsh pop song during the latter end of the twentieth century (see chapter four).

Aspects of the relationship of Wales, England and Llanrwst therefore form the framework for this chapter, which presents a social, economic and political context for the town of Llanrwst both historically and in more contemporary times. Not only will the discussion present the reader with some idea about the location and general composition of the town and its surrounding hinterland, but also it will locate Llanrwst in the wider context of North Wales and England to some extent. The aim is to provide the reader with a background to a number of issues that proved to be pertinent to the thesis, and in this vein, the relationship between Llanrwst, Wales and England will be considered where relevant to the succeeding chapters.

Wales and England have long had a conflictual relationship over land ownership and the Welsh language. However, although some respondents believed Llanrwst to be a lawless 'wild west' town in contemporary times (see chapters four and five), lawlessness was an issue that could be traced back centuries, even before the Norman conquest, when local feuds over land led to warring factions. The old conflict between the Welsh and English remains today, presented in terms of a cultural threat. The organisation Cymuned (community), for example, was formed at the beginning of this century to protect the Welsh language perceived to be under threat from in-migration. Incomers were believed to be eroding the heart of Welsh-speaking communities through their purchase of local housing stock that consequently meant local people were being priced out of the market.

Contemporary concerns about the decline of the Welsh language have long existed and been a cause of conflict between the English and the Welsh historically. Introducing some of the wider context to local issues will enable the reader to understand both the historical and broader underpinnings of the contemporary concerns raised by respondents and discussed in the thesis. In this direction three main areas will be discussed: the historical conflict between Wales and England focusing on both land struggles and the Welsh language, crime in Wales and demographic characteristics.

Beginning the section on crime in Wales with a historical discussion is a strategy aimed at highlighting the longevity of issues that seemed also to be pertinent in more contemporary times. Ideas about the rural idyll, an 'innocent Welsh', traditional community control, and criminal activities of in-migrants, are all notions that have endured to the present day in Llanrwst (see chapters four, five and six). However, challenging such 'imagination' (see chapter one for discussion of imagined community) allows for an alternative understanding of rural Wales. It also acts to highlight the enduring strength of particular versions of traditional community that became symbolic markers between locals and in-migrants, driven by respondents' perceptions of an encroaching modernity and change.

Interestingly, the discussion on more contemporary crime in Llanrwst based on the official records collated by the criminal justice system, seems to perpetuate the idea of the rural idyll, although of course this is challenged by the everyday realities of respondents in the fieldwork chapters four, five and six. Reviewing the available official statistics of crime is not an attempt to make direct comparisons with Wales, Conwy and Llanrwst. In any case, this was not possible, and of course, there are well-known critiques made of the limitations of official statistics (see later discussion). Rather the aim is to present the official picture of crime in order for the reader to gain some insight to the figures the construction was based upon.

The final section looks at both historical and contemporary demographic characteristics of Llanrwst, set where relevant within the broader context of Conwy county and North Wales. This last section acts as an introductory

context to the opening section of chapter four which begins with the decline of Llanrwst town.

Wales and England

Historic battles

The name Llanrwst is dedicated to the sixth century church of St Grwst, although it has been said that the name dates back even earlier to the church of St Rhystyd of the fourth century (Llanrwst and district official guide, undated). Llanrwst, thus, is an ancient town, and it has a long history of struggle for survival. In 954 AD, there was a great battle over land rights between the sons of Hywel Dda and Idwal Foel that reached as far as Llanrwst on the River Conwy (Llanrwst town guide, undated). Hywel Dda was the Prince of Deheubarth (south-west and middle Wales) and overlord of a large part of Wales. He was a powerful man and died in 950. Twelve years previous the Prince of Gwynedd, Idwal Foel, has been killed in a battle against the English. Idwal Foel was to have been succeeded by his sons, however, Hywel Dda seized the throne. When Hywel Dda died, the sons of Idwal Foel attacked parts of South Wales in an attempt to claim their rightful inheritance, and in retaliation Hywel Dda's sons invaded their territory in the North in 954 AD. The Princes of North Wales, however, won the subsequent battle against the sons of Hywel Dda (Llanrwst town guide, undated).

There were many earlier battles between the Welsh and invaders from different lands that followed the Roman conquest of Wales in 79 AD. The early fifth century for example, witnessed the invasion of Irish raiders who formed several colonies in Wales (Hard Times, Summer, 1995). There were also internal battles over land ownership and local rule. At the time of the great battle of 954, Llanrwst was an established community known as Gwrgwstu. In 1283 another battle took place near the town, in the final stages of the Norman invasion:

In the year of Our Lord 1282, on the 11th September, Llywelyn ap Griffith ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, Prince of North Wales, through treachery, was captured by night and killed by

Edmund Mortimer, and was beheaded near Builth. His head was sent to London, and fixed above the Tower...(Mortimer-Hart, 1988:62).

The Welsh armies were defeated at Llanrwst. Edward I, a Norman king, had succeeded in his invasion of the whole of North Wales, but in order to maintain his rule he sanctioned a programme of castle building that included the walled towns and castles at Conwy and Caernarfon. The construction of castles provided protection from foreign invasion as well as powerful strongholds from which the English could rule. Nevertheless, there followed many uprisings in North Wales between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries until the Welshman, Henry Tudor, took over the throne of England (Mortimer-Hart, 1988).

After the Norman Conquest Wales witnessed significant developments aimed at the overall bureaucratisation of government. At the outset, the Welsh were ruled by leaders of their own communities at a local level. This began to change however to a system of rule by crown officials under Edward III, and was met with an increasing national animosity:

...the growing centralisation and uniformity of English administration over its peripheral regions from the thirteenth century onwards as part of a bureaucratisation of government, reflected in a growing intolerance of local and national peculiarities, and an increasingly overbearing attitude towards national cultures and tradition (Rees, 2001:8).

Wales and England were different both economically and culturally. The Welsh were engaged in cattle and sheep farming in the main, whilst their English counterparts were part of an agrarian and feudal economy. Culturally, the Welsh had their own distinctive 'language, laws, dress, manners and mores'. The English, however, stereotyped this cultural difference in a derogatory manner, for example, Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury portrayed:

The Welsh as the perfect barbarians, distinguished by their poverty, sloth, moral laxness, brutality and cruelty. They were seen as wild, quarrelsome, treacherous, rebellious and faithless (Rees, 2001:8).

The English government met with a serious challenge from the Welsh during the Glyndŵr Rising of 1400-1412. There existed a deep ethnic hatred between the Welsh and English following the imposition of English administrative rule. Welsh resentment towards the English was manifest in both economic and social grievances. Not only did the Welsh have to hand over large amounts of dues and produce to the English, but they also had to provide manpower for the English army. They were also excluded from holding any major office in civil government and the church, and the English law displaced the old Welsh law. It was effectively 'a system of exploitative, colonial rule' (Rees, 2001:13).

During the early part of the rebellion parliament passed six Acts imposing punitive penalties against the Welsh. One of these Acts forbade Welshmen from holding land on the English side of the border. Additional clauses appended to the Acts included the provision that: 'no English man or woman should marry or consort with any Welsh man or woman; that no Englishman or woman should send their children to be fostered among the Welsh; that no Welshman bearing arms should enter a town or fortified castle; and that no Welshman or man of mixed blood be granted the rights of burgess' (Rees, 2001:18).

In 1402 a further nine Acts were passed that took away any political and civil rights that the Welsh may have held. There followed an obvious hatred of the English by the Welsh that acted to fan the violent flames of the rebellion into a national rising. And it was a rebellion that for ten years proved to be of major concern for the English crown.

Locally at Llanrwst 'it was said that grass grew in the market place and deer fed in the churchyard for many a year' (Mortimer-Hart, 1988:73) following the devastation imposed by the forces of the king in opposition to the supporters of Owain Glyndŵr (Llanrwst being a supporter):

All the whole Countrey then was but a forrest, rough and spacious as it is still, but then waste of inhabitants, and all overgrowne with woods; for Owen Glyndwr's warres beginning in Anno 1400, continued fifteen yeares, which brought such a desolation, that green grasse grew on the market place in Llanrwst, called Bryn y botten, and the deere fled into the churchyard, as it is reported.

This desolation arose from Owen Glyndwr's policie. to bring all things to waste. that the English should find no strength, nor resting place (Williams. 1830:21).

In fact, the resistance of the supporters of Glyndŵr was strongest in the mountainous regions of North Wales, which acted as a stronghold for the rising.

George Owen, the Elizabethan historian argued that the laws used against the Welsh between 1401 and 1404 were:

Laws made by King Henry IV most unnaturally against Welshmen, not only for their punishment but also to deprive them of all liberty and freedom...there grew about this time...deadly hatred between them and the English nation insomuch that the name of a Welshman was odious to the Englishmen, and the name of Englishmen woeful to the Welshmen (Owen, 1906:37).

Following the defeat of the Glyndŵr rebellion, resistance to English rule continued on a periodic basis, but it had lost its focus and by 1415 Owain Glyndŵr disappeared. Some believed he had gone into hiding to return once again, whilst others of the period believed that he had died. However, the rising left a 'legacy of disorder which persisted for decades' (Rees, 2001:37). Some of the Welsh took to the mountainous regions and created their own ways of living through brigandage rather than submit to English rule. It is from here that the first explanation of the old saying 'Wales, England and Llanrwst' derives that was cited at the beginning of this chapter. Ecclesiastical sanctuary was provided by consecrated buildings and lands during the Middle Ages, and the properties of the Knights of St John came under this protection (Ballinger, 1927). Towards the end of the twelfth century, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem established a hospice at Ysbyty Ifan (John's Hospital) in the Conwy Valley. This site bore a right of sanctuary, and its jurisdiction was extended further by Llywelyn Fawr (Llywelyn the Great) across the upper Conwy. During the fifteenth century it was here that the lawbreakers and bandits sought out refuge within the immunised boundaries (Senior, 1984):

From the town of Conwy to Bala and from Nan[t] Conway to Denbigh, there was continually fashioned a wasp's nest which troubled the whole country. I mean a lordship belonging to St. John's of Jerusalem, called Yspytty Jevan [Ysbyty Ifan], a large thing which had privilege of Sanctuary. This peculiar jurisdiction, not governed by the King's laws became a receptacle of thieves and murderers, who being safely warranted there thoroughly peopled the place. No spot within twenty miles was safe from their incursions and robberies, and what they got within their limits was their own. They had got their backstay friends and receptors in all the county of Merioneth and Powisland and these helping the former desolations and preying upon their near neighbours, kept most part of the country all waste and without inhabitants (Ballinger, 1927:53).

The town was again devastated by the ravages of war in 1468 during the Wars of the Roses 1450-1471. Sir John Wynn referred to how 'the whole borough of Llanrwst and the vale of Conway besides carried yet the colour of fire' (Ballinger, 1927:29-34). Llanrwst had backed the Lancastrian cause to which the king retaliated. When Henry Tudor took over the throne of England in 1485, it signified a new phase by the English crown to deal with the lawlessness that had characterised the period. It seems that the new Tudor dynasty was met with an unprecedented support in Wales. In Llanrwst this was particularly so, as the town's allegiance was sworn in support of the monarchy. This may well have been because Henry VII was a Welshman with family ties in the Nant Conwy area (Mortimer-Hart, 1988).

From the early sixteenth century onwards, the Wynn family played an important role in the history of Llanrwst and they held a seat at the town's Gwydir Castle. The Wynns had moved to the area in the second half of the fifteenth century from south Caernarfonshire because the feuds had become too dangerous in that area. When they arrived in Llanrwst they were met with outlaws and brigands, but settled down in the Gwydir estate in Llanrwst (Senior, 1987). The family were associated with a number of local buildings which are still in place today, for example, Gwydir Chapel, The Almshouses and Tu Hwnt i'r Bont (Llanrwst guide, undated). The Almshouses at the time of the research were undergoing renovation (see chapter four).

The governance of Wales was further developed with the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543. The Acts drawn up under the rule of King Henry VIII left no doubt as to the English sovereignty over Wales. The 1536 Act divided Wales up into counties based on the English model. In 1543 further changes witnessed the imposition of legal equality between England and Wales (Hard Times, Summer 1995). The Acts of Union signified a new political, judicial and administrative framework for Wales, and integrated it as a province of the kingdom, rather than its former status as a semi-colonial frontier. However, this did not mean that the old conflicts were gone forever.

The Welsh language

The Act of Union in 1536 included a 'language clause' stating that the law would be enforced in the courts through the medium of the English language:

The received opinion has been that the so-called 'Act of Union' of Wales with England in 1536 pronounced English to be the official language of public life in Wales, and that the native tongue was banished from the courts of law (Roberts, 1997:123).

However, in practice it proved impossible to operate such a policy without the informal use of the Welsh language because many of the defendants were monoglot Welsh speakers. Nevertheless, the 'language clause' marked a significant development by its public intention of relegating the Welsh language to a secondary status.

Conversing in Welsh was commonly used by the majority in Wales during medieval times, and many of the anglicised border towns in Shropshire, Cheshire and Herefordshire had become Cymricised by the end of the fifteenth century. It was not the only language used though, and there were representations made in other languages such as Latin, French and English in both political and legal matters. Those gentry or official employees that had, or did strive for, an association with the crown, used English primarily over the Welsh language, and this meant that many official documents such as wills and land transactions were drawn up in English. The 'language clause' effectively,

therefore, did little more than reflect what was already a growing trend towards the use of English in the legal system (Jenkins, 1997).

Following the Acts of Union, administrative restructuring meant that several of the Welsh-speaking areas in the Marches on the border were lost to England. New Welsh counties were defined that cut across linguistic communities:

At a stroke, artificial boundaries had been created which consigned a not inconsiderable number of Welsh speakers to life in the counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire, where they found themselves in intensified contact with English influences (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997:56).

Inevitably, although slowly, the English language proved too strong an influence to withstand. By the eighteenth century many of the border counties became anglicised (Jenkins, 1997). Jenkins (1997) has argued that the 'language clause' was not a deliberate policy to eradicate the Welsh language, but at the same time no official recognition of the language was displayed except in matters of religion. He further stated that it 'encouraged the English to disregard and despise Welsh and caused the monoglot Welshman to feel inadequate in his own land' (1997:3).

Ever since, the Welsh language has had a long and continuing struggle for survival right up to the present day. By the time of the first census in 1801 there were approximately half a million speakers, with 90% of the population in Wales speaking Welsh. Between 1545 and 1801 the population of Wales had increased from 250,000 to 587,245 persons and there were about twice as many Welsh speakers than at the time of the Acts of Union (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997). In 1800 90% of the population were Welsh speakers. However by 1901 this had declined to 50%, and by 1951 this had diminished even further to 29% of the population (Lane and Ersson, 1987, Price, 1974).

A number of precipitating factors contributed to the decline of Welsh speakers. First, the Education Act of 1870 stated that English should be the language spoken in schools. Those that did not conform and chose to speak Welsh were punished by a policy of placing a 'Welsh knot' around a pupil's

throat if he or she spoke Welsh (Carter and Aitchison, 1986; Morgan and Thomas, 1984). Second, in the 1920s, radio was introduced, and this enabled the English language to be broadcast in even the most remote areas of rural Wales which monolingual Welsh speakers were more likely to inhabit (Price, 1974). Third, the depressed agricultural industry in the inter-war period witnessed many families leaving rural areas in search of employment and moving to England. And finally, speaking Welsh was viewed by some as signifying an inferior social status, whereas in contrast, success meant speaking English fluently (Morgan and Thomas, 1984).

The 1960s witnessed a number of activist organisations emerge in an attempt to defend and promote the Welsh language. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) and Adfer (Renewal) were two of the less conventional movements. Cymdeithas yr Iaith formed in 1962, espoused non-violent action, and one of their campaigns focused on the establishing of a separate Welsh language television programme. S4C, which included a core of Welsh language programmes, was later established in 1986. There were, however, those that believed more militant and violent activities were needed to further the cause. One such group was Meibion Glyndŵr (Sons of Glyndŵr) and they took direct violent action in burning down holiday homes in North Wales during the second half of the twentieth century (Coupland and Ball, 1989).

Following the emergence of activist bodies, a number of campaigns were successful in developing their aim to establish the Welsh language within the public sphere. In 1969 for example, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg launched a campaign to demolish monolingual English road signs. In 1967 the Welsh Language Act formally legalised the use of the Welsh language. Whereas once speaking Welsh had been banned in schools, the number of Welsh medium schools expanded, alongside a mass media for a Welsh-speaking audience. The Gittins Report 1967 set out a framework for a policy of fully bilingual schools, and by 1989-90, 13.5% of all primary-age children were taught through the medium of Welsh. The inclusion of Welsh within the National Curriculum in all the schools of Wales was also a step forward, although as

Phillips (1997:45) argued. 'it is too early to decide whether it can change the relative position of the language in view of the constant movement of people in and out of Wales - during the inter-war years 500,000 emigrated and 250,000 moved in'.

Speaking Welsh had now become accorded with wider economic opportunity, and using the Welsh language within Welsh bureaucratic circles became increasingly popular (Carter and Aitchison, 1986; Williams, 1983). The Welsh Nationalists' Party Plaid Cymru had also been established as well as other Welsh speaking organisations such as Merched y Wawr (the Welsh equivalent of the Women's Institute) and the Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth) to champion the cause. Nevertheless, the decline continued, and by 1961 26% of the population of Wales spoke Welsh, and by 1971 this had diminished further to 21%. In 1993 the Welsh Language Board was established and developments were made in the use of the Welsh language in education and the media. Today, however, the all-Wales figure is down to 19% (CCBC, www, 2002).

Contemporary explanations for the ongoing pattern of decline have been located in the tourist industry and the in-migration of people from England. Other explanations have also been put forward, for example, Lewis (1983) has argued that the decline of the Welsh language was due to the failure of the Welsh intellectual elite to recognise the consequences of change. The latest Welsh pressure group, Cymuned (established in the summer of 2001), have blamed the continual decline of the Welsh speaking heartland on the in-migration of people from outside. They have recently publicly refused to rule out a campaign of civil disobedience as a strategy to save Welsh communities and the Welsh language (Duncan, 2002) (see chapter four). As Coupland and Ball (1989:9) have argued:

We are seeing a gradual break-up in the Welsh heartland (defined variously, but sometimes as areas with over 70 per cent Welsh speakers) into fragmentary and isolated areas surrounded by increasingly anglicised regions. This is compounded by second-home buying and retirement-home buying in the remaining heartland areas by 'outsiders' which, together with rural

depopulation of native Welsh speakers. increase social as well as linguistic tensions.

And as Day (1989:1) quoted from Jacobs (1972:1): 'A quiet revolution has begun. The Welshman quits his ancestral hills and the representative of an alien, city culture moves in'.

Language campaigners such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith and Cymuned have criticised the latest measures announced by the Assembly Government (Wales National Assembly) to halt the decline of the Welsh language. The Assembly recently proposed a number of initiatives that included the provision of funding to the Welsh Language Board, and also the appointment of eight field officers to encourage 'the handing down of the language in Welsh-speaking families in areas like the Vale of Clwyd, Corwen and Holyhead'. Cymuned were reported as saying in the Daily Post that 'this report represents a piecemeal approach to reviving the Welsh language...there is no serious attempt to tackle immigration' (Bodden, 2002).

Of course, within Wales, the Welsh language is spoken to different degrees and there are areas referred to as the Welsh heartlands (Y Fro Gymraeg). There are five core areas that can be termed the heartland - Central and South Western parts of Anglesey, the Lleyn Peninsula and neighbouring parts of Snowdonia, Meirionnydd, the Cambrian Mountains and South East Dyfed extending into West Glamorgan (Aitchison, Carter and Williams, 1985).

Historically, the topography of Wales has been a constant factor in the maintenance of the language. Wales covers an area of land of 8,000 square miles in a rectangular shape, and stretches from north to south on the western side of the British Isles. North Wales is distinguished by its mountainous regions, and historically these have effectively acted as a barrier for the Welsh language against Anglicisation:

Due to the railway building revolution of the mid 19th century and in particular the building of the railway line from Chester along the North Wales coast to Holyhead, the A55 remained virtually unchanged for the next hundred years...since most of the commercial trade between the North of England and Ireland still went via Liverpool docks, and the area was already deemed as

being already adequately served by its existing rail link. North Wales was generally overlooked with regard to major road development...September 1994 saw the completion of the final stage in the development of the old A55 North Wales coast road (Hughes, 1996: 35).

The north-west and west of Wales were able to maintain their language and culture and preserve a high proportion of monoglot Welsh speakers:

...the physical configuration of the mountains and the wretched state of communications encouraged social isolation and monoglottism, and blunted any threat to the territorial dominance of the Welsh language. 'We have whole parishes in the mountainous parts of Wales', wrote Lewis Morris in 1761, 'where there is not a word of English spoke' (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997:50).

However, as Jenkins, Suggett and White also point out 'it was not a simple picture of socially isolated agricultural communities' (p.53). This was because the areas were linked economically and commercially and there were also transient populations and seasonal migratory patterns (see later discussion).

Llanrwst lies in the heart of the Conwy Valley, and whilst its rugged landscape may have once acted as a protector of the language, today immigration, new roads and accessibility have countered any barriers. This is even the case regarding crime, where according to respondents such acts were being imported (see later discussion in this chapter and chapters four, five and six).

Caricatures of the Welsh

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief;
Taffy came to my house and stole a piece of beef;
I went to Taffy's house, Taffy was not at home,
Taffy came to my house and stole a marrow-bone. (Paxman, 1998:46).

The above children's nursery rhyme has its origins, according to Paxman, in the raiding parties that crossed the Welsh border into England in past times. Its relevance here however, is to highlight one of the contrasting caricatures of the

Welsh that has long existed alongside the idea of an innocent Welsh. At this point I should also stress that such caricatures still have a contemporary relevance in constructing stereotypical versions of the Welsh, and these versions will play an important consideration in later chapters of the thesis. For example, the idea of an innocent Welsh *josgyn* was a powerful reference point for local people in Llanrwst town and the surrounding areas (see chapters four, five and six). It seems that throughout history the pendulum has swung from one version to the other, and Wales has been demonised or patronised at various points in history as a country both with and without crime.

Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, for example, presented this ambiguous situation in her book 'The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire' (1998). Areas of Wales, particularly the north and the west drew the attention of observers she wrote, as both the landscape and the people seemed somehow different and even exotic from a distance. But this attraction also meant that constructing such differentiation from mainstream society had the inevitable consequences of viewing this difference in deviant terms. A point also made by Sibley (1981) in his writings about the relationship between tribal societies and colonial hierarchies. The custom of *caru yn/ar y gwely* for example, where the sleeping quarters were not segregated for unmarried males and females, and young men and women were allowed to lie on the same bed drew consternation from the early English Victorians.

In 1847 the Report into the State of Education in Wales, more widely known as 'Brad y Llyfrau Gleision' (The Treachery of the Blue Books) presented an account of the daily lives of the Welsh and their culture in a seemingly derogatory fashion. The Welsh language was stigmatised as a 'great evil' and an obstacle standing in the way of progress both intellectually and morally. However, as Roberts pointed out, the government's agenda was not quite as straightforward as it first appeared to those who were drawn into its remit across Wales.

Wales had been characterised in the preceding forty years by civil disorder and industrial unrest, and these incidents were believed to be a potential threat to the government. There were, for example a number of

protests: the iron workers' strike in 1822, the Merthyr Rising of 1831 and in West Wales in 1839 the beginning of the Rebecca Riots (Williams, 1978). However, contemporary official inquiries focusing on the social and political disquiet in Wales bestowed recriminations on the Welsh language. It was constructed as standing in the way of achieving a 'true' Britishness, and thus needed to be replaced with the English language if a state of equilibrium was to be restored. Effectively, the English language signified a common communication channel, making it easier to enforce an official (English) authority:

If the (Welsh) people had been acquainted with the English language, had had proper instruction provided, instead of being, as they now are, a prey to designing hypocrites with religion on their lips and wickedness in their hearts...they (i.e. the Welsh) would be at this moment...the happiest as well as the most peaceful and prosperous population in the world' (quoted by William Williams MP for Coventry in his speech from an article on the Rebecca Riots, cited in Roberts, 1998:24).

There were however, ideas preceding the 1847 Report, for example, at the time of Edward I's conquest, the military threat posed by the Welsh led to both official sanctions and a wider demonic representation, and one could be arrested simply 'because he is a Welshman'. The Statute of Wales, 1284 declared that Wales belonged to the realm of England and any resistance was understood as 'madness, malice or malevolence' (Roberts, 1998:9-12).

In later literary texts and travellers tales the Welsh were portrayed in a patronising manner as simple peasants living off the land, a fact apparently signified by their spoken tongue of the Welsh language. This was a view reinforced by the expectation that if one was the son of the Welsh gentry then they would largely be educated in English. A published account in 1700 of a travellers' tale (only identified as E.B.) about a trip to North Wales described 'their native gibberish is usually prattled throughout the whole of Taphydom, except in the market towns, whose inhabitants being a little raised to begin to despite it, 'Tis usually cashiered out of gentlemen's homes...' (Roberts, 1998:13). Later travellers however, spoke of Wales in a less condescending

tone. and Defoe in 1726 for example described a gentry who were 'civil, hospitable and kind' and a lower class who were 'obliging and conversible' although the language was still perceived to be 'barbarous' (p.14).

Crime in North Wales

Challenging the rural idyll

A picture postcard image of Llanrwst featured on a promotional campaign for the Wales Tourist Board during the fieldwork phase (see Appendix 3). The scene is of Tu Hwnt i'r Bont (beyond the bridge), a fifteenth century stone house that was once used as the law courts, but in recent times was leased as a café from the National Trust. It is an alluring image of the rural idyll described by the tourist board as 'two hours and a million miles away', and yet ironic in the sense that historically the building was a place to process law and order.

The historical construction of country versus city, bound up with ideas about major social change and industrialisation, has left an enduring legacy of thought. Either people who lived in the country committed no crime, or if they did, then this was believed to be not overly problematic and tended to be attributed to a transient population. But this was not the case, and historical references to crime in the countryside and the dangerousness of rural life abound in accounts presented by social historians researching into the subject:

Contrary to popular myth, the inhabitants of England before the Industrial Revolution did not live in idyllic village settlements. The early modern small town or village was as likely to be riven by problems, albeit of a different nature, as any modern city. Legal records, criminal and civil alike, contain ample evidence of social tensions and interpersonal malice (Sharpe, 1996a:126).

These historical references to crime in the countryside provide a challenging backdrop to the rural idyll myth and the idea of an 'innocent Welsh'. They also provide some understanding of how crime was perceived and dealt with during this period. Such historical sources also reveal underlying issues that still proved pertinent in more contemporary times. Ideas about traditional community and social control, for example, and the belief that those that

committed crime were from outside the area. In Llanrwst, ideas about traditional community and social control were constructed as a way of life in contrast to the encroachment of a perceived modernity and loss of social control imported with in-migrants (see chapters four, five and six).

It was not as if contemporaries of the historical period in question, however, were unaware of what was happening in the countryside. Indeed as Jones (1989) pointed out, towards the end of the century middle class reformers such as John Bright and Edwin Chadwick, attempted to highlight the 'darker' side of village life in defence of the new urban order. They argued that rural dwellers were more criminal than their contemporaries elsewhere, although this statement was dependent upon which districts were being compared. Rural Wales, for example, had a low recorded rate of serious crime as compared to East Anglia, where a much higher commitment rate for trial was experienced. In Wales, however, the judges were highly suspicious of the lack of offenders coming before them. This view serves both as an exemplar of the limited value of criminal statistics in assessing the 'true' crime rate of an area, and as a pointer that to understand everyday reality in rural areas it is necessary to go beyond the rural-urban dichotomy and the rural idyll image.

By the latter part of the eighteenth century Wales witnessed shifting ideas about its landscape and people. The English increasingly romanticised its cultural heritage and paid homage to its potential as a place of retreat, particularly as the contemporary political upheavals had made continental Europe a less accessible destination. Indeed, Jones (1992) has argued, that when reading certain historical versions of Welsh history one may be led to believe that Wales was a 'country without crime' during the nineteenth century. This popular image is conjured up in such accounts as those that described the Welsh as '...exceedingly honest' (the Chairman of the Merioneth Quarter Sessions in 1871 cited in Jones, 1992:1) and as a people where 'an absence of offences of the graver and more serious character' could be found (quoted in a congratulatory comment given by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn after a visit in 1874 cited in Jones, 1981:45). These viewpoints were further reiterated by travellers of the period, who noted their relative surprise at the

lack of disorderly conduct committed by the 'lower orders' of the Welsh towns as compared to other places.

As already mentioned this was not a consistent image and historical references to nineteenth century Wales also presented accounts of disorder, rebellion and crime. Jones (1992) pointed out that the image of Cymru Iau (innocent Wales) was not a unitary one, and there were alternative viewpoints albeit less well publicised. For example, in July 1839, a report from the district of Pembrokeshire was sent to the Home Secretary citing petty theft and depredation in terms that 'vastly exceeds the average in a similar amount of population in the English Counties' (Jones, 1992:2).

Nineteenth century landowners, magistrates and constables were doubtful of the reliability of the number of cases appearing at the higher courts and believed that these numbers bore no resemblance to the actual amount of offences being committed on a daily basis. As the nineteenth century progressed, and the Assizes and Quarter Sessions hearings heard minimal cases from Wales, so too did a healthy scepticism develop regarding the validity of legal proceedings as being a true indicator of the Welsh character. The former 'white gloves' image was no longer so deeply embedded in some quarters, as exemplified by Lord Justice Brett speaking to the grand juries of Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire in the 1880s:

Gentlemen, I would willingly congratulate you on the non-existence of crime in your several counties if it did not exist...but as I believe it does exist, though, by some means it is not brought before me, my congratulations must assume a modified form (Lord Justice Brett, cited in Jones, 1992:3).

The belief that the Welsh were a hard working people who had no desire for delinquency and rebellion is also challenged by the agrarian rioting that began in the summer of 1839 in West Wales and reappeared in a more violent form in the winter of 1842-3. Known as the Rebecca Riots, groups of men, many on horseback and dressed as women, attacked toll-gates, acts that frequently invoked calls for the military and the services of the metropolitan police (Williams, 1955).

The mid-nineteenth century also witnessed a rising tide of crime where isolated rural communities in Wales were being subjected to numerous acts of vandalism and minor disorder, a situation exacerbated by limited magisterial resources (North Wales police, www, 1998).

The power of community control

Even so, the possibility of such challenges having any impact on the dominant construction of the innocent Welsh remained negligible, as people often resorted to scapegoating workers or travellers from outside the area in order to explain incidents of disorder and petty theft:

Improved communications, the ever increasing movement of population, particularly into the Ffestiniog slate areas and the thousands of vagrants passing through North Wales, all created innumerable problems for the authorities. The building of the railway line linking Ffestiniog and Porthmadog entailed the presence of hundreds of navvies, and many areas became centres of drunkenness and rowdyism. On one occasion the authorities had to stand idly by while hundreds of English and Irish navvies fought a pitched battle lasting three days during the construction of the Chester to Holyhead line (North Wales police, www, 1998:1).

Another example is that of the 'Shipswnt' (Gypsy) described in a letter to Seren Gomer in February 1823 by an anonymous writer as lacking in the:

...least principle of religion or morality amongst them, but live by theft and cheating and extracting money from simpletons, by using that lying craft of telling fortunes (Jarman and Jarman, 1991:45).

In reality it seems that the 'true' crime rate exceeded that which was publicly acclaimed through the courts in Wales and that much of the law-breaking went unreported, or remained unseen. This situation may have been in part due to the fact that many towns and villages in the Welsh countryside escaped any dominant forces of law and order in their midst until the end of the century.

However, this low level of policing was also paralleled by a 'tolerated illegality' within local communities based on a dichotomous concept of order:

the 'popular' and the 'official'. The 'popular' viewpoint held by inhabitants of rural communities attributed great importance to the maintaining of social relationships, even if their community was rife with petty conflicts and crimes. Good relationships maintained the economic and social life of the village. bad relationships were believed to be detrimental to this order (Jones, 1992).

Taking the 'official' stance of prosecution could result in reprisals such as becoming the victim of personal violence or receiving damage to property or livestock. This course of action therefore, would not only present an additional financial burden, but would effectively exacerbate any social tensions within village life, and meant admitting that local forms of control had failed (Jones, 1989). Evidence from the Flintshire and Merioneth police diaries enlighten us with accounts of stolen produce which were negatively responded to by 'victims' in terms of initiating any action against the perpetrator, who may it seems have been a close friend (Jones, 1992).

However, in cases where it was felt there should be some kind of punishment, redress could still be sought within the local community by instigating an informal mechanism of social regulation (Johnston, 1992). The Welsh used the *ceffyl pren* as a means of popular justice until the mid-Victorian years. This involved a procession of local community members led by a wooden horse with the wrongdoer forced to travel on the horse's back and paraded through the streets, causing much embarrassment and shame to the rider (Jones, 1992).

Moving on to the second half of the nineteenth century, it seems that the popular conception of a *Cymru lan* witnessed a revival as a 'lack of crime' was attributed by the travellers to the particular character of the peasantry, whom they argued were poor farmers and labourers 'of a steady plodding stamp' (Jones, 1992:39). It was believed that these farmers and labourers led 'contented' lives, and therefore lacked any motivation to participate in acts of delinquency and rebellion. Similarly, quarrymen from the slate quarrying districts of North Wales were commended by an English traveller in 1869 as:

not your street corner loungers and pickpockets and burglars and blacklegs: but honest fellows with good furniture at home, mostly some small savings in the bank, the children at school and best suits for Sundays (cited in Jones, 1981:45).

In fact, the only supposedly 'tainted' image bestowed on the Welsh was associated with their pre-marital sexual habits, for example, the practice of fertility-testing, where a woman needed to demonstrate her fertility before the man would marry her, and the custom of *caru ar y gwely* (previously discussed) (Stevens, 1993). Johnson, one of the three Commissioners serving on the 1847 Report into the State of Education in Wales, described such sexual 'deviance' as:

But there is one vice which is flagrant throughout North Wales and remains unchecked by any instrument of civilisation...It has obtained for so long as the peculiar vice of the principality that its existence has almost ceased to be considered as an evil: and the custom of Wales is said to justify the barbarous practices which precede the rite of marriage. (Roberts, 1998:166).

It was therefore, an era that conjured up images of a *Cymru lan* or *gwlad y menyg gwynion* (land of the white gloves) (Jones, 1992:1) - an image based upon perceptions of an exceptionally low serious crime rate in marked contrast with other parts of the country.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close however, the imbalance of state (formal) and private (informal) justice had to a large extent explicitly been redressed. There were now various acts in place: the Juvenile Offenders Acts of 1847 and 1850; the Criminal Justice Act of 1855 and the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879. This allowed for many offences to be tried by lower courts at a faster pace, and had a subsequent effect at a more local level. By 1899, the Welsh petty sessions saw 55,027 persons being proceeded against, whilst only 655 were committed or bailed to the Assizes and Quarter Sessions (Jones, 1992). There were also developments in the 'front-line' of the criminal justice system. For example, the North Wales police had by the late 1860s become firmly established in the area, forming an integral part of the

community despite any initial opposition from both outsiders and insiders of the service (North Wales police, www, 1998).

It is only therefore, when we begin to assess historical references to rural crime that we can develop an alternative viewpoint to the popular notion of bygone days as a rural idyll. As Sharpe (1996b:30) has pointed out: 'The deeper we penetrate into the history of crime in the past, the more our easy stereotypes...of the idyllic and stable village community, begin to disintegrate'. Admittedly, we need to be aware that these historical accounts may themselves present mythical versions, and are constructed as products of their time. Women, for example, remain hidden from view and political factors have shaped official inquiries and subsequent explanations as discussed earlier in relation to the 1847 Report into the State of Education in Wales. Nevertheless, as Moody (1999:16) has pointed out 'they offer a valuable antidote to the pre-twentieth-century rural idyll'.

Conflicting messages of the 'loss' of community control: crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst

Challenging the rural idyll was also apparent during the fieldwork phase, where respondents referred to incidents of crime, deviance and disorder. Yet it was a version that was juxtaposed with an official recognition of the area as a relatively safe place to live and work:

Conwy is a safe place in which to live and work with crime levels significantly below national levels (Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit, 1999).

Here again (see chapter one), Clifford Geertz' point that 'man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun...' (Geertz, 1975:5) is most apt. The criminal justice system workers did not seem to perceive a problem based on their official counting of incidents of crime and disorder, whereas in contrast, local people believed there was a problem. Chapters four, five and six focus on the 'everyday realities' of respondents, and the significance issues of crime, deviance and disorder held for their daily lives.

However, here in this chapter, recognition is given to the 'official' version of crime in both Conwy county and Llanrwst, in order to provide the reader with the documentary evidence upon which this version of reality is based.

Conwy county

The Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit (1999:1) describes Conwy as 'a safe place in which to live and work', and based this conclusion on offences reported to the North Wales police from 1 April 1997 to 30 June 1998. Over 8,000 crimes were recorded and over 12,000 incident/disorder calls categorised. Of course, there are problems identified with the recording of police statistics, for example, the way they can mislead and be manipulated to address important policy issues (Bottomley and Pease, 1993). The intention here, however, is to show the figures on which the official version of Conwy county being a relatively safe place is based, not comment on their collation procedures and methods of recording, or indeed, conduct any in-depth comparative analysis. Such a task could generate a separate report of its own.

The crime audit reported that 'a particular trend perceived by Councillors was the relationship between **population changes** within a locality and crime rates (emphasis in original)' and that '71% of the respondents expressed that they were worried by young people hanging about on streets' (p.10). These were interesting revelations as they were similar views held by respondents living in Llanrwst town and the surrounding hinterland.

The official statistics for crime per 1000 population by area during the period 1 April 1997 and 31 March 1998 for England and Wales was 83, Wales 81, North Wales 62 and Conwy county 58. This highlights that crime rates in Conwy county were significantly below the national and regional rates, and apparently, 'the total number of offences fell in the Conwy Unitary Authority area by 11% compared to the previous year, violent crime increased by 18% over the same period and burglary (dwelling) offence rates remained unchanged over the year, whilst the North Wales area over the same period saw a reduction of 21% in this type of offence' (Conwy Division North Wales police and CCBC undated, p.11-12).

It is interesting to note that a case study conducted by Hughes (1996) on the effects of the A55 coastal expressway argued that crime in rural areas between the period 1971 and 1992 saw an increase in the number of recorded crimes by 166% whereas the population of North Wales had risen by 11%. Thus, for every 31.6 people there was one crime recorded in 1971 and by 1992 this had risen to one for every 13.07 people. Furthermore, between 1979 and 1982 the Home Office Criminal Statistics for England and Wales showed that the national crime average for England and Wales had risen by 1.4% whilst in comparison this had reached a rate of increase of 5.6% for the North Wales area. Hughes concluded that 'it can be clearly asserted that not only has road development substantially affected crime levels within the North Wales area, but that in all probability it will continue to do so in the foreseeable future' (1996:54).

Llanrwst town

There were a number of problems encountered when attempting to collate statistical information for Llanrwst town from a number of statutory agencies as highlighted by the following comment:

...difficulty in collation of statistics was problematic across the range of agencies from social services own system not having the software capabilities to extract information geographically...what seemed to compound the collation of material was the fact that Llanrwst as an area subsumes outlying districts such as Trefriw, Llanddoged and Maenan, and apparently the difficulty arises when attempting to abstract Llanrwst as a 'stand alone' town without its outlying areas...this difficulty is further highlighted in the section on 'policing in Llanrwst'...Furthermore, individual local difficulties in gleaning information meant that the range of data was neither consistent in the required age range (age 11-25) nor in its time span (Jan-Dec 98) (Jones, 1999:13).

During the period April to December 1998 only three cases of 'criminal offences or at risk of' were listed for Llanrwst town by the youth justice team of the local authority. However, in contrast chapters four and five present respondents' views that young people were believed to be at risk of or

indulging in criminal and disordered behaviour, such as use of drugs and alcohol. This perception was similarly borne out by the residents of Conwy county included in the Crime and Disorder Audit 1999 as already highlighted.

Court statistics for the two youth courts in the county at Abergele and Llandudno showed that 410 appearances were made during 1998. However, there were no breakdowns given for the originating areas of the young offenders. The following statistical data was gleaned from North Wales police, but does not provide comparable data with the Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit which spanned the period April 1998 to June 1998. However, it is not the intention to present a statistical analysis in any great depth here. Rather, as already intimated, the purpose is to show the amount of crimes recorded by the police that have led to the official picture of Llanrwst town and indeed, Conwy county as being a safe area in which to live and work.

Statistical overview of crimes recorded by North Wales police for January - December 1998

Notes:

1. The following statistical tables cover Llanrwst, which also includes the outlying areas of Melin Y Coed, Tafarn Y Fedw and Talybont and the villages of Trefriw, Dolgarrog, and Maenan (see Appendix 5 for map showing location of villages). As already noted it was for practical reasons not possible to glean a similar picture for the town of Llanrwst only. However, after some negotiation with the police statistician, total figures were provided for the town of Llanrwst (see bracketed figures in grand total columns).
2. It is also necessary to note that these statistics represent recorded crimes and are not necessarily attributed to persons living in Llanrwst, rather they represent recorded crimes that have taken place in the area.

Table 1. (source North Wales police)

Male and female offenders aged 17 and under for the Llanrwst area - 1998.

Llanrwst 1998 Male Offenders 17 and under		
Offence Category	No. Offenders	No. Crimes
ASSAULT	2	2
BURGLARY	3	2
DAMAGE	8	5
DECEPTION	1	1
DRUGS	6	6
INDECENCY	2	2
PUBLIC ORDER	3	1
THEFT	1	1
THEFT CYCLE	1	1
THEFT STORES	1	1
VEHICLE CRIME	66	11
Grand Total	94	33 (19)
Llanrwst 1998 Female Offenders 17 and under		
Offence Category	No. Offenders	No. Crimes
ASSAULT	2	2
BURGLARY	1	1
DAMAGE	1	1
DECEPTION	1	1
DRUGS	1	1
THEFT	2	2
Grand Total	8	8 (6)

Table 1 shows the number of offenders both male and female aged 17 and under that committed crimes in the Llanrwst area, which as already mentioned covers six outlying areas consisting of scattered settlements or small villages. There were 94 male offenders for a total of 33 crimes for the area, however, the figure in brackets shows a total of 19 crimes committed in Llanrwst town. There were 8 female offenders with 8 crimes for the area, with 6 (number in brackets) being committed by females in Llanrwst town. There were no figures available for the number of offenders in both the male and female category for Llanrwst town only, which as the table shows can vary from the number of offenders to the number of crimes.

Table 2. (source North Wales police)

Total number of crimes recorded for Llanrwst area - 1998

Llanrwst 1998 Crimes	
Offence Category	No. Crimes
ASSAULT	35
URGLARY	33
DAMAGE	38
DAMAGE TO MOTOR VEHICLE	17
DECEPTION	15
DRUGS	13
INDECENCY	5
MISCELLANEOUS	1
PUBLIC ORDER	11
THEFT	36
THEFT CYCLE	7
THEFT FROM MOTOR VEHICLE	17
THEFT MOTOR VEHICLE	5
THEFT STORES	6
VEHICLE CRIME	20
Grand Total	259 (181)

Table 2 shows the total number of crimes across all ages committed in the Llanrwst area. Of a total of 259 crimes committed in the area, 181 (number in brackets) were committed in Llanrwst town. No breakdown was provided of the 181 crimes committed in the town.

During the course of the research a record of incidents reported to Llanrwst police station was gleaned for one month during 1999. This data highlighted local incidents totalling 42 over a one-month period (for reasons of confidentiality the data cannot be reproduced here). Included in this data were various incidents such as domestic violence, drunkenness and youths causing minor nuisances. All such incidents may not necessarily have gone on to be reported as a crime, but may have remained as an incident dealt with at a local level. Thus, whilst such data may not have reached the official recording procedures, it does not detract from the fact that for many of the local population such incidents may well have impinged on their daily lives in one form or another. In fact, 42 incidents per month averaged out over a twelve-month period would total 504 incidents, which is double the amount of recorded crimes. This also highlights as already mentioned, issues about the non-recording of crime.

Profile of Conwy county

Conwy is a new county (see map in Appendix 4 showing the location of Conwy county) and is the result of a reorganisation of local authority boundaries in 1996. Reorganisation has taken place periodically since the Acts of Union of the sixteenth century. Llanrwst was listed in the County of Denbigh in 1814 (Davies, 1967:11) and from 1974 to 1 April 1996 it was part of Gwynedd County Council. Thereafter, it came under the borough of Conwy county (CCBC Planning Department, May 2001 (personal communication)). Its geographical status has therefore shifted according to the designation of area boundaries.

Today Conwy county covers approximately 1,130 sq.km and 74 kilometres of coastline (CCBC 1997a). The village of Llanfairfechan marks its most western point on the coast with Kinmel Bay to the east. Conwy is centrally situated in North Wales and the principal means of access to the county are from the A55(T) coast road, the London to Holyhead railway link and the A5(T) road to the south (Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit, 1999). The 1995 mid year estimate of the population of the borough was 111,200 which is an increase from 106,307 in 1991 and the latest mid year estimate for 2000 has noted an increase to 112,700 (CCBC, www, 2002). The total number of Welsh speakers in the county in 1991 was 31,431 (30.6%) and 29,303 persons were over pensionable age (CCBC, 1997a). The narrow coastal belt houses just over 80% of the population of the borough and Llandudno and Colwyn Bay are the main urban areas. As already highlighted, Conwy is characterised by a significantly high proportion of elderly persons. Ethnicity is 99.5% white European.

Conwy has a high incidence of seasonal employment in tourism, agriculture and construction, with manufacturing industries providing a very small proportion of employment. Part-time employment is high in that 25% is the figure as compared to 21% for Wales and Great Britain. It has, as already intimated, a low wage economy and unemployment in October 1998 was 5.2% compared to 5.3% in Wales and 4.4% in Great Britain. Figures for 2001 show

that the average gross weekly wage (full-time) for Great Britain was £410.60, for Wales it was £368.10 and for Conwy £313.10. 87.2% of earnings were under £460 for Conwy as compared to 76.8% for Wales and 70.7% for Great Britain. A study conducted by the Welsh Development Agency and the Cardiff Business School highlighted that the county had the lowest levels of GDP in Wales, and that the wage levels were the lowest in Great Britain (CCBC, www, 2002). The socio-economic position of the county is listed as the eighth most deprived unitary authority in Wales according to the Economic Research and Information Group in February 1996 (CCBC, Draft Audit Report, undated).

During the summer months the population increases dramatically due to the high levels of tourism. Of all the tourist accommodation in Wales, Conwy holds 11.6%. According to the tourist department of CCBC, tourists spend approximately 5.6 million nights in Conwy each year, 4 million day visits are made and the total spend is around £204 million.

Around one third of the county lies in the designated area of the Snowdonia National Park, and this area is deeply-rural, housing just 5% of the total population of the county. Twenty-one of the 35 community councils consist of population totals of less than 2,000 persons, whilst the remaining 14 do not exceed more than 20,000 persons. Of these 14 containing more than 2,000 persons, only Llanrwst is situated in the hinterland with the rest being situated along the coastal part of the county.

Agriculture accounted for only 5% of employment at the 1991 census compared to the Wales average of 3.5%, however, it is a sector that still plays an important part in the rural hinterland of the county. 87% of agricultural land is classed as 'poor' or 'very poor' and 90% is used as permanent grass or rough grazing. Livestock farming, and in particular sheep farming predominates (CCBC, www, 2002).

Profile of Llanrwst

Population

In 1698, Llanrwst had a population of 300 inhabitants living in sixty houses. By 1780 it was the eighth largest town in Wales with a population of approximately 2,000 (Mortimer-Hart, 1988):

...but it was perhaps not until the great roads came that North Wales found itself becoming a part of the English political body. It was not so much that it entered the outer world, as that the outer world entered it (Senior, 1987:15).

The town, however, has not experienced a massive influx of people in recent times. A nineteenth century directory, for example, described it as having a 'township of some 3,600 inhabitants':

Llanrwst, a market town and parish in the hundred of Isdulus, County of Denbigh, and that of Nant Conway, county of Caernarfon, 12 miles from Conway, 18 from Denbigh, and 218 from London, contained, in 1831, 3,601 inhabitants (Denbighshire record of professions and businesses, undated).

By 1991 it had witnessed a decrease in the population to 3,006 persons, and it was estimated in 2000 to increase this figure slightly to 3,140 persons as compared to 112,700 for Conwy county and 2,946,200 for Wales (CCBC, 1991 and www, 2002).

Llanrwst is a market town situated in the lowlands of the surrounding hillside along the banks of the River Conwy. It is therefore an area liable to flooding, which together with its geographical setting limits its potential for any major expansive building programme. Nevertheless, during the latter half of the last century it witnessed the building of a number of housing estates. These estates provide both social housing by the local authority and housing associations as well as private residences. There has also been the take up of local property for running national retail chains: the Spar shop opens until 11pm every night and 10.30 p.m. on Sundays, and Booze Busters, (an off licence renamed from Cellar 5), both have frontage on to the town square.

The town has experienced an in-migration of people from outside the area into both private residences (rented or bought) and into social housing. The 1991 census quotes migrants at 9.8% of the resident population of Llanrwst and 99.9% of the population as ethnic-white. The migrants come from other areas of North Wales (Colwyn Bay, Rhyl and Abergele) as well as further afield from places like Liverpool, Glasgow and Birmingham (places referred to by respondents).

The percentage of Welsh speakers has declined in Llanrwst from 89% in 1921 to 66% in 1981 (Gwynedd County Council, personal communication, 2 December, 1999) and according to the 1991 census was 64%, that is, 1,883 total Welsh speakers (CCBC, 1997). Out of a population of 3,006 cited for Llanrwst in the 1991 census, 2,358 were born in Wales.

Industry

Historically Llanrwst was an industrial town that served the surrounding areas, and it was an important landmark because of its situation on the banks of the River Conwy (Mortimer-Hart, 1988). By the beginning of the eighteenth century, for example, it was an important cattle market town. This was because of its strategic location in the valley between the cattle drovers' routes from North West Wales to the English Midlands. During the early nineteenth century it also served a number of villages, as it was bounded by 'Eglwysfach, Trefriw, Llanrhychwyn, Capel Curig (Llandegai), Dolwyddelen, Bettws y Coed, Penmachno, Yspytty, Pentre'rfoelas (Llanefydd), Gwytherin, Llangerniw, and Llanddoged' (Williams, 1830:5). Also because of the period's undeveloped transportation systems across land, the River Conwy, which was navigable right up to the town, allowed for the import of raw materials and manufactured goods as well as the exportation of the region's produce. The town's markets served a wide area at a time when most people in the surrounding uplands depended upon the Welsh mountain sheep, the small black cattle and the dense oak woods to make a living (Moore, 1985):

The market is held on Tuesday, and is plentifully supplied with Corn (being notable for its Corn). Flesh. Butter. Pigs. &c...The buyers of Corn are the inhabitants of the town, the quarrymen, and all those living higher up in the mountains...They cannot grow anything in those parts but Oats, some Barley, and Potatoes. They are principally supplied with money by selling Cattle for England: and indeed, the Cattle are our principal support; hence it appears evident, that the more Cattle are sold to England the more it enriches our own country (Williams, 1830:39-40).

With such a ready source of materials and good trading routes, numerous small-scale industries thrived in the manufacture of goods such as nails, wheels, casks, ropes, sails, clogs and boots. Goods were traded at the local market, such as the ashes of ferns for use in soap making and wool sold to the stocking-makers from across North Wales. Printing was also a flourishing industry in the town (Town Guide, undated). Many of the industries had grown alongside the sheep trade, the surrounding countryside being useful for very little else due to the harsh and mountainous conditions. Two industries however, are notable in Llanrwst's history from the seventeenth century onwards: the harp-making and clock-making traditions. In 1586 a survey of the British Isles undertaken by William Camden, the English antiquary and historian, described Llanrwst as 'famous for harpmakers' (Mortimer-Hart, 1988:76).

A rather interesting point is that some of the shop names in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were attributed to English towns. In Denbigh Street there was a clockmakers business called Greenwich House, a specialist for cotton goods called Manchester House, and in Station Road, Birmingham House. This may have been because the businesses were owned by people who had moved into the area from England, or else because it gave the goods a more fashionable air. Mortimer-Hart (1988:180) described 'the modern shops, in London fashion, now had big windows, with squares of glass behind which their wares could clearly be seen'. During this period Llanrwst was quite a prosperous town and served many people who passed through on their way from London to Holyhead, as well as others from areas such as Denbigh, Beddgelert and Caernarfon (Mortimer-Hart, 1988). It is ironic in the

sense that respondents during the research did not welcome some of the English people moving in from areas such as Manchester or Birmingham. It seems in contemporary times the importation of 'modernity' was not welcomed in the town.

The tanning industry was a thriving enterprise, and prospered from the Middle Ages right up until 1979 when the last tannery was closed. There was even a ship built in the Parish of Llanrwst in 1756. There were ten alehouses, a number of which served as coaching and posting houses. Such prosperity is captured further:

In Denbigh Street the shop of John and Watkin Owen was displaying for sale lantern and longcase clocks, and watches. Elsewhere were gloves in local leather, both fashionable and utilitarian, the crafts of local goldsmiths and silversmiths, the finest wine cupboards and dressers, chairs and tables, made by the local craftsmen of Gwydir oak or imported mahogany. All the signs of wealth were to be seen - or could be found by those who knew, smuggled brandy, tea, tobacco, brought in by John McCullough or Randle Podmore from Roscoff [in Brittany] under the noses of Collectors' men, carried by night on backs of horses from the smugglers: landings on the Orme, or among the marshes Rhuddlan way: the wealth of the woollen merchants, the landed gentry, the general traders and the farmers ensured demand to meet supply, and the smugglers were more liked by poor and rich than were the King's Collectors' men...This was the Llanrwst of the 1780s' (Mortimer-Hart, 1988:181).

At this point, I would just like to point out that the account so far of Llanrwst's industrial past from the seventeenth century has reflected a thriving and prosperous town in comparison to the situation during the battle scarred previous centuries. This is a useful reflection regarding the contrast with the town's contemporary declining status, however, this does not mean that historically poverty did not exist. Not to make reference to this would somehow seem to perpetuate an idyllic version, an imagined community that presented a partial selection of everyday life. The murder of William Williams at Llanrwst in December 1937 provides a good contrast. In the account the accused, Caroline Williams, is described as living 'in a squalid house on Scotland Street, Llanrwst, Denbighshire...which had neither running water nor

lighting and was described in court as little more than a hovel' (Fielding, 1995:34). One respondent who had lived in Scotland Street as a boy also recounted the hardship and poverty of life for some people in Llanrwst (see chapter four).

Declining Llanrwst: from centre stage to the 'periphery' of a county.

A close knit community...influx of foreigners from Merseyside and Manchester bringing problems with them which impacts on parts of the town...the current situation in Llanrwst is very unsatisfactory in many aspects. Although there is some hope the economical climate is very bleak...there is a need to monitor/look closely at the drugs and alcohol problems - especially underage drinking - children between 12-16 (Town councillor, June 1999).

Today however, it is a different story. The town's economy is now based largely on agriculture, tourism and the service industry. Although Llanrwst's geographical setting in the lowland area of the Conwy Valley, surrounded by hillside villages and farms has helped it retain its importance as a centre in terms of providing local shops and a weekly livestock market, its industrial competitiveness has somewhat diminished.

In more recent times the town's remaining economic base has also been hard hit. The decline in the agricultural industry generally has been exacerbated by the BSE crisis and the foot and mouth outbreak of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. There has also been a changing pattern in the local tourist economy. Temporarily, restricted access to the countryside followed the foot and mouth outbreak, which only added to the more general pattern of holidaymakers preferring to take cheap package tours abroad. Even Llanrwst's endurance as an important shopping centre has been challenged by global forces, for example, the North Wales Weekly News (17 May, 2001) remembered how twenty five years ago:

Traders in the Conwy Valley were angry at a free 50-seater bus service launched by Asda to run between Llanrwst and its Llandudno store, saying that it would turn Llanrwst into a "ghost town". Gwynedd County Council also expressed concern that it

could undermine the Crosville service along roughly the same route, which it subsidised to the tune of £20,000 a year.

At the close of the twentieth century Tony Blair announced on 26 March, 1999, at the Wales Labour Party conference held in the North Wales Theatre, Llandudno, that the town came under the remit of an Objective One⁵ funding status due to its location within the borough of Conwy county, an area that has been defined as socially and economically deprived. The North Wales Weekly News (5 November 1998) reported that it was one of the poorest regions of Europe and that:

Last year the North Wales Weekly News reported that Conwy had the lowest wage levels in Britain. Since then, the area has continued to struggle. Tourism the lifeblood of towns like Llandudno and Colwyn Bay, has continued along a path of steady decline...the area's other major industry, agriculture, has had an even tougher time.

In April 1999, the Welsh Development Agency designated Llanrwst town as a renewal area, and included it along with two other neighbouring valley areas in the Small Towns and Villages Initiative pilot scheme. This scheme contributed financial aid and advice to local businesses.

Geographically Llanrwst is currently situated within the county of Conwy and is more or less in the centre of the borough. Its relative position to its neighbouring areas has remained unchanged spatially, although in more contemporary times it has declined locally in terms of its once thriving status amongst the surrounding areas. Earlier in the twentieth century it served a catchment area stretching from Llanfairfechan in the west to Abergele in the east of North Wales, and in much earlier times it was an important crossing place for the Conwy Valley across the River Conwy.

Today the image of the town is perceived in terms of its marginal position in comparison to the more affluent coastal areas of Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and Rhos-on-Sea. These coastal resorts have experienced an

⁵ Objective One is the highest form of Structural Fund aid available from a programme of European Union (EU) Funding. It is a status awarded to areas whose gross domestic product (GDP) per head is 75% of the EU average.

influx of elderly persons moving in and purchasing retirement homes. Such resorts often have many facilities lacking in valley areas. Llandudno, for example, houses the North Wales Theatre and Conference Centre, a number of night-clubs, pubs and restaurants, and an expanding out of town shopping complex.

The coastal areas are also important in terms of providing seasonal employment in the tourist industry, as well as employment in the service sector structured around the more populous areas of the county. Llanrwst by comparison has very few employment opportunities.

One local councillor attributed Llanrwst's problems as being directly related to the economy and the recent years of Conservative government. This was the only time however, that a respondent offered an explanation explicitly linked to a wider context. Local explanations for the decline were generally attributed to the visible changes in people's daily lives that for them signified a traditional lifestyle threatened by modernising influences. The demise of local prominent buildings that at one time had symbolised a thriving agricultural community, competition for scant resources as people moved in from outside areas, and the increasing urbanised (dangerous) nature of any criminal, deviant or disordered behaviour all added to this perception of threat from outside.

Summary

The relationship between Wales, England and Llanrwst has formed the guiding framework for this chapter, and indeed, for the subsequent chapters of the thesis. The old saying of Wales, England and Llanrwst and the relationship between josgyns, townies and the English seemed to have some significance for respondents' understanding of both traditional and more contemporary everyday reality. For example, there was a belief locally that the traditional relationship that was perceived to exist between josgyns and townies was changing as English in-migrants moved into the town (see chapters four, five and six).

Bearing in mind the relationship between Wales, England and Llanrwst the discussion focussed on a social, economic and political context for the town

of Llanrwst both historically and in more contemporary times. This was to enable the reader to gain some insight regarding the location and general composition of the town and its surrounding hinterland, as well as the wider context of North Wales and England.

A number of issues were deemed important because they are followed up in later chapters of the thesis, and therefore, need some contextual background. Wales and England, for example, have long had a conflictual relationship over land ownership and the Welsh language, and it is a conflict still apparent today. The Welsh language was perceived to be under threat from in-migrants who were allegedly eroding Welsh speaking communities and pricing local people out of the housing market.

Similarly, beginning the section on crime in Wales with a historical discussion exemplified the long-standing existence of crime in rural Wales, and effectively acted to challenge powerful constructions of a rural idyll (see also chapters one and four). The discussion of more contemporary crime in Llanrwst was based on the official records collated by the criminal justice system. This was aimed at showing the evidence for an official construction of Conwy county and indeed, Llanrwst, as a safe place to live and work. It was felt necessary to show the statistical records made available during the fieldwork from the criminal justice system, because this contrasted with perceptions held by respondents about Llanrwst as a 'wild west' town. Furthermore, these conflicting versions had in fact provided the justification for a report to be commissioned by the local authority in the first place (see chapter two). Whilst the official picture of crime could be seen to perpetuate the idea of the rural idyll, this was challenged by the everyday realities of respondents in the fieldwork chapters four, five and six.

The final part of the discussion focused on both the historical and contemporary demographic characteristics of Conwy county and Llanrwst. This enabled a broader context to be presented before beginning with the decline of Llanrwst town in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL CATEGORIES OF CRIMINAL, DEVIANT AND DISORDERED BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

People living and/or working in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland are witnessing social, economic and political changes at a local level that, as already discussed in chapter one, can be linked to the broader patterns of globalisation. The concern of this thesis, however, is largely bound up with a micro-level gaze at particular aspects of local social and cultural change. That is, the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour.

How and why this categorisation is constructed are the primary underlying questions that frame the analysis and subsequent discussions of the thesis. They are themes, therefore, that are reflected throughout this chapter on the construction phase of the cultural categorisation process, and similarly in the following two fieldwork chapters (chapters five and six) on the institutionalisation and reproduction of the categorisation.

This is not to say that political, social and economic developments in both a national and global context are not important. Indeed, throughout the collection and analysis stages of the fieldwork data, these wider concerns could be said to drive the local constructions analysed and the subsequent actions of local social, political and economic networks.

Put another way, broader processes can be understood as the underlying force driving local processes, but local processes are not necessarily the same in every context and therefore may not be explicit. Local processes are adaptations based on particular local contexts, and this merging of the global and the local has already drawn attention from academics in the glocalisation process (Roberston, 1995).

The connections between global and local may not always have been evident during the fieldwork phase, but nevertheless they did exist. This chapter reveals the connections more clearly in the earlier part of the discussion that focuses on the social and economic decline of Llanrwst. Thereafter, and in

subsequent chapters, the links may be more implicit as they become embedded in the discussions of the local context, and in the actions and experiences of local actor networks.

The central tenet of this thesis asserts that people living and or working in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland construct cultural categories of crime, deviance and disorder. Of course this is only part of the story, and why and how they do this needs also to be considered. This chapter, therefore, has two main aims. First, to present a discussion on why the categorisation is done. Second, to introduce the framework for how it is done, which is a process that is developed in chapters five and six.

Section one begins with a focus on the social and economic changes local people faced in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland. This is because members' concerns about visible changes were transposed into issues of threat and instability, and then mobilised into some form of responsive action. For example, in-migrants moving into private or temporary accommodation were perceived to present 'outside' competition for limited local resources such as housing. In response local social and political networks challenged this threat by stereotyping the cultural identity of the 'typical in-migrant' as townie or English and criminal or deviant. It was a label that incurred particular consequences for the bearers, for example, cultural and social exclusion (see chapters five and six).

The assessment of any perceived threat to Llanrwst people from outside forces, therefore, also necessarily engenders a considered analysis of local responses to the threat as already exemplified above. This will allow for a greater insight into any underlying tensions and motivations for subsequent actions.

In Llanrwst, another important marker of belonging to a version of the traditional or modern community is by reference to language and accent. There are three basic groups of cultural identification based on language ability. The first group are the Welsh people who speak Welsh as their first language and have a strong Welsh accent. They are sometimes locally referred to as josgyns (farmers), and are largely perceived to live in the surrounding

upland farms. although this is not always the case and they can live in the nearby villages or in Llanrwst town itself:

Josgyns live outside Llanrwst. they are not all farmers. they are Welsh Welsh (Tina).

The second group of people are those who speak Welsh to differing degrees and are termed bilingual, English being their first language. They are locally referred to as townies, although again they may not necessarily live in Llanrwst. Finally, the last group are the English in-migrants. They may be Welsh language learners, and were also at times referred to as townies at a local level. This tri-division, simplified for brevity at this point is in reality a much more complex and fluid division dependent on context, and is discussed more fully later in this chapter (see also chapter one). For ease of reading, when reference is made to the three groups in the following discussions the typology of josgyn, townie or English will be used.

The importance of the language division needs to be clarified at this point in the case of Llanrwst. This is because it is also bound up with differentiation constructed around other dichotomous concepts of cultural identity and belonging: Welsh and English; rural and urban; traditional and modern; local and in-migrant and insider and outsider status, for example. These divisions became both defensive and reaffirmatory mechanisms for the construction and maintenance of 'a familiar way of life' perceived to be under threat by the changes taking place at a local level.

The language typology, for example, acted as a signifier for the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. And similarly these categories of behaviour reflected back as signifiers of cultural identity. In sum, either one could reflect the other. For example, the construction of cultural identity based on language and particular forms of behaviour was evident in the perceptions and mobilised actions of local people surrounding two institutions for young people in Llanrwst, the young farmers club and the youth club (see chapters five and six).

A preliminary stage in the responsive action of the respondents interviewed was the construction of a historically imagined version of Llanrwst. This, therefore, forms the basis of section two of this chapter's discussion. The imagined community is a powerful concept, and is a reality in the eyes of its beholders (see Anderson, 1983 and chapter one). In the case of Llanrwst, the imagined community was a version of reality that acted as both a reference point and a safety net in the divisive conceptualisation of 'traditional' community versus 'modern' community. This dichotomy was motivated at a local level by the perceived changing face of rural life.

Section three of the discussion then moves on to explain how the local level constructed dichotomy of traditional and modern life is marked and reinforced by the respondents perceptions of who does, or does not belong, to the imagined community.

Finally, and fundamentally for the rest of the thesis, the last section of this chapter begins to explore how local people mobilised the strategic defence of their imagined community through the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder. These issues took on prime symbolic status beyond their definitive meanings, and at a local level they became markers of identity and community that acted to maintain boundaries of familiar (safe) and non-familiar (dangerous) daily life (see chapter one). This early exploratory stage of the analysis of the marking and maintenance of boundaries is further grounded in chapters five and six where it is argued that the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder were institutionalised and reproduced in a local context.

In summary, this categorisation contributed to the maintenance of the imagined community, a community constructed in the face of a perceived threat from outside forces. The cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was a defensive mechanism against such threat, and was activated through a cyclical process of construction, institutionalisation and reproduction at the local level.

Under threat: the changing face of a market town

The symbolic decline of a market town

As discussed in chapter three, Llanrwst was once a thriving market town. However, not only has Llanrwst suffered economically during the last century from the decline of its industrial past, and more recently from a declining and 'troubled' agricultural industry, it has also witnessed the demolition of its architectural heritage under the guise of modernisation:

Until 1962 there stood in the market square of the town, named Ancaster Square after the Earls of that name who own still much land in the area, a town hall. That fell victim more to the demands of the highway engineers, to clear the way for modern traffic, than to the disrepair from which it was said to suffer. With its departure went much of the real character of the town (Mortimer-Hart, 1988:75).

The town hall was first erected in 1661, but was subsequently burnt down and re-erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only to be demolished later in the twentieth century. Its loss has had a significant impact on local people's memories, and it was nostalgically remembered as a symbol of a once prosperous and thriving traditional market town:

There was a bigger market then and farmers used to come and sell their eggs and cream. You could walk through the town hall and at the bottom were stalls on a Tuesday and fair day where farmers sold their wares (Mrs Davis⁶).

The town hall seemed to represent for local people both concretely and metaphorically the heart of the town. It was a place respondents recalled where members of the agricultural community from the outlying areas gathered to sell their produce or catch up on the 'local happenings' whilst doing their shopping. The prominent architectural position of the town hall meant that it dominated the town's Ancaster Square, and the square was itself a significant place in that it facilitated the weekly travelling market and fair days (and still does every Tuesday albeit on a smaller scale).

⁶ All names used are pseudonyms. See appendix 6 for brief biographical details of respondents.

There were also other buildings that respondents referred to in terms of their community value and symbolic significance of a prosperous bygone age:

The church house in Watling Street used to be the hub of community life, but now other places have taken over: the community centre, leisure centre, function room of the British Legion and Bys y Bawd (Mr Williams).

However, the use of these buildings in their original format had declined either through change of use, or the actual demolition of their structure. During the fieldwork phase the Victoria Hotel was finally demolished after standing empty for some years. It was referred to by respondents as a sad day for the town, and represented another symbolic nail in the coffin of 'the old Llanrwst':

The town has lost a belief in itself. For example, the Victoria [hotel]. I can't imagine anywhere an important building within 25 feet of a Grade I building (the bridge) would be allowed to fall down by omission. It should have been preserved by the local authority. Llanrwst is out of focus as regards the local authority. If it was Llandudno it would not be allowed to happen (Mr Collins).

The decline of the local architecture was perceived as a marker of the encroaching modern world. This was because local people remembered places like the town hall, the church hall and the Victoria hotel as representations of a once thriving traditional community.

It was a locally constructed analogy about traditional society and its bygone institutions that was reminiscent of the thoughts and ideas of the early sociological writers on community. Emile Durkheim's (1964 first published 1893) organic analogy, Tönnies (1955 first published 1887) concept of *gemeinschaft*, and the writings on community by the early twentieth century social anthropologists (for example, Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; Rees, 1950), all emphasised the cohesive nature of the traditional community (see chapter one).

The demise of the town's historical buildings was mourned by local people as a loss of the traditional community, and their structural significance

had become a symbolic one of contrasting the traditional past with the modernising present.

There were attempts by the community council to return the old town hall's clock (now housed in St Fagan's Museum of Welsh Life near Cardiff) to an alternative site in Ancaster square. Interestingly, this movement was largely initiated by people who had moved into the town from outside the area. These in-migrants had also been involved in other restoration projects in Llanrwst town:

The almshouses would have a museum [when the renovation is completed]. A lot of the artefacts of the town have been lost to the antiques trade or St Fagan's...the town council are trying to have the town clock returned to Llanrwst (Mr Thompson).

However, this resurrection of the town's heritage was not always welcomed unquestioningly by the locals. Some respondents talked about the 'English in-migrants' who were not consulting with other members of the community on the projects, and argued that there were other needs that were not being met. The almshouses (originally erected in 1610 to house twelve poor people), for example, were to provide a facility for elderly persons to meet, and yet this perceived need by the key movers of the project did not seem to meet with some local people's approval:

Nobody has asked me if I want to use the almshouses as a day centre, what about the young people? (Mr Roberts).

Of course in any type of project, there will always be disagreement, but what was significant in the local context was the construction of conflicting opinions around Welsh and English cultural difference. This cultural dimension of the local/in-migrant or insider/outsider dynamic has been discussed by other writers on rural Wales (for example, Frankenberg, 1957; Emmett, 1982; Cloke et al, 1997; Day and Murdoch, 1993), although it has not been linked in any substantial way to issues of crime, deviance and disorder (see chapters one and seven).

In the last decade of the twentieth century Llanrwst witnessed the proposition of a small number of projects from English people who had moved

into the area some years previously. Local respondents interviewed perceived these English people as interfering, and explained that this had resulted in a mobilisation of opposition to the said projects, meaning that things did not always run smoothly. This was quite clearly the case for a proposed youth drop-in centre, a movement initiated by a number of English people living in the town and the surrounding hinterland and quite vehemently opposed to by some of the local townspeople (see chapter five).

Possibly this conflict could be explained by a lack of awareness on the part of the English people who had moved into the area, in that they did not understand fully the significance to local people of particular architectural sites. Or perhaps, and seemingly more likely in this case, the conflict had deeper roots that lay in local perceptions about a threatened traditional community and culture from outside forces (see later discussion).

Clearly the town hall had a major symbolic value for local people, and one could argue that if this had been on the top of the restoration agenda things may well have been different. Restoring such a building would perhaps signify a reinstatement of a move towards community cohesiveness and tradition. However, in the case of this building it would have proved a difficult restoration because the building had actually been razed to the ground, and would therefore, have to be rebuilt or re-sited.

The implementation of a drop-in centre clearly did not have the same symbolic value as the old town hall, and neither did the restoration of the almshouses as a museum and day centre for the elderly. The importance of the concept of a traditional community seemed to lie at the heart of any opposition to change for locals.

Ironically, 'the community' was also cited by some in-migrants as standing in the way of change. However, what differed was whilst locals perceived the idea of community as a good thing that needed to be maintained, the in-migrants seemed to perceive particular aspects of community in a negative light that stood in the way of progress:

There is a lack of awareness of the real world in the community. This is not Saesneg (English) talk but actual experience through membership of the Rotary and Chamber of Commerce... There are serious problems in the town and plans for town development are half hearted and not going to come (Mr Hawkins).

Just four miles from Llanrwst is the popular tourist resort of Betws-y-Coed, which attracts a much wider spectrum of visitors than does Llanrwst town. Llanrwst, although having a river, the Eagles Hotel and a number of public houses, tea shops and historic sites of interest, did not seem able to compete in the same way. Some residents who had moved into the area blamed the apathetic attitude of local people, who allegedly failed to do anything in terms of attracting more tourists:

...the town has so much apathy, it takes so long to do something...I can't understand why they put up with things (Mr Hawkins).

This was, however, a viewpoint put forward from the business community, whom it can be said, had a vested interest in promoting Llanrwst. Nevertheless, it was not an isolated one. Members of a local committee set up in the wake of the Planning for Real Exercise⁷ also noted the apathy on the part of locals in getting things off the ground:

If it wasn't for the National Lottery it [the almshouses renovation] would probably still be in progress. It is different in urban areas, as in rural areas it is the same people having to contribute all the time (Mr Thompson).

The 'same people' was a reference to the middle class people who had moved into the area. Urry (1995:156) has argued that:

...normally conservation is sought in relationship to some aspect of the built environment which is taken to stand for or represent the locality in question. It is not merely that the object is historical, but that the object signifies the place and that if the object were to be

⁷ The Planning for Real exercise is based on the use of a 3D model set up in a public place: local residents are able to select suggestion cards or write on blank colour coded cards their suggestions for improvements in the town which are subsequently placed on the model (Neighbourhood Initiatives Foundation, 1998).

demolished or substantially changed then that would signify a threat to the place itself.

And he has further explained that normally such conservation groups are led by members of a town or city who may originate from elsewhere. These middle class professionals develop a strong attachment to their new place and in so doing become 'localised'. They may not be original 'locals', yet they become bound up with tradition and nostalgia for their new home, and thereby, try to recreate a sense of the past through becoming members of conservation groups. The motivation for this kind of movement he argues, is often focused around the concept of community.

In the case of Llanrwst, Urry's (1995) reference to the localisation of middle class professionals seemed to apply up to the point that they moved in and attempted to make the place 'their own'. However, a contradiction arose in the case of Llanrwst in that the middle class professionals focused their attentions on conserving their own sense of tradition. This did not necessarily meet with local townspeople's ideas of tradition. It seems the middle class professionals imported their own version of community.

Conflicting versions of what constitutes the rural community has often led to disagreement in different contexts, and this was the case in Llanrwst. This is because in a wider context, constructions of rurality have been contained within, and reinforced by, various academic, political and lay discourses that surround particular notions of class, race, gender, power and national identity (see chapter one). They are constructions that have been presented in a positive manner within a dominant rural discourse and have both provided and reinforced representations of the harmonious rural community where:

...each person accepts his or his own class position within a hierarchical society: the 'countrywoman' happily restricted to informal work within the domestic sphere: a contented rural poor looked after by fellow villagers: field 'sports' providing a continuity of traditional country practices into the present: and a sea of white faces living within rural spaces which invoke powerful and

mythical symbolism as 'our green and pleasant land' (Milbourne, 1997:2).

Added to this, in recent years the countryside has witnessed major social changes, such as counter-urbanisation, a decline in the once dominant agrarian economy and a growing service sector employment. This has meant that there have been many new in-migrants moving into the countryside who bring with them their own particular perceptions of rural life and living. Agrarian values are no longer the dominant norm within rural environments as exemplified in the court injunction served on the owner of Corky the Cockerel in 1993 for noise pollution (Stokes, 1993), or the opposition to a pig farm being extended in Somerset. Raymond Williams summed up this contradiction when he referred to the paradoxical relationship between the importance of the working rural economy and the cultural importance of rural ideas (Williams, 1973).

In the case of Llanrwst, however, added to this general context of rural change was the dimension of Welsh culture meeting English culture. The former was locally constructed as embedded in selected positive representations of the traditional community, the latter embedded in selected negative representations of modernity (see chapter one).

The different meanings constructed locally around tradition and modernity and therefore, locals and in-migrants, were inextricably linked to cultural differences. However, in reality it was far from a fusion of cultures. Rather the different constructions acted as markers of cultural identity, maintained boundaries between cultures, and at the same time reinforced and defended the imagined community in the face of a perceived threat from outside. Nowhere were these underlying dynamics more apparent during the fieldwork phase and subsequent analysis, than in the local cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. It was a categorisation of double symbolic value: explicitly it symbolised cultural identity, implicitly it symbolised underlying concerns about the imagined community. It acted as both a defensive and mobilising strategy at the local level.

The outside world encroaches

As already discussed in chapter three, Llanrwst has experienced an in-migration of people from outside the area into both private residences (rented or bought) and into social housing. Respondents interviewed during the course of the research quoted a number of reasons for either their own in-migration or that of others. For those respondents who had moved into the area, personal reasons were cited as: to retire, to set up a business, to move nearer to family, or just to move to the country and escape the crime and pollution of their former neighbourhood. Explanations for the in-migration of others, however, tended to differentiate between the middle class in-migrants and the more socially disadvantaged in-migrants (see later discussion).

Both groups presented a visible phenomenon of social and cultural change at a ground level for local people. The more affluent working and retired middle-class in-migrants from England represented particular aspects of perceived threat. Socially and economically they competed for limited resources, housing, for example, pricing locals out of the market, and thus the local area⁸. Culturally, they were perceived as not being versed in local traditions, the Welsh language, for example. They were therefore, by default not guardians nor reproducers of Welsh traditional culture and society.

These two issues of housing and language have proved to be of particular importance at the beginning of the twenty first century for North Wales generally. Both local and national debates have re-emerged surrounding these issues, as well as the formation of Cymuned, a Welsh political movement set up to address such issues (see chapter three). One incident during January 2002 provides an exemplar, although it cannot be taken as a representative one, of the conflict surrounding the maintenance of the Welsh language. A slogan was daubed on the side of a house in Llanberis in Gwynedd (the next county to Conwy), stating 'learn Welsh you English twat'. This slogan openly exemplified the viewpoint of some Welsh people who believe English in-migrants are not integrating into the Welsh culture.

A view also, it seems, endorsed by the current Home Secretary, David Blunkett, as he advocated stringent new tests for asylum seekers hoping to gain British citizenship:

Newcomers to any community must respect its culture and learn the language (BBC News Bulletin, www, 2002).

He went on to say that as part of a package of sweeping reforms to the UK immigration system, asylum applicants must pass a test in English, Welsh or the Scottish language. This is perhaps somewhat ironic, in that it is a view originating from national government stating that asylum seekers have to provide evidence through the sitting of a language test to show their respect of a community's culture and language. It raises the question of whether it is a directive relating to any newcomers to a community, or just newcomers who are in fact asylum seekers.

Similar to the local perceptions about middle class in-migrants moving to Llanrwst, other less socially privileged in-migrants were also perceived to participate in behaviours that were incongruent with traditional rural community life. However, it was a far more potent incongruence in that it challenged the whole spectrum of local and imported constructions of an imagined traditional community. For example, these in-migrants were believed to participate in drug related crime, live in temporary accommodation, hang around town and be in receipt of benefits.

There was a widespread belief by both locals and in-migrants interviewed that social services were housing 'problem families' in the area:

It is social engineering and pass the parcel where the problem is shifted to North Wales by Social Services. It is outrageous. It is a done deal with Social Services. There are not many of them, but it does not need many dysfunctional people to affect a community (Mr Collins).

⁸ Employment is another factor and local people may move to another area in search of work, leaving local homes vacant. In-migrants moving into the area may have different priorities, for example, moving in to retire rather than looking for employment.

Respondents also believed that the housing associations had a policy that included housing socially disadvantaged people from outside the area. One estate recently built by the housing association had originally had a policy of renting out a percentage of their houses, and partially renting others whereby the tenant could purchase a part ownership via a mortgage. However, a number of the tenants were unable to afford the mortgage repayments and reverted to a 100% rental agreement. The estate was referred to locally as 'Giro City'.

It was believed that the local authority housed people in Llanrwst because of a deal they had with other local authorities who wanted to be rid of 'their problem families':

It is cheaper for authorities to house people in this area and rid their problem...they have not paid their taxes here and we have limited resources. What about the locals who have paid their taxes. It is a nation-wide problem not just Llanrwst (Mr Huws).

A local holiday village complex situated in the town was used by the local authority for housing people from outside. It was used as temporary accommodation for homeless persons from both Llanrwst and outside the area. The local authority advised that they were unable to prevent the private sector making someone homeless. For example, someone may move into the area into private accommodation, and find after one year they are evicted and therefore, homeless. The local authority would then have to review the case, and if the evidence was that the person(s) were unintentionally homeless there was a legal obligation to provide accommodation. The local authority acknowledged that whilst this may not be a very acceptable practice locally, it was a decision making process that was bound by the Homeless Persons Act, 1985:

Homeless people come from places like Manchester and Birmingham with children and are housed in the holiday village. People can live in the chalets for 2 years and then get re-housed in Llanrwst. It is the first stop and an element that is not very acceptable (Mr Thomas).

Although both the middle-class and socially disadvantaged groups of in-migrants represented change for respondents interviewed, it was the latter that seemed to represent, and were represented as, a visible threat to the townspeople of Llanrwst. Whilst the former tended to be more of an aggravation in terms of interference, the latter became the stereotype of the typical in-migrant: English, socially disadvantaged, a symbol of modernity and a threat to the traditional community. Aspects of their behaviour (criminal, deviant and disordered) were perceived to mark an 'unfamiliar' lifestyle compared to the 'healthier' disorder (fighting and drunken behaviour) of the local Welsh population (see later discussion).

Imagined community: tradition, myth and reality

Identity

Village life seems to proceed at its own pace, with its own priorities, undisturbed by the upheavals of war, politics and the modern urban rat-race. The timbered cottage, and quaint country pub, clustered around the ancient church and village green summarise our rural heritage (Newby, 1988:31).

The rural idyllic image of Britain's countryside has long endured (see chapter one), and the contrast between city and country life has played a prominent role in the national psyche for centuries. That is not to say that the image is a constant one, rather it has varied across time and space. For example, whereas one person may view rurality as encompassing 'the good life' and 'back to nature' with a helping hand from Laura Ashley⁹, for another it may present a harsher existence of agricultural labour, isolation and poverty. As already discussed in chapter one, the exact structure of the social representation of rurality is not a simple interpretation as it consists of:

...an amalgam of personal experiences and 'traditional' handed-down beliefs propagated through literature, the media, the state.

⁹ The Times, 30 January 1997 refers to the 'Laura Ashley factor' as the reason some people decide to leave the city and move to a rural area. Laura Ashley is a retail company that focuses on consumer goods that symbolise country living: floral fabrics and rustic furniture (Morris and Morton, 1998:32).

family friends and institutions...this 'knowledge' will be both spatially and socially variable (Halfacree, 1993:33).

Constructed versions of rurality are amply provided for in the geographical environment of the Snowdonia National Park (in which the Conwy Valley is situated) in North Wales both in a local and broader context. This is because geographically it is an area of lowland and upland farming dominated by the natural architecture of a vast mountainous range. At a local level this has long provided an environment suitable for very little else but the hill farms situated across the region. In more recent times the mountains have had a broader appeal, promoted as a temporary solace to the climbers and walkers escaping from the hustle and bustle of their city lives.

It seems that even in the face of rural economic and social change (see earlier discussion) the agricultural tradition has maintained a significant symbolic presence in the mindset of locals and those living farther afield when reference is made to the landscape of North Wales:

Farming is still pre-eminently the local occupation in this area, and the town of Llanrwst, a little further on, is characterised by agriculture. Llanrwst is the market town of the Conwy valley. It always has been, and it is easy to believe that it always will be. It serves not only the large farming community of the valley itself, but the farming uplands all around. It often seems as if everyone there is occupied in one way or another with the farming industry. Large and sturdy with pink faces and muddy gumboots. In the pubs at night (and like all old-established towns with a strong settled community it has pubs everywhere) they sit in the corners with their caps on and talk in Welsh about farming (Senior, 1987:48).

Gwyn Hughes Jones, the Welsh opera star hailing from Anglesey, sang in the Farm Aid concert held during 2001 to try and raise funds for farmers hit by the foot and mouth crisis. In an interview with a local paper he exemplified the important part agriculture plays in rural Wales in the formation of a Welsh identity:

The agrarian way of life has played a big part in the everyday way of life in Wales. It is part of the identity of the Welsh way of life.

To see that disappear is a tragedy. whatever we can do to try to keep it, we are obliged to do it (McDowell, 2001).

Hillside farms, often inaccessible during bad weather, are scattered across the rugged and difficult terrain of the Conwy and neighbouring Ogwen Valleys. Such a lifestyle involves hard manual labour, working both with and against the elements of nature. Notwithstanding the recent hardships of farming brought to the fore by the contemporary crises: BSE and foot and mouth disease, it still retains its lifestyle image, long set apart, as a clean healthy life in contrast to the industrial nature of the city:

The farmer-peasant environment, on the contrary, has been much more 'natural' and much more identical with that to which man has been trained by thousands of years of preceding history. The basic impulses of man, as they have been shaped by the past, are to be satisfied much easier in the environment and by the occupational activity of the farmer. There is neither lack of nature, nor the killing monotony of work, nor extreme specialisation, nor one-sidedness. His standard of living may be as low as that of a proletarian; his house or lodging may be as bad; and yet the whole character of his structure of living is quite different and healthier and more natural (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929:466-7).

The intensive labour and naturalness bound up with this traditional lifestyle harks back to the Protestant ethic (Weber, 1930) where hard work was believed to be the saviour of the soul. Although of course, a contradiction arises in the drunken and disordered behaviour of local farmers (see later discussion), which was clearly a damned behaviour by the Calvinists in Weber's account.

In the market town of Llanrwst and the surrounding uplands, linking agriculture with Welshness and with a healthy lifestyle, meant that a Welsh identity and culture had come to represent for respondents the beacon to hold up in the face of social and economic change. The changes as already discussed were believed to be, and were therefore constructed as, a threat to the good clean living they associated with a traditional Welsh lifestyle and culture.

In order for the respondents to hold on to their version of traditional rural life perceived as under threat from outside influences, their ideal needed to become a reality, an imagined community (Anderson, 1983 and chapter one).

The imagined community could then be held up as an exemplar, a symbol of a 'way of life' believed to be worth holding on to, and a defence against change. Of course this version is selected and selective in its make-up, and respondents interviewed seemed to have their own ideas of what the imagined community meant to them (see following discussion). As Cohen (1985) has argued, community is what it means or symbolises to people.

Community

Community is a multi-faceted concept (see chapter one). It has been highly contested within academic discourse, particularly if we try to understand what the term actually means (Hillery, 1955; Stacey, 1969; Cohen, 1985; Day, 1998). It seems we have come a long way in structuring the concept of community in terms of the *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* dichotomy espoused by Tönnies (1955, first published 1887) in his analysis of social change towards the end of the nineteenth century. Yet as Bell and Newby (1971) have pointed out, even after two hundred years of grappling with the concept, there is still no satisfactory definition.

However, the idea of community was not problematic in terms of constructing a definition for respondents in Llanrwst and the surrounding area. For them although it was under threat, it was something that still existed in the town:

Look at that man picking up rubbish in the street...he is a mathematician who gave up his job to look after his aged parents...it is community at work (Mr Huws).

The idea of community seemed to represent taking responsibility for other members, a sense of belonging and a familiarity. They were forms of behaviour that were linked to a traditional lifestyle, and therefore, they were related in this context. It was a kind of implicit binding of the concept of community to a traditional lifestyle. Respondents assumed what community meant at a local level to them. Therefore, they did not consider other versions of community that may also have had similar characteristics as Young and

Willmott 1957) found in their study of family and kinship in East London (see chapter one).

What seemed to matter in Llanrwst was that the idea of community, or more precisely, elements of the imagined community, were being threatened from outside: '...community is important, but outsiders affect it (Mr Huws)'. The powerful image of what constituted the traditional community had become a reference point very much alive in the minds of the inhabitants of Llanrwst in contemporary times:

When I was young you knew everyone, but now you don't know half or even quarter. There are new estates and not the same community spirit. You don't know who your next door neighbour will be (Mrs Davis).

However, the version may well have differed in its ingredients according to the situational context of the construction, for example, one local inhabitant born and brought up in Llanrwst remembered how:

...we entertained ourselves and were never bored [when I was a child], today children want to be entertained...Saturday night was the focal point, we had the cinema (Mrs Davis).

Another resident who had moved to Llanrwst during the 1960s from outside the area talked about how:

It has changed in the last 30 years. Less assertiveness about nationality in those days. When I first came I was happy to be in a foreign country, I felt as I would a stranger in France. There was little TV as no reception and things were gentler. There was no choice in the shops, for example, you could only buy cheddar. There was a sweetness about the place. It has changed (Mr Collins).

The idea of community had a presence through its historically constructed context, and represented a resource upon which to draw and contrast the changes that were being experienced by the town, changes that were perceived as a threat to a 'way of life'. Such fears are not new. Across time and space, social change has conjured up contrasting thoughts and feelings about a golden

era, when community was believed to have been very much alive (Elias, 1974; Pearson, 1983) (see chapter one).

Foucault (1973) has talked about how ideas and ways of interpreting the social world give rise to new forms of knowledge. This knowledge can then be used as a controlling factor over the individuals or groups to whom this knowledge appertains. In this way, it could be argued that the imagined community acted as a knowledge base of power for respondents, because out of its reality manifested a controlling element exemplified through its institutionalisation and reproduction at a local level (see chapters five and six). The imagined community through its symbolic power emanated influence and images that were indiscriminately drawn from tradition, myth and reality. It was indiscriminate because all three sources had become inseparable (see following discussion).

For example, even when reference was made by some of the older respondents to any conflict during their youth, this was constructed as somehow innocent and acceptable:

There was a terrace at the back of Watling Street by the swimming pool and the washing line would cross the road. There were fights from time to time, but there is nothing wrong with a good healthy fight (Mr Thomas).

Respondents also believed that any problems that may have arisen historically had been controlled within the confines of the town, and therefore were socially controlled from within:

Policemen were respected then. There was Mr Morgan who was respected right up until his death. The policemen carried sticks in those days, and they would take anyone causing trouble out of sight and give them a good hiding. If someone was acting hard on a Saturday night then after being taken out of sight they would not be so hard the next Saturday night (Mr Efans).

Social control

However, there was a belief that this control had eroded. Respondents referred to the diminution of power at a local level to control any crime and conflict.

and this was believed to relate to the changes that had taken place in the role of the local police. Respondents referred to the disappearance of the community policeman and the fact that now they did not know who the police were:

Today there is a big fuss, they bring policemen in who do not understand the local culture. For example, a carload of police was brought in from Kinmel Bay. The farmers lads held the doors so the police were locked in. They should have stopped further away and crept in...nowadays you don't know the police...today policemen are told not to have a go but sometimes it helps (Mr Thomas).

Many of the town's perceived problems were attributed to the changing relationship between the police and the public, and members contrasted this to a time when local people and the police worked together. An ex-policeman, for example, working in the town in the early 1950s remembered when:

We would report every hour to the police station. We had a good rapport with the public. A group of Teddy boys came in from Bangor and I was asked 'would you like to go for a walk so we can sort it out?' [by the locals] I went round the block and by the time I had come back the Teddy Boys were all back on the bus heading for Bangor...Petty crime was sorted on the spot. If a bike was stolen, someone would say who had it. We would call in person and say 'take that bloody bike back and don't do it again' and that would be enough. No criminal record, more devilism than crime...Old fashioned policing is what it is about...fights we would join in and solve it that way...if you are walking about you will see the same people going to work, shops etc (about their business), that is what community policing is all about...the Wild West is not true, any problems could be solved by old fashioned policing. In the 1950s kids wouldn't dare stop in the street, they would be moved along (Mr Thomas).

The move from a familiar to an unfamiliar relationship with the police was a sign of the changing nature of policing – the patrol car, the demise of the community policeman, and bringing in officers from outside the area in times of need. At one time, there would have been a greater reliance on the old familiar police residences within towns and villages and the bobby on the beat.

However, it is noteworthy that historical ideas about social control are again appearing on the agenda. One local newspaper, for example, reported a

new revolution in policing as the Chief Constable for North Wales. Richard Brunstrom, advocated 'old ways in a modern style' by introducing 'new style community managers, more policemen, more outposts and copshops to build bridges with the people of North West Wales' (Ellams, 2001).

Unfamiliarity was also a key concept referred to by respondents in terms of people moving into the area. It was of concern that they no longer knew their neighbours. This represented a perceived loss of control, as one could not predict (or police) a person's behaviour based on reference to family members, because they had no background information on their families:

Families from outside mean there is no control by the community. For example, we would know the father so we would understand the son's behaviour. We could say the father was like that but he grew out of it. We would know if a person was trouble because of their family background (Mr Huws).

A similar perception of community control through familiarity of family background is exemplified in a case reported at the time of writing on a village in mid-Wales:

[a neighbour] described the Mason family as very quiet people, never causing any trouble. He said: "They have been in Llanbadarn for more than 100 years as a family and they had a milk round for a long time until Dai Mason retired" (Williams, 2001).

Of course blaming the outsider is not a new idea, and historically it was also a method of maintaining social control between people living in the same area. Blaming the traveller, gypsy or transient worker for criminal offences such as theft avoided any confrontation between neighbours (see chapter three).

In Llanrwst during the earlier part of the nineteenth century there was an area known as Scotland Street which was a:

poor area of back to back terraces of people living in dire poverty...people poached to survive and it was known as the slums of Llanrwst (Mr Williams).

It was however, still remembered as a close knit community:

Scotland street was more than just one street then, it was a community with lots of streets off it and small shops like the fish shop. There were a few on the dole but mostly they had jobs...The community was very close though, and if there was a death or someone needed help then everyone helped (Mr Efans).

Any problems associated with the area were related to the gypsies who lived in some of the houses on the street:

There were some gypsies that lived at the end of Narrow Street that was worse than Scotland Street [in Llanrwst]. They used to throw swill at you from the windows...the murder, they say the knife was found in the river and there were fingerprints on it that pointed to the gypsies. One of whom was the brother-in-law and that the wife was covering up for him (Mr Efans).

The views about historical methods of social control put forward by respondents were however a partial construction. They were grounded in a romanticised idealisation of country life. This version effectively screened out any 'real' problems in a traditional community setting (see chapters one and three). Any crime and disorder that was mentioned by respondents tended to be either trivialised or unproblematised through perceptions about self regulation. Contrasting traditional and modern versions of social control acted to emphasise the latter as problematic. The in-migrants were unfamiliar, and therefore, they were constructed as difficult to control.

Marking community and belonging: drawing boundaries of cultural identity

Signifiers of cultural identity and belonging can follow a number of representations or characteristics – including birthplace, skin colour, religion, language – that are variable dependent upon context. For example, the sociological literature has attributed variables such as length of residence, degree of participation and so on. More recently, Crow et al (2001:29) have argued that the distinction between insider and outsider status is much more complex than a single dimension of length of residence:

...in-migrants should not be equated with outsiders, since their position within community relations will be influenced by several other factors, notably social class and employment status, household type, position in kinship networks, age and gender. The insider/outsider distinction is therefore more complex than is allowed in approaches that reduce it to a single dimension related to length of residence.

In the context of Llanrwst town and the surrounding uplands, identity and belonging were indeed complex issues. In addition to the factors quoted by Crow et al, rural North Wales also necessitates the consideration of the cultural dimension. This is because as discussed earlier language is inextricably bound up with cultural identity and behaviour based on underlying concerns about dichotomous concepts such as traditional/modern and local/in-migrant.

Geography

One way of identifying cultural differentiation at a grassroots level was accorded to where one lived. If you resided in Llanrwst town you were perceived to be a townie, and if you lived in the surrounding uplands you were perceived to be a josgyn:

Anyone from outside is known as a farmer, it is a case of them and us if you do not live in Llanrwst town itself (Mrs Owen).

Shields (1991:46) has argued that images of place are constructed in everyday discourse, and that such constructions act as comprehensible spatial markers that implicitly encompass more complex associations:

Spatialisation manifests itself in conversation topics in that images of places and regions are often cited and commented upon (i.e. discourses on space). It is a means to express ideas – an intellectual shorthand whereby spatial metaphors and place images can convey a complex set of associations without the speaker having to think deeply and to specify exactly which associations or images he or she intends.

In this study the simplified differentiation of cultural identity according to place proved also to be a complex issue on further analysis. It was a marker in terms of geographical context (usage of space), but this was just one variable

amongst a number of others that influenced perceptions of cultural identity and belonging. A person's cultural identity, therefore, did not have a 'fixed' nature. For example, someone may be perceived as a josgyn if they lived in the surrounding uplands, even if they were not a farmer. Similarly someone may be a townie if they lived in the town, but still a josgyn if they attended a traditional Welsh institution such as the young farmers club or had a very Welsh accent. Dependent on context therefore, one could be both a josgyn and a townie at different times (see chapter six).

In Llanrwst, respondents believed that people from the hinterland belonged to their version of community in the sense that they epitomised the traditional agricultural way of life. They may have been geographically situated outside the town, but they were believed to play a significant role in the daily life of the market town, even in the current agricultural crises. As Peay (1999:191) has pointed out:

...in order for the notion of community to have any force, there has to be an outside threat which makes membership of the group attractive. Thus, the perception of being part of a community may have little to do with geographical boundaries.

Farmers represented a traditional Welsh culture:

They [farmers] have a different culture from the towns, a rural culture (Mr Thomas).

and this served two main functions. First, it was a reference point to draw strongly from in the face of threat from outside change:

I wish my children had got together with the local Welsh farming community as they are hard working Welsh families. It is traditional Welsh farming culture to work hard. There are three cultures: English, Welsh and the 'in-betweens...if it was just the English [middle class in-migrants] and the traditional Welsh then they would get on, but it is the in-betweens [socially disadvantaged in-migrants and bilingual townies] that cause problems...the in-betweens are not the traditional Welsh (Mr Jarvis).

Second, it provided a reference point for a townie status that was Welsh, but an anglicised Welsh. It was clearly different to a josgyn (farmer) status, yet at the same time it was not English (see later discussion).

Language

Within the boundaries of this discussion there is as already stated the issue of language, which by its very nature is a system of separation for its speakers, dependent on their degree of fluency. For example, in the area of Education the local secondary school divides pupils up according to three categories: Welsh (pupils who speak Welsh as a first language); bilingual (pupils who speak English as a first language) and English (pupils who do not speak Welsh and are Welsh learners). The Ysgol Dyffryn Conwy school prospectus for 1999-2000 stated that its language policy was 'in accordance with the Local Education Authority's policy' and was aimed 'to develop the pupils' ability to speak Welsh 'so that they can play a full part in the bilingual society to which they belong' (2000:30).

In Llanrwst and the surrounding areas, the Welsh language is spoken in different degrees, and its symbolic significance in separating out cultural identity is also a dominant factor in relationships both within and across the daily lives of both locals and in-migrants:

When my wife was in the local bakers at Christmas time, the shop assistant turned to serve another person after she heard [my wife's] English accent...the Welsh language is an issue and there are entrenched attitudes linked to the Welsh culture which leads to exclusion (Mr Hawkins).

Data from the 1991 Census shows that 64.4% of the population of Llanrwst currently speak Welsh (CCBC, 1997), which is a significant contrast to the figure of 89% quoted in the 1921 census (Gwynedd County Council, 1999) (see chapter three). The vast majority of contemporary Welsh speakers are bilingual and no figures exist for any person(s) that may be monoglot Welsh speakers. In the upland areas where some of the respondents lived, the

percentage of Welsh speakers also differed. Llangernw had 70% Welsh speakers, for example, Ysbyty Ifan 89% and Dolwyddelan 66%.

Accent was also a significant factor in that when speaking English one could have a quite distinct Welsh accent or a more anglicised accent, and that in itself acted as a marker of identity:

I have an English accent but I am Welsh. My grandparents were Welsh, farming in the locality. I went to boarding school and lost my Welsh accent and the ability to speak the language. I returned to the area six years ago...people are viewed as appearing to be English when in fact they are Welsh. (Mr Edwards).

Speaking Welsh has been in and out of fashion across time (see chapter three) and although taught in the schools (now being compulsory), locally its status has fluctuated:

My family settled well and my children went to school in Llanrwst. At that time Denbighshire County Council had declared you could not learn Welsh until the age of seven if you were English. That separated the English and Welsh and created an animosity, although it was friendly (Mr Thompson).

Although around two thirds of the population in Llanrwst speak Welsh (CCBC, 1997), locally many of the local residents referred to it largely in terms of its anglicised status: 'Llanrwst is an English town' (Heulwen). However, this did depend on who was giving the definition, for example, English in-migrants tended to view the town as being very Welsh.

Any language can be understood as a symbolic representation of the world we come to know (Elias, 1999), but it is more than mere representation of reality in an objective sense. Language is also a medium for our subjective interpretations. Subjective interpretations of the Welsh language have a particular prominence in Welsh history, as the language has long been the subject of oppression (the Welsh not) and promotion (Cymdeithas Yr Iaith) dependent upon the cause (see chapter three).

Language has long been a contentious issue, and still is. For townies it is perceived as not being fashionable (modern) to speak Welsh, and some people who could speak Welsh chose to speak English:

People in Llanrwst talk English even though they [can] speak Welsh (Mrs Owen).

Speaking Welsh with a distinct Welsh accent was perceived as characteristic of a josgyn identity, an identity referred to as 'gwenny' (old fashioned). To highlight the discussion so far of the difference perceived between josgyns and townies, reference will be made to two local institutions for young people: the youth club and the young farmers club (see also chapter five).

The youth club in Llanrwst is an exemplar of the anglicisation of Llanrwst. The children all speak English while attending this youth club (although some are bilingual). Those children that are Welsh speaking from the town, and have Welsh speaking friends, will go to another youth club in Llanddoged just outside Llanrwst:

The youth club in Llanddoged is all in Welsh whilst the youth club in Llanrwst is English. Kids come from Llanrwst because it is Welsh and they have friends from school in Llanddoged (Heulwen).

The young farmers club meetings are conducted in Welsh, and those that attended did not also attend Llanrwst youth club:

Young farmers would not go to the youth club in Llanrwst (Mrs Owen).

In-migrants

In-migrants as discussed earlier were broadly perceived to come from two categories, the middle class in-migrants moving in to start a business, take up a professional position or to retire. They were accepted to a degree, although they were often perceived at the very least as interfering, and at worst victimised against. For example, one English in-migrant recalled how he was

called an 'English fat pig' and his children were bullied by young people from the town.

The second category of in-migrants were perceived as constituting the 'real' problem. They were the socially disadvantaged in-migrants who were perceived as having been brought into the area by official agencies such as social services and housing departments (see earlier discussion). This group signified for respondents the changing nature of the community – a loss of control, an unfamiliar neighbourhood, a harbinger of modernity and all its ills: crime, drugs, poverty, unruly children and non-participants in community life (socially excluded). They were a category, therefore, constructed as a risk, because they were perceived to challenge the 'very nature' of traditional community life.

This construction was not only activated by local respondents, but also by middle class in-migrants who had ironically moved to Llanrwst to escape the crime of city life, for example, one couple explained:

One reason we came to Llanrwst was to escape the crime and pollution of the city (Mr Hawkins)...my son is on New Deal [working locally] and is with lots of criminals from Liverpool and along the coast – Abergele and Rhyl – who list their skills as stealing cars (Mrs Jennings).

The middle classes

The country village has always had a special place in our affections. To many of us it represents the ideal community. We take it for granted that village life provokes a sense of neighbourliness and friendship – a sense of belonging (Newby, 1988:31).

The taken for granted assumption of harmony in rural community life has long survived the legacy of the traditional rural community studies conducted in the first half of the twentieth century by researchers such as Arensberg and Kimball (1940), Rees (1950) and Davies and Rees (1960). However, later studies of belonging and community have since alerted us to the inherent

conflict within rural life, that it is not all neighbourly and friendly (Bowie, 1993; Day and Murdoch, 1993; Jones, N., 1992) (see chapter one).

Crow et al (2001) based their community study on the insider/outsider distinction in community sociology and looked at other factors besides length of residence (see earlier discussion). The respondents in this study similarly pointed to other factors that they perceived as marking a sense of belonging to the community as discussed above, for example, geographical residence, boundaries of the imagined community and language. Another area respondents referred to was their degree of involvement in community activities and associations:

We had no problems when we moved here [from England]. We were accepted by the community. I joined the PTA and was on the town council for 10 years (Mr Thompson).

Crow et al (2001:30) have highlighted the fact that there are a number of measures of how a person becomes an insider/outsider in community life, one of which is the degree of involvement in the community, and then this is by no means a fixed status:

Complexity and fluidity of the boundaries around community 'insiders' and 'outsiders' mean they can be contested. 'Insiders' defined in terms of length of residence are often presumed to dominate relations with 'outsiders' but they do not always do so...In short, the boundaries that delimit insider and outsider statuses are neither simple nor fixed.

This also appeared to be the case in Llanrwst where although some of the residents of Llanrwst who had moved in from outside felt that they belonged, they sometimes did not participate fully in all matters of daily life in the town:

When I was on the town council, if the talk was on the Histeddfod or local Welsh tradition then I took a back seat, unless I was asked something specifically. Locals knew more about Welsh tradition and culture than I did (Mr Thompson).

However, this was not necessarily a voluntary exclusion, as it was exacerbated by other issues such as degree of ability in the Welsh language and familiarity with cultural tradition:

On a Sunday, we go to [the café] for lunch after chapel. [My son] noticed a young girl working and I asked him about her. [He] said it was a 'no-go' as she was Welsh Welsh [and we are English]'. There are divisions across language, culture and money (Mr Jarvis).

There may have been language differences and a lack of understanding of cultural issues, but there were also other perceived personal difficulties that may not necessarily be culturally linked or appertaining to insider/outsider status. For example, one respondent, originally from England, felt that he could not send his daughter to the local primary school because of a conflict of interest in political matters. He and the headmaster had fought three local elections, and he did not want a situation that may affect his daughter's schooling:

...say my daughter was not getting on or something, then I may feel it is because of the elections, so it is better not to have that situation (Mr Ball).

The self-perception of belonging by some in-migrants, however, was not a view held by some locals, rather the in-migrants' participation in local political circles was referred to in terms of interference and 'how we should have our own people' (see also earlier discussion):

Problems have been created by people like [him]. He is a stirrer and people like him have their own agenda like promoting their own esteem and status (Mr Thomas).

Acceptance according to participation was therefore selective, dependent upon which organisation or institution one was eligible to join, and then this still may not have signified a total sense of belonging:

[I was] accepted by the Rotary totally, but for example, the choir, it would be difficult. The lady next door does not speak, yet sends us

a Christmas card. If we see her in town she avoids us (Mr Hawkins).

In this sense one only belonged as far as the organisation allowed, and in some cases membership was itself exclusionary as in the case of the drop-in centre committee members (see earlier discussion and chapter five). Membership of a particular organisation may therefore, act to symbolise one's outsider and English status within the local community, a position further exemplified by another respondent:

One day the teacher asked the class who they [that is, their families] voted for and half the class said Plaid Cymru, the other half said Neil Kinnock and [my daughter] said Margaret Thatcher. The teacher burst out laughing. [She] came home crying and I sent the children to private school (Mr Jarvis).

This respondent and his family felt that they were outsiders, although they had lived in the town for twelve years, and despite the fact that his grandparents had farmed in the area. They had experienced hostility from when they first came to the area:

We met with hostility when we came here. People told us to go back to where we came from. We received telephone calls, were shouted abuse at and had graffiti displayed on my property (Mr Jarvis).

Socially disadvantaged people

People who moved into the area from outside into temporary, private letting or social housing were perceived as being those responsible for any crime committed in the town. They were believed to be detrimental to rural community life as they brought with them a different lifestyle that stood outside of what was constructed as constituting a traditional lifestyle:

People move into the area from outside and cause big problems. They are splitting the community. They live in the flats and come into the holiday village. They have a Llanrwst address and some move to three-bedroomed houses from the flats but tend to move back to the flats as it is an environment they know and also they know others in the flats like themselves. They cause problems like

stealing, [they are] heroin addicts. They do not get on with locals. it is more than language as Welsh is not a problem in Llanrwst if you don't speak it (Mr Williams).

Although they were largely believed to be English in-migrants one respondents' did also talk of in-migrants from the coastal areas of North Wales:

In winter [the holiday village accommodation] is let to the local council. Two families from Stoke-on-Trent caused problems. They broke into the meter. One of the families was a woman with children who was re-housed from Stoke-on-Trent to Colwyn Bay [Women's] refuge. Her husband found her so she was moved to Llanrwst. It is not just the English. One family in December 1998 moved from Colwyn Bay as their house had a fire. The husband broke into six bungalows on the site and [into] the change machine within days of moving here (Mr Jarvis).

This group of in-migrants allegedly had little respect for rural life:

Last summer vegetables were stolen from an allotment by these people and carrots were thrown down the street. It wouldn't have been so bad if they had eaten them (Mr Huws).

Even though the town was perceived to have little crime, any that did occur was attributed to outsiders moving in.

Llanrwst was still perceived to be a traditional rural area that really only offered facilities to local people. It was not regarded as a consumer-oriented community, and this was understood as offering it some protection from 'modern' forms of crime:

Car crime and travelling criminals do not come into Llanrwst. The shops are small and there is not really anything to steal...any crime in Llanrwst is committed by people living in Llanrwst or people who move into the area...there are a couple of families I know who cause problems. There was a spate of house burglaries last year and it was a lad in Llanrwst who had come back [from prison] to live with his girlfriend (Steve).

Nevertheless, as Senior (1987) has noted, the outside world does penetrate, and crime is a problem in rural areas (see also chapter one):

It is a godsend also to the criminal (new A55 road), who can be away with the loot and disposing of it in Birmingham or Manchester so much more conveniently than before. The days are over now when we could leave our houses unlocked (Senior, 1987:7).

It seems responsibility for criminal behaviour was attributed to those defined as outsiders or in-migrants:

They [people from outside] commit crimes such as burglaries of sheds and cars. They tend to be families with young kids and single mothers who have caused problems elsewhere and many are not housed permanently in Llanrwst. They become a noticeable problem in town, get arrested and move out. They may have a drugs problem and commit crime to feed their habit. After Christmas there were problems with a bloke put in with his wife in the chalets [holiday village]. There were thefts etcetera, and the person was on heroin (Steve).

They were stereotyped as a typically undesirable group of in-migrants by respondents. Ironically, this description has resonance with nineteenth century constructions of the dangerous classes who had moved from country to city:

People come in from outside and they look slummy. The way they dress, heavily made up and they stare at the locals. You would think they want to make friends but they don't. They move into the chalets and then get housed. (Tina).

Constructing the symbolic role of crime, deviance and disorder

Llanrwst's image has suffered in more recent times as it has become portrayed as a place marked by disorder and violence in numerous articles written by the local paper between 1996 and 1999. Headlines for example have reported:

Calls to halt town violence. TOWN centre violence has reached crisis point, councillors claimed last week (The North Wales Weekly News, 7 November 1996).

Violence blamed on rugby fans...A BUSINESSMAN has attacked what he believes to be excessive levels of violence in a valley town during the weekends nights (The North Wales Weekly News, 25 February 1999).

This kind of reporting on town centre violence does not mean that it is a new phenomenon. There has always been a 'friendly' rivalry between farmers from the surrounding areas and the locals of Llanrwst. What seemed to have changed for respondents was the way this kind of behaviour appeared to have become out of control. It was believed that the former 'friendly' rivalry had changed, and this was exacerbated by a particular group of in-migrants. This group were cited as the cause of a perceived breakdown of community as it was once known:

It is still a Welsh town, but there are an awful lot of new English....it is the times we live in things have changed. There is no community spirit like it used to be. I just wonder where it is all going to end (Mrs Davis).

The perceived breakdown in community control and the dangers this was believed to represent affected local people's perceptions of Llanrwst as a safe place:

You just don't know when and where something can happen today...one day we had been in Llanrwst and it was towards evening. My son and wife went for a meal, but we went home because I was too scared to stay as it is dangerous...About 3 years ago we had a reunion in the Eagles Hotel. There were 200 people down by Bridge Street and the police and ambulance were there. I thought there had been a fight as there was a girl of 16 lying on the floor, but she had collapsed due to drinking vodka...I was scared and we were staying the night. I was worried about my car but the police said it was okay, but they are not always right (Mr Efans).

The local newspaper also constructed a 'dangerous' version of Llanrwst in its exaggerated reports of disorder in the town:

I was in a meeting and said it needed cleaning up it was like bloody sin city on your way to church. It was taken and used by the media, sin city, wild west... (Mr Collins).

Behaviour as a signifier of identity

During both the preliminary observational stage of the fieldwork and in the more intense interviewing stage, references to disorder, young people hanging

around and criminals moving into the area proved a prominent topic of discussion. It was an area that was not prompted at the outset in discussions during the observational stage (see chapter two) but nevertheless proved a fruitful area of discussion as the fieldwork developed.

Behaviour, particularly when it was perceived to involve some kind of conflict within the community, was readily attributed to a particular cultural group according to its own specific characteristics. Farmers were perceived to behave in a particular way – they drank alcohol, often to excess, and indulged in incidents of disorder (fighting and chanting on the town square) during Friday and Saturday nights:

Saturday night is a build up of spirits that reach a crescendo on Saturday night. It is the local people, the farming community who drink large amounts of alcohol. They don't just get drunk but they get drunk so they cannot stand up (Paul).

Women also figured within this disordered identity, and those that 'came down from the hills' were perceived as being tough and sometimes as 'worse than the men':

People from the outlying districts are more rural and have a different attitude to people from the town...people up to their 30s and 40s and women are involved in fights. The women are very volatile (Steve).

Townies were perceived as taking part in the fighting and their degree of involvement varied according to who was doing the 'story telling':

You hear the locals blame the farmers and the farmers blame the locals (Steve).

Women also figured in accounts of trouble among townies, but this time they were described in terms of 'domestics' that 'spilled out onto the streets' from the pubs: 'domestics continue onto the streets due to the drink' (Steve). Respondents referred to young people from the town 'hanging about' Ancaster square. They were perceived through their usage of space at particular times as a deviant minority who were 'up to no good' (see chapter one). They were

referred to as drinking alcohol, partaking in drugs and generally being a nuisance (see chapter five).

The in-migrants from farther down the coast and more particularly those originating from England were perceived as the 'real' criminals:

People move in from Llandudno and Rhyl and further afield like Nottingham. They are housed in temporary accommodation. They tend to be not the best of families, and a lot of these people who have descended [from other areas] commit crime (Steve).

They were the in-migrants who posed a problem to the imagined community:

We have inherited problems from Yorkshire and Glasgow. There was a Glaswegian urinating on the step on Sunday afternoon (Mr Huws).

Perceiving particular behaviours as significant in identifying cultural belonging re-affirmed for respondents the idea of 'good' traditional community versus 'bad' modern community. This was because particular behaviours acted to mark out boundaries of cultural identity based on actions that were perceived as either 'community inclusive' or 'community exclusive' (see following discussion).

Constructing identity around categories of disordered, deviant or criminal behaviour had two underlying purposes. First, it served to confirm the status of the perceived threat of the changing face of rural life, in the guise of criminal in-migrants. Second, it confirmed the 'good nature' of traditional rural community life, where local disordered behaviour had been, and still was to an extent, contained by the community (see earlier discussion). Actions, therefore, were much more than their constituent parts: actions symbolised both belonging and exclusion in everyday rural community life.

Farmers: the 'disordered' inclusive community

People who lived in the outlying areas, particularly the upland areas, were perceived to be farmers, whether or not this was their actual occupation. They were referred to as being particularly Welsh, or the Welsh Welsh. The

colloquial reference was to josgyns, a term that is similar to yokel or country bumpkin, one that refers to their close connection with nature and the land (see introduction). This connection with the land has long been denigrated and seen as somehow unsophisticated compared to the lifestyles of people living in the towns and cities (Ching and Creed, 1997; Ward, 1988; Wayne, 1986) (see chapter one):

The town child is knowing, quick-witted, streetwise and learns from every day's new encounters. The country child is slow, innocent and even bovine. Words like clodhopper, bumpkin, yokel and hayseed were invented to epitomise this stereotype (Ward, 1988:24).

And yet, however unsophisticated a josgyn lifestyle was supposed to be, its presumed closeness to nature also set it apart as a natural and clean living way of life. It was associated with a traditional community life not 'infected' by modernity. Thus, any actions on the part of josgyns that may have been perceived as disordered, were believed to be quite innocent in their motivation, and as just another part of rural community life:

Fighting, it was good clean fun, mischievous yes, but not drugs and no knives... (Mrs Davis).

The community accepted the disordered josgyn, understood their behaviour, and perceived it as a product of a life of hard work. It recognised the need to 'let off steam', and included such behaviour within the boundary of traditional community life. Josgyns, for example, were described by respondents as conducting 'clean healthy fights', with 'no knives or weapons'.

When weapons were used, josgyns were not mentioned, and this behaviour was attributed to townies and outsiders:

There was one particularly nasty assault where two lads were stabbed with screwdrivers. Local lads were on a stag party and four lads from Llandudno were up due to a problem with a local villain (Steve).

Josgyns were known sometimes to chant and sing in the town square. It was behaviour perceived as undesirable, but not as 'really bad'. This may have been, in part, because musical performance has long been associated with Welsh culture, for example, choirs and festivals (the Eisteddfod is perhaps the best known traditional Welsh festival where competitors meet to compete across a range of event that include singing, recital and storytelling):

A lot of people are scared to go out, it's not that it's really bad, but when you see and hear a group singing and chanting it puts people off (Steve).

Josgyns from the outlying areas were also perceived as nationalistic, and when they came into the town they clashed with the locals and the in-migrants. One middle class English in-migrant referred to Plaid Cymru as being 'the party of the farmers' and another remarked:

The town of Llanrwst is not particularly Welsh but it is more so in the outlying areas. It is very nationalist and Welsh in the outlying areas...on weekends a lot come down from the hills and the farmers and locals don't like each other. There are a lot of non-Welsh [English Welsh], English and Welsh nationalists that clash (Steve).

Respondents believed the disorder on Friday and Saturday nights was due to the consumption of alcohol. Llanrwst has inherited from its earlier industrial past a number of public houses that surrounded the town square. These establishments were frequented at weekends by members of the local farming community. Although historically the Nonconformist tradition bound up with Welsh chapel culture has spurned the consumption of alcohol, it has still according to respondents had a significant part in both historical and contemporary daily life in Llanrwst:

There are no pubs in the outlying villages and so they come into Llanrwst (Mr Williams).

In contemporary times, the association between josgyns and alcohol is well established within local culture:

Assaults and fights are a different matter [to crime]. People come down from the hills. The main problem [in Llanrwst] is disorder on the streets. It is similar to other Welsh towns like Caernarfon and Holyhead, where there is a lot of heavy drinking and not much to do for the locals...farmers come in from Blaenau Ffestiniog and Cerrigydrudion by minibus (Steve).

Even underage drinking is perceived differently when undertaken by the josgyns in comparison to the townies and the English. It seems that for many respondents alcohol consumed in an organised setting, such as the public house, or the young farmers club and so on is acceptable, while alcohol taken on the street is not:

Even now you see underage people in the pub, but they are the very Welsh (Tina).

The josgyns were perceived as not hanging around on the street (and during the fieldwork phase this proved to be the case). It was the townies and some of the English in-migrants that were believed to partake in this behaviour (and again this was witnessed during the fieldwork phase, see chapter five).

Josgyns may have been understood to be (sometimes) disordered but they were not perceived as criminal by local people:

There is not much crime committed by outsiders who live in the outlying areas (Steve).

Neither were they perceived as problematic in their own areas:

The outlying villages are totally different. There are no problems with the kids. There are no housing estates of large groups of youngsters. The villages are small and very quiet (Steve).

Townies: the criminal exclusive community

Townies were explained as problematic by some respondents, in that some of them had always clashed with the josgyns from the hills. This clash was perceived to have been under control in the past, serving to reinforce the nature

of traditional Welsh farming culture, as distinct from a more anglicised lifestyle within the town, a town that was nevertheless still defined as Welsh.

There were also references made by some respondents to an army training camp situated a few miles outside Llanrwst, and to the outbreak of fighting in the town at weekends due to the squaddies vying for the local girls' attention. It was a well known rivalry that had become the theme for a song entitled 'Cymru, Lloegr a Llanrwst' (Wales, England and Llanrwst). The song was performed by the Welsh group Y Cyrff (The Bodies) during the last decade of the twentieth century, and written by one of the members who had hailed from Llanrwst:

'Pryd mae'r byrddau'n dechrau fflio, dwi jest yn eistedd yna'n llonydd
Dyna'r unig amser pryd dwi byth yn teimlo'n aflonydd
Heno gwaed a gwydyr ar y llawr yn y toiledau
Ond alla' I ddim cydymdeimlo hefo'r sgwadis'.

'When tables start flying, not just sitting still.
It's the only time I never feel restless.
Tonight blood and glass on the toilet floor,
But I can't sympathise with the squaddies' (translation).

However, during 1998 young people from the town began to feature as a perceived problem that was getting out of control (see chapter five). This was according to respondents because in-migrants were moving in with young family members. These in-migrants formed relationships with the local townies and the once friendly rivalry between josgyns and townies was perceived to pose a threat by its changing nature - the consumption of alcohol and drugs on the streets:

Local kids want different things now. Yobbos in the town who get legless. It is the people of Llanrwst who taunt the farmers and begin the problems (Sylvia).

According to respondents, it was a different problem to the traditional disorder of local rivalries, and they perceived it as being out of control:

The square on a Saturday night is a 'Saturday night problem'. There is a degree of tension apparent. It is completely separate from the juvenile issue (Paul).

Whereas once deviant behaviour and participation by townies in disorder was inclusive in the sense that it was part of rural community life, its nature was perceived as becoming more exclusive, as it was believed to be instigated and bound up with the behaviour of in-migrants. Respondents believed these in-migrants challenged traditional methods of community social control. At one time the families of troublesome youth were 'known'. Now locals were unsure of the backgrounds of in-migrants. They therefore posed a threat and a risk in their unfamiliarity (see earlier discussion):

I have not heard of a mugging in Llanrwst except by a nine year-old from Liverpool and a blind man outside Kwiks [Kwik Save, a supermarket] where the boy sprayed a chemical. He was socially disadvantaged from Toxteth...we had kids here a couple of years ago who were unbelievably streetwise (Mr Collins).

Both sets of relationships, whether constructed in the traditional version between townies and josgyns, or in a more modern version between contaminated townies and josgyns, acted to maintain boundaries of the imagined community. The first set of relationships was constructed as 'the norm', the accepted marker, the second set of relationships was constructed as a challenge to the first set, and was changing the nature of the boundary marker.

In effect, the presence of in-migrants meant that the boundaries between townies and josgyns were being re-drawn. At one time the rivalry was perceived to be part and parcel of the relationship between a traditional farming community and a traditional market town community that came into contact with each other at various times. It was constructed around conceptions of hard agricultural labour and the need to 'let off steam' every now and then:

Farming is in-bred as a hard working, particularly tough life. So it is not three to four pints but ten to fifteen pints, and they are pretty aggressive when they get going (Steve).

The relationship, however, had become tainted by the absorption of a perceived modernity, believed by respondents to be imported by the behaviour of the socially disadvantaged in-migrants.

Summary

Social, economic and political changes taking place in Llanrwst have engendered concern amongst the local population. These concerns have focused on visible issues that are believed to threaten and destabilise daily life. In order to counter this threat responsive action has been mobilised by local members. This has taken the form of the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour.

In order to understand the mobilisation of local action against a perceived threat, this chapter has set out to explain in section one how the original concerns were conceptualised from respondents' accounts of social change. It appears the first step in this action was the construction of a historically imagined version of Llanrwst. In effect this consisted of the creation of an imagined community. As discussed in section two, this is a powerful concept that may act as both a reference point and a safety net in the drawing of boundaries between versions of traditional and modern life.

This was then followed in section three by an explanation of how the constructed dichotomy was marked and reinforced by the respondents' perceptions of who does or does not belong to the imagined community. In addition to the established factors in the sociological literature about insider and outsider status, culture played a particularly important dimension dividing locals and in-migrants in Llanrwst. This was exemplified in respondents' references to geographical location. Language was also an important representation of cultural transmission and identity. Finally, the question of in-migration was considered, both middle class and socially disadvantaged in-migrants. Both posed a threat to rural life according to respondents, however, the latter were portrayed as the most problematic.

The last section of the chapter set out a preliminary exploration of how local people began to mobilise the strategic defence of their imagined

community through the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder. From analysis of respondents interviews, these behaviours appeared to transcend their definitive meanings into markers of identity, community and belonging. In so doing, they acted to maintain boundaries between respondents' conceptions of traditional and modern daily life.

The preliminary discussion of the marking and maintenance of cultural boundaries through particular forms of behaviour will be further grounded in chapters five and six, where it will be argued that the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst was institutionalised and reproduced.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CULTURAL INSTITUTIONALISATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

The last chapter discussed the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst. The focus was largely centred on two main areas. First, why the categorisation was administered, and second, a framework of how the categorisation was operationalised at a local level. This chapter develops the framework of the cultural categorisation process by focusing on how young people's criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour became institutionalised in local settings. It should be pointed out here that this institutionalisation was multi-dimensional at the local level. From fieldwork analysis, for example, the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was evident in local authority responses, media responses, criminal justice agency responses and voluntary agency responses as well as in practices related to specific organisations structured for young people.

As discussed earlier, visible social and economic changes taking place at a local level generated concern amongst respondents, and this concern was subsequently transposed into issues of threat and instability. This engendered a form of responsive action by local people, a reaction that is central to the thesis. That is, the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder in response to underlying concerns about a threatened version of traditional community and belonging.

One way in which local social and political networks challenged this perceived threat was by stereotyping the cultural identity of the 'typical immigrant' as townie or English and criminal or deviant. Such responsive action incurred particular consequences in Llanrwst for young people, in that they experienced both social and cultural exclusion (see also chapter six).

The argument presented in the last chapter of how local constructions of cultural identity are formed, through recourse to language and particular forms of behaviour, is further grounded in the following discussions surrounding two

organisations for young people in Llanrwst, the young farmers club and the youth club. This is also endorsed by a consideration of a particular form of response from local people to the proposed setting up of a youth drop-in centre in the town.

The last chapter spent a large part of the discussion explaining the background to the culmination of the metaphoric role of crime, deviance and disorder. This chapter will concentrate specifically on the active relational context of the categorisation surrounding local organisations for young people. Young people are therefore focused on as a micro case study within the broader framework of a community studies approach (see chapter two).

During the period 1996 to 1998 concerns were voiced at a local level about the problems young people were perceived to be posing to the inhabitants of Llanrwst town. These concerns manifested in the local construction of youth as a problem, and subsequently, a particular section of youth were identified as problematic. These 'problematic' youth were culturally stereotyped by their behaviour. For example, respondents referred to 'townies' hanging around in public space. This kind of behaviour acted to symbolise for respondents a young person's cultural identity and belonging.

Categorising behaviour patterns as symbolic markers of identity allowed for a causal link to be made perceptively between action and subject. This resulted in the marking of boundaries of identity by local people, according to their subjective expectations and beliefs about conforming and non-conforming behaviour. Marking boundaries of cultural identity based on categorisations of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour was evident from interviews conducted across a range of respondents, that is both adults and young people living either in the town, the surrounding hinterland or farther afield (see also chapters four and six).

Whilst the following chapter is divided up into separate topics of discussion, it should be noted that this fragmentation is for explanatory purposes only. The ideas presented throughout this chapter, as indeed in chapters four to six, may each inform the overall knowledge base of both adults and young people's lives. That is, each layer of knowledge may act to

supplement and support the next layer, and any one or a number of primary or secondary experiences inform knowledge in toto up to a particular point in time. In sum, a number of previous experiences inform a particular reflexive and therefore, reciprocal understanding of a situation across time and space (Giddens, 1994).

'Sod the dog, beware of the kids'¹⁰

Problem youth

Following intermittent expressions of anxiety from 1996 onwards about young people in the town of Llanrwst, the summer of 1998 witnessed concerns being voiced from local councillors to the local authority about their perceived disordered behaviour. It was during 1998 that the fieldwork began, alongside a research project commissioned by the local authority on young people in Llanrwst that was motivated in part by these objections (see chapter two).

Historically, disorder had long been a feature of the town and Llanrwst was often remembered in terms of its sporadic disturbances, for example, the local paper referred to 'the historical problems of the late night disorder in the town' (The North Wales Weekly News, 15 May 1997). However, it seemed, according to local press reports, that concerns about the issue were increasing at the end of the twentieth century as it was reported that the 'violence [had] reached crisis point in 1996' (The North Wales Weekly News, 7 November, 1996). During the period 1996 to 1998 the town made headline news in the local paper, the North Wales Weekly News, on a number of occasions regarding the perceived 'out of control' disorder and violence on the streets on Friday and Saturday nights (see also chapters four and six).

Such press reports appeared to mirror local people's concern about two main issues regarding social order. First, the alcohol-induced disorder taking place on the town square after pub closing and second, the deviant and disordered actions of young people from the town hanging about Ancaster Square. The first issue of alcohol-induced disorder was largely related to those members aged eighteen and upwards from both the town and the surrounding

¹⁰ 'Sod the dog, beware of the kids' was observed on a sign placed outside a house in Llanrwst.

hinterland (see chapter four). The second issue focused largely on young people of secondary school age, that is, aged eleven to eighteen:

The use of cannabis resin is widespread. A large amount was confiscated that was being sold which pointed to widespread use in the area... There were youths drinking last Saturday night under the arch on Willow Lane. Generally it is the under eighteen's, the average age is fourteen to fifteen. The root cause of young people's problem is alcohol and not having somewhere to go...getting into mischief...the young people get other people to purchase alcohol for them (Paul).

The latter group were constructed as problematic, a stereotype that seemed to be based upon young people's use of space at a particular time in the evening:

There are a particular group of thirteen to seventeen year olds that hang about. Friday and Saturday nights they are outside the Spar trying to get drink. They hang in the alley at the side. They try to get their elder brothers or cousins to buy it [alcohol] for them (Steve).

In effect, the young people were perceived as out of place (Sibley, 1995), because adult expectations were that they should be at home at 'this time of night', or at least actively on their way home from some predetermined organised leisure pursuit:

Young people hang around the square and outside the Spar shop [in the evening]. My sons attend the youth club and the leisure centre and they are allowed half an hour to walk home after closing time...it is the parents' fault if the [young people] are hanging around the square drinking cider (Julie).

Young people hanging about, and therefore visible on the streets, were perceived by respondents to be vulnerable to the influences of both alcohol and the reported increase in the availability of drugs:

There are fifteen years olds drinking, and drugs is a major problem (Mr Davis).

Girls who were 'hanging about' were distinguished from boys by respondents' perceptions of the nature of their motivations for doing so:

...the girls hang about for their boyfriends who are in the pub, or those who are left are looking for a boyfriend. It is mainly girls that are out late [midnight] at night under seventeen, there is a group of five or six who are out regularly (Steve).

Their usage of public space was perceived to add an immoral dimension to their hanging about. Not only were girls believed to be at risk from the influences of alcohol and drugs, but also from their active engagement in 'seeking out' the opposite sex:

One of our school teachers called us 'bad' for hanging about the square and also 'sluts' and 'druggies'. But just because we are on the square does not make us bad (Bethan).

One explanation put forward by some of the respondents regarding the issue of problematic youth was that the young people had nothing better to do but hang about the streets:

When I was a kid we left school at fifteen and went to work and began to inculcate adults' values. Now there is no job and the kids only have their peers to take on their values. The most persuasive are the bad people (Mr Collins).

Hanging about was conflated with getting into trouble, and this deduction prompted calls for a place where young people could go to be 'off the streets', and therefore, be invisible. Such action has an historical precedent, for example, the idea of the 'delinquent child' during the early nineteenth century was fuelled by concerns about the numbers of street children (see chapter one).

In 1997 the Llanrwst Initiative, made up of a committee of people drawn from the local vicinity, was launched. The main aim of the initiative was to implement local measures that would assist in combating the seemingly 'Wild West' image of the town portrayed in the local press. The initiative espoused a number of steps to be taken to improve the town's image and one of them was:

...the creation of a drop-in centre aimed at getting young people off the streets (The North Wales Weekly News, 19 March 1998).

This was a proposition that was to prove a controversial suggestion, as it raised questions based on underlying concerns about social change. It also became a

tool for raising issues about perceptions of traditional and modern daily life, and what were appropriate social resources for each version. For example, a drop-in centre clearly did not meet with versions of a traditional community (see following discussion).

The official response

The voices of discontent about the perceived social disorder in Llanrwst town also manifested in a more focused partnership approach during 1998 that consisted of members drawn from the local authority, the local community and the criminal justice system with regard to young people. This movement towards a partnership approach regarding young people can be located within a broader national context.

Governmental directives emerged from the Home Office for dissemination to statutory and voluntary bodies in the preliminary period to the three stage implementation (1 August, 7 August and 30 September, 1998) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. The preface of the Home Office Circular (38/1998) stated that 'Partnership is an essential starting point' and that 'the different services, agencies and individuals can work together to achieve the aim of diverting children and young people away from crime' (p.2). These services involve:

...police officers, social workers, probation officers, nominees of health and education authorities working in youth offending teams, officers in charge of attendance centres, magistrates, judges, defence and prosecution lawyers, justices' clerks, those working in custodial facilities, volunteers working with these groups and those working in voluntary organisations carrying out functions on behalf of youth justice agencies (p.3).

In sum, working in partnership was presented as the key to achieving the desired aim of reducing youth offending.

In August 1998 the social services department of the local authority submitted a proposal to the Wales Office of Research and Development to conduct a pilot research project focusing on the social exclusion of young people in Llanrwst. The impetus for the application was based on the apparent

disjuncture between the official statistics held by the police and the local authority on youth offending, and the contrasting calls by local people and councillors regarding issues of crime in Llanrwst (see chapter two).

Social disorder was, however, not the only problem recognised locally. A number of issues were championed by various statutory and voluntary bodies for inclusion onto their social and economic agendas. For example, economic issues prompted local businessmen, together with the local authority and voluntary sector, to support the idea of regenerating the town's decaying business infrastructure and tourist economy.

In line with this regeneration approach a 'Planning for Real' exercise was also instigated in February 1998 by Conwy Voluntary Services Council (CVSC) in conjunction with members of the town. The exercise was an attempt to highlight concerns voiced at a local level about social, economic and environmental issues, and also to prompt forms of responsive action. In the wake of this exercise, 'Llanrwst 2000' was set up. It consisted of a committee of members drawn from the town, the criminal justice system and the voluntary sector. This group of people subsequently agreed to meet on a regular basis in order to discuss and implement local initiatives towards the regeneration of Llanrwst town.

In principle the various issues that had been raised by townspeople about disorder, juvenile delinquency, social and economic exclusion and environmental concerns were approached as singular causes in that distinctive bodies and partnerships were set up to deal with each issue separately. For example, concerns about youth offending came under the partnerships espoused in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. Other local concerns regarding the regeneration of Llanrwst were incorporated into specific partnerships. For example, 'A Strategy for the Future of Llanrwst' was an initiative drawn up by the Llanrwst Business Club for the Millennium, and the Welsh Development Agency's designation of Llanrwst town as a renewal area included it in the small towns and villages initiative pilot scheme in April 1999.

Perhaps the overall aim of these specific partnerships was to combat social and economic exclusion, by addressing a number of different issues

individually that were perceived as each contributing to the general deprivation of the area. For example, the Conwy Crime and Disorder Audit (1999:7) referred to the:

...links between criminal behaviour and certain socio-economic factors affecting individuals and the environment in which they live. In particular, areas with high levels of deprivation and/or poverty are often seen to have correspondingly high levels of crime.

Similarly, the report commissioned by social services on young people in Llanrwst (James et al, 2000:iii) concluded that:

A good deal of social disorder in Llanrwst is associated with indications of social exclusion related to unemployment, low skill, poor educational performance and poverty.

The target group

However, the strategies proffered by the official and voluntary bodies to combat local level problems through different channels, did not always represent a coherent approach to combating the overall negative changes the local community believed it was facing. The issues were sometimes mixed unequally. Young people and disorder seemed to tip the scales of 'everyday reality' over other pending social and economic issues. It appeared that the disordered and deviant behaviour of certain young people (townies and English) became a comprehensible representation for local people of their underlying concerns about a threatened version of traditional community and culture:

The town is suffering because of bad behaviour by a small minority
(The North Wales Weekly News, 26 June, 1997)

Two pupils were arrested at Ysgol Dyffryn Conwy on November 24 on suspicion of supplying drugs. The youngsters are suspected of handling numerous quantities of cannabis worth around £200
(The North Wales Weekly News, 26 November 1998).

Perhaps it should be stated here that young people have always played a part in the demographic make-up of the local area, and they may at various times have

been perceived as troublesome. However, what appeared to be of particular concern to respondents was the perceived changing nature of the young people's behaviour: it was now believed to be more 'bad' than mischievous:

The once mischievous problems in Penmachno are different problems now... (Mr Huws).

Even when the broader social and economic changes facing the town were considered by members as part of the equation in young people's disordered and deviant behaviour, it was still an implicit connection with a particular group (townies and English), and therefore, a particular perceived threat from outside:

Llanrwst town has been troubled over the past with a disruptive element, mainly male youths, who cause a range of problems for the populous of Llanrwst. The disruption ranges from petty and serious vandalism to drug abuse and alcohol abuse and related anti social behaviour. In truth there is a large cohort of young male youths who display recognisable signs of being disaffected or potential disaffectors (Youth Services, 1998).

The problematic youth were perceived as the young people who lived in the town (townies and English). The Welsh young people (josgyns) from either the hinterland or the town were not perceived as problematic. This was because local people believed that josgyns did not 'hang about' on the streets. This was also a perception borne out by the young people themselves when they were interviewed during the fieldwork phase (see chapter six).

The concern about young people, and the changes perceived to be taking place at a local level, provided the impetus for a bid submitted by the Education Department of the local authority under the 'Changing Communities' initiative in June 1998. The bid focused on two towns, Llanrwst and Conwy, and they were described as places that were:

...experiencing the effects of the pressures on the rural population, placed by a variety of mainly outside influences. These influences are contributing to the changing face of rural life...it has been noted that there have been changes within its indigenous population over the last few years. The town [Conwy] is no longer under the

surface or above, the quaint tourist town of yesteryear (Youth Services, 1998).

The particular moral panic (Cohen, 1972) surrounding young people hanging about on the street, was sometimes explicitly, and other times implicitly constructed as a problem linked to the changes perceived to be impacting on the community in a negative manner. It was a moral panic built around a supposed 'new' problem. That is, it was a problem believed to be endemic to urban areas and interlinked versions of modern living. The traditional community was remembered by respondents as a version that was able to police and control its own members as exemplified in an article reproduced by the local paper:

It is my firm conviction that the most serious and crying evil which farm labourers are subject to is the want of home comforts after their day's toil... Young men after supper at 7, have nowhere to go except to the stable loft, winter and summer, or the public-house, or stroll about and seek opportunities to disgrace young female servants'. (Royal Commission on Labour, *The agricultural Labourer, Wales 1893*, in *The North Wales Weekly News*, 1 April 1999).

The imagined community was a powerful concept (as discussed in chapters one and four) and it had maintained a lasting presence in the town of Llanrwst regarding young people's behaviour.

However, as Pearson (1983) has pointed out, it seems that such blaming is a cyclical event as each generation idealises a 'golden age' based on their own youth in contrast to present day youth crises. Pearson referred to periodic crises throughout history: the hooligans of the Victorian era, the teddy boys of the 1950s and the muggers of the 1970s in order to highlight his argument that there never was a golden age, when crime was comparatively non-existent (see chapter one).

Taking a more localised historical context also affirms Pearson's point about a 'forgotten past'. An article taken from the local paper printed in the nineteenth century, for example, referred to:

THE LATEST FORM OF NUISANCE Richard Thomas Jones. T B Jameson and Arthur Felton, three youths. were charged with firing crackers in the street (Weekly News and Visitors Chronicle. 26 September, 1889).

Whilst in contrast, a respondent remembered his own childhood when:

We had to be in early when we were children. There were no children out after about six or seven at night (Mr Efans).

In contemporary Llanrwst, the Town Square served as a gathering place for some young people, partly because the local Spar shop was open for long hours. They hung around outside and bought sweets or alcohol as and when they could, and ate and drank them on the square:

The kids on the square ask us to buy them drink. They are much more open than we were, they drink on the square and smoke. We used to go over the bridge or to the Victoria (Tina).

This usage of public space by young people, constituted by respondents as 'hanging around', was used as a marker of cultural identity and belonging. It was a behaviour that became categorised through manifestations of its symbolic cultural value. In sum, it was a behaviour that had a symbolic significance. Of course this marking of behaviour regarding youth and public space is also recognised more generally on a wider scale (see chapters one and three). However, in Llanrwst it had a cultural significance because it also acted as an identity marker.

The categorisation and symbolic significance of behaviour was a version that was maintained through cultural representation and daily practices that had become institutionalised at a local level. People's lived reality was channelled through cultural means, through institutional means and as discussed in chapter six through their reproduction and negotiation of these practices.

Representations of a threatened community

...no media representation is passively received by a mere audience. Whether reading, listening, watching or typing at a

keyboard, we are engaged in activity...we may be what we eat, but we do not eat, taste or enjoy without the cultural and subjective meanings which we place upon eating. In turn, of course, the words-images so consumed further add to our bank of meanings with which we confront the next word-image...why are certain kinds of representation 'fashionable' at any given time? (Brown, 1998:39).

Local media

From the outset of the research (September 1998) newspaper articles from the local paper, The North Wales Weekly News relating to Llanrwst were collated until December 2000, a date that marked the end of the 'active' period of the data collection (see chapter two). This collation of newspaper articles also involved a meeting with the librarian of the said newspaper on Wednesday 24 February, 1999, in order to glean any information on past reporting of crime in the town. The meeting was productive in that a file had been kept by the librarian on crime in Llanrwst from 1996-1998 'because [he said] crime appeared to have been a problem at that time'.

The analysis of the newspaper articles was considered important in two ways. First, the newspaper mediated a form of local social control through its published version of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst, and second, the relationship between the media and society is a reciprocal one (Giddens, 1991). That is, various identities are represented through media images, and these mediated identities act to both portray and reflexively inform our self image across time and space (see also chapter six):

When we look to the origins of high modernity it is the increasingly intertwined development of mass printed media and electronic communication that is important...the visual images [of] television, films, and videos...like newspapers, magazines, and printed materials of other sorts...are as much an expression of the disembedding, globalising tendencies of modernity as they are the instruments of such tendencies (Giddens, 1991:25-6).

The North Wales Weekly News provides local people with an accessible mediated version of everyday reality through its distribution network in a

number of retail outlets in the town, and free access to the publication in Llanrwst library.

The earlier articles from 1996 to 1998 that were collated by the newspaper's librarian focused on town centre violence in Llanrwst. This violence was reported as being committed largely by people visiting from other areas, young people hanging around town, and the fact that the media were 'not doing enough to shame criminals going through the courts' according to the local police.

The last point, reported as originating from the local police, was somewhat ironic. The ensuing conflict reported between the media and the police acted as a political soapbox for both members of the town council and local residents. A further article, for example, reported local people's criticism of the police, such as inadequate policing, and followed up this complaint with their concerns about perceived problems encroaching on Llanrwst: alcohol, drugs, young people hanging around and people coming into the town from other areas.

Such issues, however, were not perceived in the same problematic way by official channels:

[A police inspector] criticised an article that appeared in the Weekly News recently that reported councillors fears over disorder in Llanrwst reaching 'crisis point' (The North Wales Weekly News, 12 December, 1996).

Although this was a somewhat contradictory view in that a reference to police officers being more likely to be assaulted in Llanrwst than in the East End of London was made by the Chief Superintendent at the time:

[the police have] more chance of being assaulted in Llanrwst than in the East End of London (The North Wales Weekly News, 12 December, 1996).

The media reported the accusation made against them by the police of their lack of coverage of local crime and disorder in an article entitled 'Press attacked over coverage' (The North Wales Weekly News, 12 December 1996).

This article referred to the police view that they were not fulfilling their role adequately as a medium of cultural transmission regarding local social control:

'When these people [offenders] are dealt with, I have not seen it reported in the papers' he said [Chief Superintendent]... 'We look towards the press to report what is happening in the communities'... 'How the message gets to the public does not rest with us' (The North Wales Weekly News, 12 December, 1996).

Nevertheless, whatever the supposed shortcomings of the press reporting, the whole debate had actively contributed to a central concern of local people, that is, the perception that Llanrwst was becoming a problematic place:

a 'Wild town', where a 'zero tolerance policy on crime was demanded by Llanrwst councillors' (The North Wales Weekly News, 12 December, 1996).

As already mentioned, the view of Llanrwst experiencing problems of crime, deviance and disorder was not borne out by members of the criminal justice system. For example, statistics produced by the police and youth justice team did not evidence local concerns about such issues (see chapter three).

The media, however, certainly played their part in a reciprocal relationship (Giddens, 1991) with members of the local community, as they fuelled local concerns about the changes taking place within the town. This concern was highlighted by the press focusing on two main themes. First, the drunken disorder in the town square, largely attributed to josgyns coming into the town on a Friday and Saturday night (see also chapter four). The second area of concern was the presence of young people on the streets with apparently nothing to do, who were reported to be endangered by the easy availability of alcohol and drugs.

National media

The reporting from 1996 to 1998 occurred at a period in time when local concerns about in-migration and changes to the community emerged from various sectors: the education department, the town council, local community members, social services and the police. In the wider context, the decade

spanning the 1990s witnessed increasing vocal concerns about rural crime and young people and drugs in rural areas (see also chapter one):

Crime prevention experts launch offensive on rural crime – an offensive on rural crime was launched by crime prevention experts at a national conference hosted by Crime Concern today (Crime Prevention, 1996).

There is growing evidence that youngsters in rural areas are finding it increasingly easy to obtain drugs from dealers (The Independent, 3 March 1994).

Drugs Shock: Survey reveals horrifying truth of narcotics abuse among North Wales' young children (Daily Post, 29 October 1999).

A number of initiatives and reports were commissioned by the Home Office, and the voluntary and statutory sector. (For example, Home Office, 1997; Henderson, 1998; Davidson et al, 1997; Action with Communities in Rural England, 1995; Crime Concern, 1996; National Association for Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO), 1997; National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), 1998). These reports focused on different ways to tackle rural crime with a particular emphasis on young people and drugs in rural areas.

Constructing the culturally 'exclusive' public space

One of the main conclusions of the various reports was that young people in rural areas had very little to do but 'hang about':

Lack of local leisure facilities and public transport compounded by unemployment often means that young people in rural areas have very little to do and nowhere affordable to go. They can be especially ready to experiment with drugs and vulnerable to approaches from dealers (NCVO, 1998:2).

The NACRO report (1997) succinctly summed up the perceived use of space by young people in its title: *Hanging Around the Bus Stop: Youth Crime and Young Offenders in Rural Areas*. This report also pointed to the differences between rural and urban young offenders, as it argued that in a small rural

community the young person is likely to be well-known and 'therefore extremely visible:

Even when young people do not offend, their very presence in public places can give cause for concern. In 'An Everyday Story', The Children's Society reports that: 'Many villages have a "bus shelter group" of young people whose main visible activity is to hang around some village landmark'. Even if the young people are there simply to meet friends because they have nowhere else to go, they can be perceived as a problem by older residents.

Time and space

In Llanrwst young people's use of public space at a particular time was an issue. During the day young people were not perceived as problematic by respondents. They seemed to be accepted as active members of the town in their usage of public space, rather than as young people specifically hanging about. Perhaps this acceptance was more a question of invisibility. Young people did not stand out as a separate group in the day-time, rather they tended to merge with other sectors of the towns population. This invisibility may have contributed to respondents' lack of reference to young people's day-time activities, except in terms of finding things for them to do during the Summer holidays:

Summer Youth Challenge is an opportunity for groups of young people to get involved, for example, doing a mural, bridge building or painting a youth club...(Caroline).

The 'normality' of young people's usage of space in the day-time was borne out in the observational part of the fieldwork, as I observed either a noticeable lack of young people on the street, or young people in various public spaces during the day-time attracting little attention:

20/1/99 – 12.45 to 13.45 no kids on the town square...4.15 no kids to be seen on square or on Watling Street (Field Note Number 12).

1.3.99 – 5.30 pm – no kids around street. 6.30 pm walking up to guide hall, no kids (Field Note Number 31).

17/2/99 – 5 boys and 2 girls are playing in front of their houses. There are 2 girls on roller blades with a dolls pram. Two boys call on another boy. The play area is empty and there are no swings...I see a mother and two children walking...a boy is playing with a toy monkey throwing it up in the air. and there are some boys by the river bank near Pen Y Dre (Field Note Number 22).

13/2/99 - I observed some young people waiting by the telephone kiosk on Station Road, they were waiting for the football bus. Children were on their bikes cycling on the Gower Bridge to Trefriw (Field Note Number 19).

17/3/99 - The town was busy on Wednesday. There were school children around lunchtime. I went to the pavilion field about 2.30 pm and there were people walking their dogs. I spotted four youths I had got to know from the youth club and they were kicking a ball around on the grass. They had left school. About 3.30 they move off and another two boys arrive with a football....at about 4.45 pm I see 3 young lads in school uniform driving around with the car windows down and music blaring...another group of young people (girls and boys) are on the square in school uniform...(Field Note Number 47).

Young people themselves also did not seem to refer to their usage of space during the day-time in terms of hanging about:

I'm home between four and quarter past six [she attends local college in day time] (Bethan).

I'm home on Wednesday and Thursdays in the day-time (Tom).

It seems that a young person's visibility on the street in the evening was referred to as 'hanging about', and therefore, perceived as up to no good. Furthermore, this behaviour was conflated with young people's cultural identity (see later discussion and chapter four).

Historically, youth have long been referred to in terms of their hanging around street corners (Whyte, 1943, Pearson, 1983), and this was even acknowledged as 'the norm' by some members of the community:

There will always be kids hanging around. I remember my own childhood and we hung around...you will always get some who will hang about the streets whatever, as I did and as in other towns.

Even if you gave some kids £20 to go home, within twenty minutes they would be back (Mr Ball).

Behaviour and space

What was therefore interesting about the fact that young people were perceived to be hanging around, was the assumption by local people that those that did were identifiable as a particular cultural group: townies and English. This was, in fact, the case on the few occasions that I did visit the town in the evenings, as I recognised the young people from my previous interviews and observations in the youth club (see chapter two):

4/3/99 – It is 6.40 pm and I am on my way to the youth club. There are 3 or 4 kids hanging outside the Spar shop and some inside. I see a group of kids walking down the side of Critch Cratch and on Watling Street towards the youth club. I recognise ...(Field Note Number 32).

The conflation of a townie or English cultural identity and young people's perceived behaviour such as hanging about may have been exacerbated by perceptions of geographical habitation. For example, respondents believed that josgyns lived 'in the hills', and therefore, did not come into town in the evenings to hang around. This may well have been the case, either because the young people were not allowed by parents because of perceptions of the town mediated, for example, through the local paper, or through more practical reasons such as lack of transport. Those josgyns that did come into town were perceived to be attending the young farmers club or engaged in some activity like swimming or the Urdd.

The contrasting view of young people's behaviour and cultural identity was also reinforced by respondents' conflation of cultural identity and social and economic factors. Llanrwst has a number of social housing estates that come under the remit of either the local authority or housing associations. There are also a number of temporary accommodation units owned by private landlords. In contrast the surrounding hinterland is made up of small villages and scattered farms.

Such a perception about different living styles according to geographical and social environment, however, did not consider those Welsh young people living in the town, who were sometimes referred to as josgyns (see chapter six). They appeared to be an 'invisible' group of youth in terms of troublesome behaviour, as they were never referred to as causing a problem by respondents. It was an implicit neglect in that townies were assumed to be bilingual or English and never Welsh.

In a generalised context, linking cultural identity with geographical habitation seemed to encourage a local understanding of social divisions:

There are the middle class Welsh Welsh [josgyns] and the lower class English Welsh [bilingual] (Stanley).

Organisations for young people

These social and cultural divisions were further reinforced by local discourse and perceptions about two main national institutions provided for young people: the youth club and the young farmers club. The young farmers club was held every Monday evening in the community centre from eight o'clock to ten o'clock, and the youth club was held every Tuesday and Thursday evenings in the community centre from seven o'clock to nine o'clock. These two institutions drew young people out of their homes in the evening, and this was perceived by some respondents as encouraging their access to public space on their way to and from the said clubs:

When we were kids we were moved along in the 1950s and it looked better on the street. All the youth clubs in the world would not make a difference...**certain** people will take drugs and hang around...the drop-in centre will draw more kids out of the house and they will either stay in the centre or run wild about town [respondent's emphasis] (Mr Thomas).

It was the youth club in Llanrwst, however, that was believed to be the problematic club, and it had a local history of disruptive behaviour that was said to take place either within or outside the community centre where it was held. This behaviour was also perceived to spill out onto the town square outside the Spar shop after the youth club closed.

In Llanrwst the youth club was perceived as an anglicised institution. This was also evident during the fieldwork stage. On the evenings I attended as part of the participant observational stage no Welsh words were spoken by either the young people attending or the adult organisers. When the question was asked why this was the case, it was simply stated by the young people that they spoke English because 'everyone did'.

In the context of the main thesis of the research, the youth club and the young farmers club represented important institutions locally as they reproduced ideas about cultural identity and belonging. This was because they acted as symbolic as well as reproductive institutions in terms of conflating cultural identity and particular forms of behaviour. For example, respondents believed that behaviour in the context of these institutions was either within community control or outside of community control. They were, then, institutions that had greater significance than their constituent parts for the local community. That is, they acted as boundary markers between concepts of traditional community and the perceived changing face of rural life by the encroachment of modernity.

Added to this dimension was also the emerging conflict surrounding the implementation of a drop-in centre, a resource that also proved to be another boundary marker, and thus reaffirmation for ideas about identity and belonging by respondents (see later discussion).

Cultural boundaries: institutionalising young people's behaviour

English Wesleyan chapel, Llanrwst on Thursday, January 23rd, the children were entertained to a substantial tea by Mrs Moses Jones, Mrs Vivian, Mrs Reynolds, Mrs Griffiths and Mrs Carter. After tea, the children enjoyed themselves with games, which were augmented by oranges, the gift of Mrs Vivian. In the evening, the children gave a service of song, entitled 'Pilgrims Progress'. Capt. Borlase presided. The meeting was opened with prayer by Mr Carter. The chairman, in opening the proceedings made some appropriate remarks. Mr Reynolds conducted, and the accompaniments were played by Mr R Evans. Both gentlemen are deserving of praise for the trouble taken to train the children. The duties of readers were ably filled by Mr T Harvey Griffiths. There

was a good attendance and it must be admitted that the **English cause is making good progress there** (author's emphasis) (Weekly News and Visitors Chronicle, 6 February 1890).

The young farmers club and the youth club both have historical precedents, and are national institutions run at the local level by voluntary and statutory agencies. The youth club held in the community centre in Llanrwst, is run by the local authority's education department. The local authority employed a youth leader and two assistant youth leaders to run the club, and it was described as:

...an educational service providing informal learning opportunities for young people aged 11-25 years old. However, it is generally accepted that a proportion of the young people who access the service will be within the category of 'children in need'...The service is an 'open access' service, i.e. open to all young people within the aged 11-25 years old. At present, within Conwy, the service is delivered almost exclusively via its network of youth clubs/centres. The location of provision, in the main, is based on historical precedent (CCBC, 1997b:16).

The youth leader in post during the period of fieldwork advised that it was largely twelve and thirteen year old children who attended the club, along with a few older young people. He referred to the older ones as a group of fifteen to seventeen year olds who 'hung about outside', and he estimated that there were approximately 'one hundred kids on the books, and a hard core of thirty regularly attended. Boys made up the larger majority'.

Contemporary problems in the youth club

In more recent times there had been difficulties in appointing a permanent youth leader for the club following the departure of a long serving incumbent, who had also held a position as a school teacher in the secondary school in Llanrwst. The transient nature of subsequent youth leaders, expressed in terms of 'eleven or twelve leaders', together with perceived problems of disorder and decline surrounding the youth club, were believed to originate in the 'less strict' years following the departure of the school teacher:

There weren't any problems when [he] ran the youth club (Mr Patterson).

The youth club was perceived locally as an anglicised club, and it seemed that there were problems in trying to attract a Welsh speaker to run the club:

There is a problem of getting a Welsh speaker to apply for the job of leader. The youth club is not seen as a traditional Welsh club like the young farmers or the Urdd [after school Welsh club] (Stanley).

In fact, when there was a Welsh speaker employed, it was only for a short period of three to four months. The motivation for this particular leader leaving was said to be based on a conflict of culture, the leader being Welsh and the young people attending the club being townies:

[the leader was] more Welsh and had little authority...the kids did not like [the leader] (Susan).

Organised culture, organised control

In contrast the young farmers club in Llanrwst was perceived locally as a Welsh club for josgyns. The person that ran the club was Welsh-speaking and the proceedings were conducted in the Welsh language. The ages of the young people attending ranged from age twelve to age thirty, although at the time of the fieldwork the club was largely made up of those aged fifteen and under. The attendees lived in Llanrwst town and the outlying areas, and approximately 80% of them originated from non-agricultural backgrounds. This was an interesting revelation, in that those that attended were perceived to be josgyns (farmers).

Local people contrasted the youth club and the young farmers club in terms of its organised activities:

The young farmers club is a different ball game to the youth club...[the young farmers club] has talks, for example, last week it was on industry and next week it is on homeopathy. After Easter it will be on outdoor pursuits and then agricultural development (Ceri).

These organised activities reflected a socially controlled environment for young people that had resonance with perceptions about social control in the imagined community (see chapter four).

In contrast the behaviour of the young people that attended the youth club was perceived by respondents to be disordered and deviant and even criminal on occasions:

Young people are pissed and then do damage. Last week the toilets were hanging off as the girls hang on them and talk over the cubicles...the kids do not want to be supervised and have someone watching over them all the time (Stanley).

And it was behaviour that was linked to the young people's social background (see earlier discussion):

A different class of children attend the youth club [in contrast to the young farmers club] (Stanley).

It was also an official perception reiterated in the local authority's Children's Services Plan (CCBC, 1997b), where 'children in need' were referred to as making up a proportion of those attending.

Young people's attendance at a particular club thus, acted as a representation of their cultural identity. It was an identity that was reinforced by perceptions of particular behaviour in these clubs, and this in turn contributed to the local reproduction of culturally institutionalised boundaries:

The kids from the youth club would not go to young farmers, if you wanted a riot then put them with the young farmers. In school when they [townies] are with the Welsh young farmers they end up fighting...the farmers wear tight rugby shirts (Tom).

Institutionalising constructions of modern behaviour

During the period of the research no reference was made regarding any perceived problems with the young farmers club or to those that attended. However, there were numerous references to the problematic nature of Llanrwst youth club and the young people from the town (townies and English):

There was a knife incident last year [outside the youth club] and someone had their tires slashed...the youth assistant's jacket was slashed (Heulwen).

There were problems in October 1998. They [3 lads] were causing such a disturbance [outside the youth club] that the police were called and they were arrested and cautioned...a group hang outside the youth club aged fifteen to seventeen smoking and drinking alcohol [when I attended the youth club I did talk to some young people aged fifteen to seventeen who were standing outside sharing a bottle of cider and smoking]. Sometimes they have to be thrown out for drinking...they were rowdy and aggressive...alcohol can be a problem and once or twice the kids have come in intoxicated...the youth club has a reputation for alcohol, pissheads and drugs, it has problems getting a leader to stay (Norman).

These perceptions about the unruly behaviour of the young people that attended the youth club acted to reinforce the wider community's perception of the negative impact of changes taking place at a local level: drugs, in-migrants, decline of traditional community and so on (see chapters one and four). This was because the disordered behaviour of young people in the town was believed to be changing in nature. Outside modern influences were perceived to be encroaching on young people's lives, and were constructed locally by respondents as a threat. Llanrwst youth club provided a prime exemplar of this threat to ideas of the imagined community with its perceived 'anglicised' and out of control 'problematic' status.

Of course, it would have been difficult for an incomer to attend a Welsh-speaking club because of the language barrier, therefore, an English speaking young person was more likely to be accepted by the English speaking children:

[one of the youth club members says] I am originally from Plymouth and was accepted by kids in town (David).

However, one feature of the perceived disordered behaviour was that in a small rural community it was particularly visible, and if it occurred on a Tuesday or Thursday evening then it corresponded to the evenings when the youth club was being held:

A woman called into the youth club to say that the kids were throwing stones and banging on the swimming pool door... A couple of weeks ago a lad was being chased around town and his mother came to the youth club shouting...there was a rumour the next day that the kids had smashed windows and the computer in the youth club but it was only some cards that were thrown on the floor and the kids running around stupid (Susan).

Reference to the perceived riotous and out of control behaviour associated with the youth club in Llanrwst was in marked contrast to the perceived controlled behaviour of those that attended the young farmers club. This contrast acted to reinforce cultural boundaries for local people as well as for the young people themselves (see chapter six).

On a national level the youth club organisation may have experienced problems with controlling young people, and its underlying founding philosophy may reflect its problematic nature as it is based on provision for 'those in need'. What was different, however, in the context of Llanrwst was that these problems linked to the youth club were constructed around a particular cultural identity. The organisation therefore acted to symbolise a particular cultural identity in Llanrwst, and this was bound up with underlying concerns about a threatened traditional way of life.

However, the youth club as a resource for young people was locally perceived by some respondents to be inadequate for young people aged thirteen upwards. In 1997 a committee was formed locally in order to champion an alternative club for young people that was deemed to be more appropriate. An application was submitted by the committee to the National Lotteries Charity in order to fund a new organisation for young people in Llanrwst.

This movement was born from local concerns about young people hanging around town with nothing to do. However, shortly afterwards on a national level the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 espoused a partnership approach to dealing with young people in order to deflect them away from crime. This more general concern may also have contributed to the view that young people needed somewhere else to go off the streets. Providing an alternative club for young people could be seen as a

preventative strategy regarding disordered and offending (criminal) behaviour. Two members of the criminal justice system, for example, spoke of the out of date image of the youth club:

Youngsters do not want a youth club they want a drop-in centre. The modern teenager expects more today (Mr Johnson).

Youth clubs are a thing of the past. Youth officers agree and the youth club needs to be re-designed (Mr Patterson).

However, the subject of an alternative venue to the youth club for young people, locally termed at the outset a 'drop-in centre' was to prove a catalyst for local politics. The period in which the idea emerged to the eventual setting up of the centre can only be described as a turbulent one. The connotations surrounding the centre were much more than 'teething problems' experienced by any new project, for example, with the building project or the neighbours. Rather the ensuing conflict was representative of the wider concerns of the community about local culture and belonging. The drop-in centre proved to be a timely venture that acted as an exemplar of the perceived threat from outside that was believed to be having a negative impact on the town .

Local difference and the drop-in centre

The fieldwork phase of the research encountered a number of differing opinions put forward by various respondents regarding a proposed drop-in centre for young people in Llanrwst. It appeared that this project meant different things to different people. During the course of its development (the project was not completed during the fieldwork phase) it seemed to encourage local political debate. The concerns raised directly about the implementation of the youth project in Llanrwst, however, need to be understood as symptomatic concerns about the broader changes that were believed to be negatively encroaching on the town.

Historical background

A spate of newspaper reports from 1996 to 1998 focused on the apparent concerns of local people regarding the disordered behaviour of young people in Llanrwst (see earlier discussion). This was paralleled by an emerging group of 'like-minded' people within the community, who were in discussions about the provision of another resource for young people in Llanrwst:

It began for me in 1995/1996 when I saw a letter in a local paper from a woman in Llandudno complaining about kids in a bus shelter. This incensed me as the kids had not left needles or graffiti or committed vandalism, but were just having a good time in the bus shelter. Someone was [in a town building] talking about the same kind of issues with young people hanging around, shouting, drinking by the river, broken glass and the parallel disquiet amongst the local community regarding young people. There were already some people who had got together regarding this...the disquiet among residents, teachers, councillors, the police etcetera over the behaviour, and in concern of the well-being of young people in Llanrwst...was the original spur that led to the meeting of the initial discussion group (Mr Edwards).

A board of trustees was formed, made up of members drawn from the town and surrounding hinterland. Members of the board included the then town mayor, a headmaster, a chemist, a bank manager and a general practitioner. The group registered itself as an unincorporated community association charity, concerned with the welfare of young people living in Llanrwst and the surrounding areas. The object was to:

...improve and further the leisure, learning and social activity of young people (Mr Edwards).

An application was submitted to the National Lottery Charities Board, and was subsequently successful in gaining a grant for £100,000. In April 1998 a building was purchased (The Berry Building) and Menter Ieuenctid Llanrwst (Llanrwst Youth Project) was established with its main objective cited on a promotional poster as being: 'to provide better leisure facilities for young people'.

Local reactions

It was, however, to become a project that generated some concern and conflict at a local level. For some respondents, and in particular those working in the voluntary and statutory sector, concerns were voiced about the lack of consultation with their respective agencies as the project evolved:

The youth club is run by the local authority, the drop-in centre effectively challenges the local authority provision (Mr Johnson).

This concern by professional organisations may have been exacerbated by the subject matter of the project, namely, children:

They don't want the police or social services involved. You have to be careful when dealing with children or you could end up in the News of the World (Henry).

However, the concerns did not remain exclusively with members of professional bodies. Rather concerns were voiced by various local people about the proposed project.

At the outset of the project the local police were involved. A meeting took place at the Eagles Hotel in Llanrwst town, and was attended by various agencies that included those dealing with drug abuse, as well as the founding committee members. The involvement of a drug agency in the meeting, however, acted as a reference point for encouraging local people's disapproval. Young people and drugs was not something that belied the image of a traditional community, rather it was a symptom of modern living, perceived as urban in nature, and therefore imported from outside:

The name drop-in centre means recognition of a problem which goes against the image of a rural town...it is not welcome linked to a youth centre. Drop-in suggests drugs and alcohol abuse and therefore it is not a positive sign for parents to send their children to the centre (Henry).

The linkage of the idea of a drop-in centre to drugs, reinforced by the associated image of what drop-in as a name represented, provided the ammunition for some townspeople who were less in favour of the project. A

letter was unofficially forwarded by an opposition member of the drop-in centre to a local activist who was against the project. The letter referred to the issue of drugs being discussed in the initial meeting about the proposed centre:

It [the drop-in centre] met opposition as it was rumoured it was a needle exchange. [She] said it was a needle exchange but she omitted to notice the needle exchange service on the chemist's door ...it is ignorance meets bigotry and feels threatened. We tried to explain and calm fears and the police supported the planning application. A letter from the drug and alcohol officer was photocopied by a councillor and sent to a dissident group and it was then paraded as a treatment centre (Mr Collins).

The letter had the desired effect. The discourse implicit in the term 'drop-in centre' had suggested a centre for 'druggies', and the mention of drug agencies in the letter acted to confirm this perception locally. By endorsing the project it would seem to mean a recognition of modernity and its perceived problems that were believed to be impinging on the town from outside. If the drop-in centre was endorsed, it would be taken to signify acceptance of the decline of the traditional community:

During the course of the local conflict surrounding the drop-in centre, any support and attendance at meetings about the centre that may have been forthcoming from the statutory and voluntary sector appeared to disappear very early on: 'I've disassociated myself with the centre now' (Tony), 'The police are not involved now' (Mr Patterson).

Respondents referred to the disorganised nature of the project, and how the professional services of the statutory and voluntary sector were disregarded by the committee. Respondents from these agencies had become wary of getting involved when the full backing of official channels did not seem to have been sought:

The idea has not been thought through and they should have the police or Youth Services involved as there are children. [We] do not want to be involved (Henry).

Local politics

There were also, however, underlying local politics at play. The setting-up of the youth project only acted to fuel an extant political conflict, and this was a situation repeated when other community action groups were formed (see later discussion).

The political conflict was perceived by some local people to be motivated by a mix of both personal and wider concerns. On a personal level, involvement in the youth project was on the surface constructed as being motivated by some kind of personal gain:

The initiation of the project was to make [him] look good and be remembered for doing something for the town...it is badly planned...the money should be returned [to the National Lotteries Charities Board]...I am sceptical of his motives for setting up the project (Mr Roberts).

In a broader context the opposition to the drop-in centre seemed to be motivated by party politics that were also perceived to be culturally informed. For example, conflicting versions either in favour or against the drop-in centre were interestingly contrasted from local townspeople who had different cultural origins (Welsh and English) and political beliefs (Labour and Plaid Cymru).

Nowhere was this perception of personal gain bound up with cultural conflict more overt than in the reported conflict surrounding two proposals for one venue. Some sectors of the community wanted a snooker club and other members wanted a nursery:

Cue for row if club is 'snookered' again – "...The fact is 400 people signed a petition for this club, but a small group wanted the Welsh-speaking nursery school. [Plaid Cymru County Councillor] gave the casting vote [for the nursery] (The North Wales Weekly News, 5 November 1998).

Outrage as council chairman [Plaid Cymru County Councillor] dramatically cuts short debate over plans to use £75,000 grant aid to fund a privately owned children's nursery at the old library building in Llanrwst, despite a 400 name petition for a snooker and billiard hall – "I am completely disgusted, as I am the local

representative for the Ward [Labour County Councillor]. I hope this is not the way Conwy County Council will be chaired in the future! (The North Wales Weekly News, 7 January 1999).

The ensuing row drew from various political and legal arguments about council procedures and agendas at an official level. However, at a local level rumblings of a personal nature also emerged. Accusations about the Welsh nursery being able to provide for the Welsh relatives of one of the proposers, and contrasting accusations about the interference from in-migrants regarding the proposed snooker club were made.

No matter how one viewed the contrasting arguments, as either personal or political, it was very difficult to discount the personal as political and vice versa. This meshing of local arguments from both different and overlapping contexts explicates the reciprocal nature of subjective and objective understandings (Giddens, 1991).

Cultural and social exclusion

On a wider level, therefore, the conflict surrounding the snooker club and the drop-in centre can also be understood as a manifestation of the changes perceived to be taking place within the town. These concerns had a resonance with, and therefore support from, other less politically motivated members of the community. As already discussed, the drop-in centre in its original format engendered concerns about the issue of drugs impinging on the rural community. Similarly, there were concerns about the decaying version of traditional community and belonging as in-migrants moved into the area and threatened the local culture:

The youth centre – people are against it as it is set up by incomers...(Mr Collins).

The drop-in centre committee was largely made up of people who could be perceived as outsiders:

I am on the committee...I am interested in running the drop-in centre...I am English (Susan).

That is, they were originally from outside the area and were not fully conversant in the Welsh language:

This [Welsh language] is not problematic for the project and the management is English. We will overcome the language and uphold bilinguals. However, we unashamedly conduct proceedings in English...there are divisions in the community (Mr Edwards).

The provision of the youth centre was perceived to be for those children hanging around the street, an assumption that automatically negated the inclusion of (constructions of) Welsh children participating in this behaviour. Welsh children were provided with organisations such as the young farmers and the Urdd to prevent them from being out on the streets, and these were organisations that were assumed to be unproblematic. It seemed that the drop-in centre was believed by some respondents to be intended for young immigrants, or the bilingual and English townies who were likely to be hanging around the street:

The new bye laws regarding drinking will sort it out [hanging around] on the square or down by the river, and if they move elsewhere then we will just change the focus to where they move. There is a drop-in centre on the agenda and this will house kids (Mr Ball).

What is also interesting about these two contrasting viewpoints is the perception of kids hanging around the street also differed at times according to who was explaining the behaviour. The usage of public space by young people was constructed by some local respondents as a 'new' behaviour that acted to signify the negative aspects of modernity encroaching on the town. In contrast, one in-migrant explained it in terms of a 'sheltered lifestyle', in that she believed that locals were closeted from such behaviours because of their localised daily lives. However, she went on to explain that 'hanging around' was a constituent behaviour of everyday life more generally in other areas:

We don't have any problems with the kids as we know them and can tell them to go home. But I do understand how a group of kids

can be intimidating to those who see them and are not used to it. People [Welsh people] who have not been anywhere and see these things have a perception that it is bad (Mrs Johnson).

Summary

Chapter four set out a framework whereby it was argued that categories of crime, deviance and disorder were culturally constructed by local people as one response to the social and economic changes they were experiencing in the market town where they either lived or worked (or both). This chapter has developed the argument of the cultural categorisation process further by focusing on how young people's criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour became institutionalised in local settings.

Institutionalisation at the local level, it was argued, incorporated a number of institutions and organisations in the process. For example, the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was evident in responses from the local authority, the media, criminal justice and voluntary sector agencies, as well as in practices related to specific organisations structured for young people.

The focus on young people was motivated by concerns put forward early on in the fieldwork phase by respondents, and subsequently this served to channel later analysis, in line with a grounded theory approach (see chapter two). During the period 1996 to 1998 concerns were voiced at a local level about the behaviour of young people in Llanrwst town. A particular section of youth were subsequently identified as problematic, and were culturally stereotyped according to their behaviour, such as hanging around town in the evening.

The young farmers club and the youth club were two organisations that provided a place to go for some young people. They were, however, much more than just a meeting place. Rather, they acted to symbolise cultural identity for local people. They became both markers and reproducers of ideas about traditional and modern community. This reproduction was evident in the local practices of both adults and young people regarding these organisations.

It was also further endorsed by concerns about a proposed drop-in centre for young people.

Adult members of the community transmitted various versions and constructions of youth living in the town of Llanrwst and the surrounding uplands. These versions formed part of the everyday reality of young people's lives. Young people as individuals, and as a group, lived and therefore interacted with, the adult members of their communities (parents, other family members, teachers, youth leaders, neighbours, shop keepers and so on). Chapter six moves the discussion forward in addressing the question of how young people reproduce categories of crime, deviance and disorder in their daily lives through their 'active' and 'receptive' experiences of these issues.

CHAPTER SIX

REPRODUCING THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY THROUGH YOUNG PEOPLE'S NEGOTIATION OF CRIMINAL, DEVIANT AND DISORDERED BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

Chapter four set out a framework of why cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour were constructed at a local level in Llanrwst. It argued that this was one response motivated by the social, political and economic changes that were being experienced by respondents in both the town and the surrounding hinterland. It also began to consider the process of this categorisation. Chapter five developed the argument further, by centring the discussion on how the categorisation was institutionalised at the local level through both statutory and voluntary responses to young people's behaviour. Two organisations for young people were focused upon: the youth club and the young farmers club. These two clubs, it was argued, represented much more than just meeting places for young people. Rather, they were organisations that acted to symbolise cultural identity for local people, and in so doing, they acted as both markers and reproducers of ideas about the imagined community and the perceived threat from modernising factors.

There are many influences on young people's daily lives, and these are well documented in the sociological literature under the broad context of the socialisation process. For example, it is argued that the family is the primary agency of socialisation, and secondary socialisation agencies include one's peer group, educational establishments and the media. In everyday situational contexts, young people are able to draw from their accumulated knowledge gained from these socialising environments, as they meet with and interpret new circumstances. Through their engagement with a situation, young people are able to actively negotiate, and thereby reproduce (either positively or negatively) their amassed knowledge simultaneously.

In the thesis, I argue that young people's negotiation of cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour acted to reproduce

ideas about community and belonging. Their knowledge of the categorisation process was built up through socialised experiences that were both mediated through primary and secondary agencies, and also through young people's active negotiation of their everyday lives. The outcome of their negotiation of the categorisation process acted to reproduce ideas about culture and identity, and therefore, about what was locally perceived as the imagined community and belonging.

Paul Willis (1977) in his book 'Learning to Labour', also discussed young people's negotiation of their daily school life by drawing from their accumulated cultural knowledge. Willis talked about the conflict situation between the tough working class boys, whom he called 'the lads', and the middle class world of the education system. He argued that 'the lads' coped with the education system by having a 'laff', because the middle class values of academic attainment were alien to their own understandings of a working class culture:

I mean, what will they remember of their school life? What will they have to look back on? Sitting in a classroom, sweating their bollocks off, you know, while we've been...I mean look at the things we can look back on, fighting on the Pakis, fighting on the JA's (Jamaicans). Some of the things we've done on teachers, it'll be a laff when we look back on it (1977:4).

By messing about in the classroom, Willis argued that 'the lads' were routinely learning to labour, in preparation for their future employment once they left school. Effectively, this meant they were constructing their own culture, which acted to reproduce their position in the socially structured world of work. Messing around was a way of relieving the boredom, a boredom that 'the lads' would also encounter when they entered the unskilled and laboured workforce of their futures, as had been the case for their fathers and grandfathers before them. This is exemplified in an extract cited by Willis that described a practical joke in a car engine factory. The joke according to Willis, draws parallels with the lads ideas about having 'a laff'. Both were driven by a

working class culture that believed authority should be disrupted or subverted in the course of one's daily activities :

They asked, the gaffers asked X to make the tea. Well, it's fifteen years he's been there and they say ' go and make the tea'. He goes to the toilet, he wets in the tea pot, then he makes the tea. I mean, you know. He says, you know, this is the truth this is, you know. He says, you know, 'I'll piss in it if I mek it, if they've asked me to mek it' (...) so he goes up, wees in the pot, then he puts the tea bag, then he puts the hot water in (...) Y was bad the next morning'. He told them after and they called him for everything. 'You ain't makin' our tea no more'. He says, 'I know I ain't, not now' (1977:55).

In effect, 'the lads' were engaged in both constructing and reproducing their position in the class system through their negotiation of the system. Giddens (1984) picks up on Willis' work in his theory of structuration. For Giddens, whose propositions were theoretically abstract, Willis' work provided an empirical example of how action and structure worked simultaneously.

The impact of agency and structure will be considered briefly in this chapter when discussing the youth club and the young farmers club. It is not the intention in the thesis, however, to develop a full blown empirical evidence for either structuration theory, or Willis' contention that the education system reproduces the class system. Rather, it is intended to draw parallels with Willis' idea of cultural construction and reproduction in the sense that the negotiated actions of the young people in Llanrwst acted to reproduce the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, and thereby, ideas about the imagined community and belonging.

This chapter begins with a brief consideration of the mediated experiences that formed an important part in the young people's accumulated knowledge of the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour at a local level. For example, as already mentioned, information gained through other processes such as the family or the media needs to be considered when assessing young people's negotiation of their daily lives. Young people's perceptions of their own identity and belonging are therefore discussed, together with their views on whom they believed fitted in a cultural

sense. Finally, young people's perceptions about the cultural categorisation of behaviour is considered, based largely on their mediated experiences at a local level.

Assessing young people's mediated experiences in a separate discussion at the beginning of this chapter is a strategy adopted because, as argued above, the later discussions on how young people negotiated their daily lives is necessarily bound up with their mediated experiences. That is, young people's knowledge of culture and identity through recourse to cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour was bound up with both their mediated and negotiated experiences.

By beginning in this way, mediated knowledge is presented as a topic of discussion in order to recognise its importance, and thereby, not negate its relationship to young people's negotiated daily experiences. In effect, it is argued that one acts to reinforce the other.

Bearing this last point in mind, and as already discussed in the introduction to chapter five, separating topics for discussion is for ease of reading rather than any deliberate decision to present sets of arguments as if they were entirely separate from one another. The socialisation process may occur at different levels on a continuing basis, but in practice each level does not act as a separate entity. Rather, it is a multi-faceted knowledge base from which one can draw upon to negotiate, understand and build upon new experiences.

Following on from the discussion of young people's mediated experiences, consideration is then given to the institutions and organisations that played a central part in the statutory and voluntary organisation of young people's lives at a local level. It is argued that both of these organising facilities were bound up with culture at a local level, albeit with different primary influences. For example, the structural framework of the school seemed to organise culture in the sense that it segregated pupils based on degree of fluency in the Welsh language. In contrast, the youth club and the young farmers club were culturally structured through local practices of attendance, based on geographic origin. For example, josgyns were located by

respondents in the young farmers club, and townies in the youth club in Llanrwst town.

It seemed that structure and agency (Giddens, 1984) acted at different levels in both the school, and the youth club and young farmers club. However, whichever force played a primary role in reproducing culture in the school or the two clubs for young people at a local level, the outcome was still the same. That is, conflating young people's cultural identity with their forms of behaviour associated with these different settings, effectively acted to reproduce the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, and thereby, ideas about community and belonging.

Within these settings for young people, interviews and observations during the fieldwork phase focused on how young people negotiated their daily lives with their peers. Because the majority of respondents in this phase of the fieldwork attended the institution of secondary education, a large part of this chapter discusses young people within the confines of an educational environment. In the school setting young people were observed to be active in their negotiations, that is, they were reproducing the cultural categorisation process through their negotiated behaviour.

Thereafter, the focus moves to the two organisations, that as already discussed, played a major part both symbolically, and practically, in young people's daily lives: the youth club and the young farmers club. The final part of the chapter moves away from the organised settings in young people's lives. It looks at how young people similarly reproduced cultural categories of behaviour through their negotiation of time and space outside of more formal environments.

Young people's mediated understanding

Cultural identity: locating self and belonging

As discussed earlier in chapter four, local level understandings of cultural identity were closely connected to where one was perceived to live. That is, if you lived in the town you tended to be referred to as a townie, and if you lived in the surrounding uplands you were perceived to be a josgyn. This

interpretation also seemed to be an important criterion for young people when making judgements about identity and habitat:

Just because I live on a farm they [townies] call me josgyn. I don't do anything on the farm...(Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

However, when the young people could not place themselves straightforwardly into this distinction it seemed to engender a deeper reflection of where they placed themselves. For example, Welsh young people living in the town did not perceive themselves as josgyns or English:

I'm a townie, but because I'm Welsh it's not the same...I don't think I could cope with being a josgyn...some of the townies call us josgyns and some of the josgyns call us townies...I know I'm referred to as a townie, but they [English] are like more of a townie, I can't explain it I just know (Angharad, Year 10, Welsh).

Their identity seemed to present a complex definition, and one that could change depending on context:

I'm not a josgyn, what I seem to think is that people Welsh speaking from Llanrwst wouldn't be josgyns. I don't go to the Red Lion [pub] they seem to me more Welsh 'cause it's a really Welsh pub that one...I'm in the middle, there's you know a crowd in my year that are very Welsh from farms and they go the Red Lion because they are the rugby crowd. They mix 'cause they know people from their villages from the farms...not many young people from Llanrwst go to the Red Lion...I mean I wouldn't say I'm a townie, but no I wouldn't say I was like really Welsh Welsh...I seem to associate my social life more in English, but then everything in school and around school is Welsh...school friends they are more Welsh, but friends outside it would be English yeh...I never went to the youth club, I think that again is 'cause I'm in the middle again, it was kind of gangs you'd see in school, like you know the smoker's lot (Margaret, Year 13¹¹).

¹¹ When young people moved to years 12 and 13 they were not segregated into classes based on Welsh, bilingual and English categories. Rather, they were classed as a mixed group. As the school categorisation has been used for years 7 to 11, no reference will be made to years 12 and 13 in language categorisation terms. The important distinction is that even though years 12 and 13 are not formally segregated, evidence from fieldwork analysis showed that they negotiated their own segregation.

Being bilingual then also added a further dimension in trying to understand their own identity:

Well all my friends are sort of Welsh as they were born here, but most of them, well they have like me one English parent, so they have very good English accents at home and things...the Welsh ones tend to be more scattered like in Llangernw, quite a few are from farming families, not all of them...I suppose they don't get on because they call them a sais [English] or something and they don't like that, and I'm sort of stuck in the middle...if the Welsh ones get cross with me they can call me sais, and if the English ones get cross with me they can call me josgyn...it can be kind of awkward (Carol, Year 10, moved to Welsh class from bilingual).

Degree of fluency in the Welsh language could be situated along a continuum (see later discussion) with bilingual young people placed initially in the centre. Depending on context, however, their position could move from either polar opposite, that is to a more Welsh or more English diametric position. Local understandings, for example, tended to locate the bilingual young people nearer the English side than the Welsh from the outset:

The bilingual class is classed as the English side, but we are not very Welsh really...yeh we're a lot more English than Welsh (Sonia, Year 10, Bilingual).

Language and accent were also important markers in young people's perceptions about identity:

...today in [school] service I was sitting in front of these English girls and they were Welsh themselves when they were in primary school with me... this boy stood up and he started to talk English and he had a Welsh accent, and they just started laughing and I thought, you know we wouldn't do that if they would be speaking Welsh with us, it's just the same isn't it, but they were laughing at this boy (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

At times identity could cross the language barrier, as young people wanted to locate themselves in a particular cultural identity regardless of language. For example, one English respondent was adamant that he was not a *sais* (English) even though he was in an English class at school:

I'm not a saison, I'd rather be a josgyn. If I have my choice I hang around with most of the Welsh people...I prefer them. My best friend lives in [the same estate in Llanrwst] as me, but a lot of my friends from school live in Pentrefoelas and Llangernw...they speak both [languages], they are Welsh first language. My best friend speaks English, he's Welsh, like proper Welsh stock yeh, but he can't speak Welsh (Emrys, Year 11, English).

For this respondent the primary marker of his own identity was his family connection to the town and not his fluency in the Welsh language. However, on other occasions language did seem to present an identity barrier:

You do get some Welsh people who talk English. To them [Welsh speakers] it's like if you know what I mean, I don't know, it's just as if you are lower if you speak a different language...[English]...actually I think there is quite a bit of a barrier between young farmers. I don't find it so much with my Welsh friends normally out of school when we go for a drink. But I wouldn't go to Llangernw just like to talk to someone or stay in someone's house. I just kind of meet them out down town. I got into my friend's mother's car once and she spoke Welsh to me but I tried to answer her back in Welsh, but I don't think I did it very well. She goes, "oh you're English speaking", I said yes, she said "never mind", I felt small...'cause my other friend spoke Welsh he was higher in her opinion...it was just the way she put it, but it made it look like that (Peter, Year 12).

Perceptions of crime, deviance and disorder in the hinterland

The young people interviewed believed that townies and josgyns behaved differently. Josgyns, they argued, were more likely to conform to adult expectations of their behaviour. They also believed that behaviour was influenced by where one lived, and this was again bound up with cultural identity and expectations of behaviour:

I lived in Trefriw [village outside Llanrwst] until I was about nine. I remember wearing reversible jumpers in Trefriw which were 'gwenny' [old fashioned] and if you said 'bloody' it was swearing. Then I came to [live in] Llanrwst and it was all 'F' words. It made me think I had led such a sheltered life, it was so different in Llanrwst (Tina).

As discussed in chapter one, the myth of the rural idyll has been a potent force in constructing different ideas about the country and the city. It was also an idea that proved to be of contemporary importance for some local people during the fieldwork phase, as respondents talked about moving to the countryside in search of a better life (see chapter four). One inhabitant of a village outside Llanrwst, however, believed that the rural idyll only seemed to exist in particular places in the countryside. For the respondent's father, the surrounding villages were safer than Llanrwst town:

My dad says we moved here [village outside Llanrwst] for us to grow up better, 'cause Liverpool was too much drugs. Llangernw is nice and peaceful. Llanrwst is not really safe because I've heard that there's drugs around and people breaking into houses and everything...it's not really [any] safer than Liverpool, but Llangernw you can trust the people more (Cindy, Year 10, English).

It seemed that modernity had reached Llanrwst, for this person at least. Village life in comparison, for both father and daughter, had retained its traditional character; a character summed up by references to 'safety', 'community' and 'trust'.

The young people interviewed also tended to refer to a contrasting version of town and village:

I wouldn't like to live in Llanrwst, it's just such a big place and there's nothing to do, it's the same with Glan Conwy, but Llanrwst is a lot more dangerous...there's more people who hang around, more people take drugs, more people who smoke...I wouldn't go down the riverside [in Llanrwst] or the council estate, it's pretty rough up there apparently, there are smashed bottles and stuff...there's the occasional crimes, ripping out car stereos and stuff like that (Tim, Year 10, English).

It was ironic in the sense that these young people constructed a version of Llanrwst that was in marked contrast to the safe and idyllic place some respondents said they had moved into the area in search of:

It's okay when you live out of the town, 'cause I live out of town, but if you lived in the town it's not really safe. There was a

stabbing a few months ago...there's a lot of fighting. it's mostly when the English people are drunk...they steal when they are drunk and they get under age drinking. They get older people, like you know people my age get older people to get drink for them, and then the older people get done for it and so do the young people and there's drugs as well (Candy, Year 11, English).

Perceptions of Llanrwst were therefore relative, and could be said to exist in the minds of their beholders (see chapters one and four):

The contrasting of village and town life had the effect of making Llanrwst seem quite dangerous. Village life was idealised by respondents as safe and harmonious:

Llanrwst is not as safe as Ysbyty Ifan, there's drugs and things like that in Llanrwst...I don't suppose I would like to walk alone [in Llanrwst] when it's dark, I don't have a problem with it there [in Ysbyty Ifan], you know everyone in your village (Anwen, Year 12).

It was perceived as a place where a different way of life existed:

They call us josgyns...it's just their way of life is different in the town from outside...it's busier there, there's more shops and they hang around town (Liz, Year 12).

And it seemed to conjure up for respondents ideas about the imagined community:

We are very close as a village, there's a school there and that's where they hold the youth club...I think Llanddoged is safe in a way because at least while I'm not here [in Llanrwst] I'm not sort of hanging round and getting drunk or anything like that 'cause there's no pubs or anything like that in Llanddoged (Holly, Year 11, Welsh).

When danger was perceived to be present in the villages outside Llanrwst, this was attributed, as in earlier times, to people from outside rather than from the villagers themselves (see also chapter three):

Like there's the tourists from the cities and stuff [coming to Betws] and they sort of nick cars and stuff. It's quite quiet people don't

expect a little Welsh village to get burgled, so they leave their cars open so they come in and nick them (Sonia, Year 10, bilingual).

Attributing blame to people from outside the village was not similarly the case in Llanrwst. Townies were included in the categorisation of troublemaker, although such behaviour was largely perceived to be influenced by the immigrants who had moved into the area. When people who moved in from outside did not cause trouble they presented a challenge to their stereotype:

In Glan Conwy we've just had a new family from Liverpool move in, but they seem to be quiet. I would expect them to be really rowdy (Simon, Year 12).

Dangerous places

Contrasting village and town seemed to have the same effect as the historical contrasting of country and city (see chapter one). The same kind of mythical safety net was thrown over village life, which also acted to highlight the dangerous side of town life in Llanrwst, albeit geographically situated in the rural heartland:

I wouldn't like to live in Llanrwst 'cause like it's too rough. Depends where you live, which bit, like the Square. I wouldn't like to live in town...loads of drugs and under age drinking (Sonia, Year 10, bilingual).

Historically, the migration from country to city both in Britain and America was perceived as problematic and dangerous, for example, the construction of the 'dangerous classes' during the nineteenth century (see chapter one). It now seemed that a reversal of these migratory patterns was perceived to be importing similar historical problems:

I think it is maybe families coming into Llanrwst [who commit crime] from bigger towns. They seem to you know bring that with them from like bigger cities like Liverpool, Manchester, places like that (Margaret, Year 13).

This kind of explanation acted to firmly locate any problems of crime, deviance and disorder in the context of explanations about an encroaching modernity. The imagined community represented a contrasting marker, and

this was exemplified by the contrasting of village life with the perceived changing nature of a traditional way of life in Llanrwst town. The cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour acted to mark out this difference, and subsequently shaped perceptions at both a grassroots and official level (see chapters four and five).

In sum, drawing cultural boundaries of identity bound up with forms of behaviour, acted to maintain the dichotomy of the imagined Welsh community versus a more dangerous and contemporary imported modernity:

I don't know, if you'd asked me ten years ago I would say yes definitely it was safe, but now because of all these families who come here it does go sometimes, there's alcoholics here. They had to arrest someone and it was only half past four on Friday when I was working, the police cars had to come...there was a stabbing one day in the pub, and it was only five o'clock...If we go somewhere on a Saturday night with my parents, my mum she would never go through the square because she's scared of them and my father as well because you don't know what they'll do because they are so drunk...sometimes it can get the Welsh the farmers against the English ones...[crime is] drugs in the main...I think it is people from outside, Manchester and Liverpool, they [townies] get pulled from here in with them (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

Mediating 'wild west' Llanrwst through local networks

The drunken disorder and fighting in the town square between josgyns and townies on Friday and Saturday nights (see chapter four) was regularly referred to by the young people interviewed:

I wouldn't hang about the square at night...drunk people around the square Saturday night...I've been with my Dad and with my Mam and I've seen them hanging out the pubs and things...drinking and dancing and everything...about ninish (Tomos, Year 7, Welsh).

It was interesting in that references to this form of disorder seemed to be mediated through local networks. That is, it was information gleaned from family members or the local newspaper for those respondents in years 7, 8 and 9 of the secondary school (ages 11 to 15):

It's not safe [in Llanrwst] 'cause people are always fighting. But I'm never there so it's okay. My Mam comes and tells me 'cause she used to work in a pub (Maggie, Year 9, English).

Very few of the young people interviewed seemed to have had direct experience of fighting, apart from what they had experienced in the junior school. However, this early experience of fighting between the Welsh and English, particularly when it had been linked to sporting events (see later discussion), may have aided their understanding of what they were being relayed about the relationship between townies and farmers fighting in the square on a Saturday night:

My mum has been telling me especially on a Saturday night when she's been going to Spar...mainly the farmers if like there's been rugby on Saturday (Jenny, Year 9, English).

It was referred to by the young people quite openly, and they did not appear to be shocked or unduly worried about the situation:

My friends' older brothers, if they were out on the Saturday night [and] they seen it [fighting] or something and the police had to be called and the helicopter been called to sort the fight out and it's been in the Weekly News as well...it's mainly the farmers against the townies...that's what we call them, the farmers against the townies or the Welsh against the English...it's not every Saturday, it's only if there's a football match or rugby match been (Llinos, Year 9, Welsh).

Rather it could be understood to be an accepted part of life in the area, and again only seemed dangerous when weapons were mentioned as in the case of the stabbing (see chapter four). But this 'out of nature fighting' was directly related to an English and townie identity:

My Mam goes out and my Mam tell us [about the fighting]. She just says that there's been fighting on the square and that there's loads of police and ambulances there...my Mamma's friend's sister's boyfriend got stabbed by someone there...he was in hospital really bad...he's from Llanrwst...it was probably drugs I think because he deals and that (Helen, Year 8, English).

If it was not the young peoples' families that had informed them about the disorder occurring on the town square, then it was gleaned from newspaper sources:

Sometimes on a Saturday nights there is trouble with bottles...in pubs and stuff they throw bottles and then the police come...it's in the newspapers (Eleri. Year 7, bilingual).

Locally, Llanrwst had a reputation as a disordered place, even as the 'Wild West' according to the local newspapers (see chapters four and five). Associating deviant, disordered and criminal behaviour with Llanrwst town seemed to act as a control measure in excluding young people from certain places and activities when they came into the town:

I try and avoid them as much as I can the kids outside Spar. I suppose I don't want to be seen mixing with them because I know what their sort's like...well I know a few of them are druggies and they are like, you know, they like their drink and stuff (Holly. Year 11, Welsh).

It also acted to influence parental control:

My mum and dad and my friend's parents do not really like us to be out late down town [in Llanrwst] so we don't go, we watch videos at night in each other's houses (Angharad, Year 10, Welsh).

The local Spar shop in the town square was associated with a space where townies hung about:

I wouldn't go there [the Spar shop in Llanrwst] 'cause it's English tend to hang out there so we wouldn't, just leave them to it (Anwen, Year 12).

Both English and Welsh respondents were well aware of this association of young people's cultural identity and use of space:

I don't hang outside the Spar shop [in Llanrwst] I don't like what it's associated with and like smoking and people like that (Sid, Year 10, English).

And it was a view as already discussed in chapter five espoused by local adults in the town.

Contaminating townies

The 'problematic nature' of Llanrwst seemed to be pinpointed by the young people to particular times and particular places, and this was linked largely to the consumption of alcohol on Friday and Saturday nights. Whilst the consumption of alcohol over the weekend evenings can pose problems for many towns and cities due to drunken and disorderly behaviour, what was particularly interesting in the context of Llanrwst was the explanations proffered of who was to blame, that is, either townies and josgyns or Welsh and English. It was a rivalry situation constructed around cultural identity, one that seemed to be accepted as a part of daily life as already discussed in chapter four:

Sometimes my friends [josgyns] get into a bit of fighting on nights out [in Llanrwst] but nothing serious. I have seen lots of fights in Llanrwst, it can be quite rough if you mix with the wrong people...there's some from Llanrwst, but there are country lads as well, farmers and that, they you know come down to Llanrwst and that and drink and that, so they get quite aggressive you know and just rugby gangs they are always fighting...not with themselves not much, but with Llanrwst people and that or sometimes we get people from the RAF coming from Liverpool and that 'cause there's a base here in Llanrwst, and when they are in Llanrwst there is nearly always fighting then...I was there [in the Square] a couple of months ago, there was big crowds...there was a heck of a lot of tension in the air, and it was quite daunting really. You know you weren't sure what was going to happen next, there was a big big gang, and one gang was on like one side of the street, and the other on the other...definitely they were English, Welsh, you know it just could have started maybe one of the Welsh lads just arguing or something with an English one and then he'd get his friends and the other one got his friends and it gets into one big trouble really...there was quite a bit of fighting and the police came and there was a few casualties and I think three or four got arrested (Peredur, Year 13).

However, some of the respondents argued that the nature of this rivalry had changed (see chapter four). This was because the local townies were perceived

as being infiltrated by socially disadvantaged English in-migrants who were proving to be a bad influence, as it was understood that they imported criminal and deviant behaviour with them:

Places have turned rough recently, especially in say the last eight years. There has been a lot of, I don't mean this to sound really horrible or anything, but like well single parent families like, from Manchester, Liverpool just come down here and thrown in a house. And it's just kids running round swearing at you, like you know the Eclipse, we sat over the big bridge watching the Eclipse and there was little kids passing swearing at us. I was in stitches, they must have been six maybe seven and the things they come out with is unbelievable. I found it quite funny but in another way if you are a tourist and you heard that from a seven year old you really wouldn't want to come back would you...The ones that hang around town, [I] don't really like them. Well there's a boy just moved in from Bradford or something, and he's only in Year 8 I think or Year 7 even, and he nicked a car you know from town here, drove off in the car...it's always been a little bit like that but it's getting worse now (Emrys, Year 11, English).

According to respondents, because the nature of the townie had changed due to outside influences, then the traditional rivalry was believed to be far more dangerous than just a healthy 'letting off steam' situation (see chapter four):

We tend to rush straight through 'cause well you hear there's been lots of sort of fights, gang fights and things. You know it's the adults and things coming out the pub...it's not very safe sort of evening times, it's okay in the day...I don't know many people who drink but those who do tend to be the ones who live in town so you know in the evening they hang around town...it tends to be the badly behaved ones when they be hanging around you wouldn't really want to pass by them (Carol, Year 10, Welsh).

As discussed later in this chapter, and in chapters four and five, people moving into the area from outside were constructed as problematic:

Oh they are [people who have moved in] violent, terrible. There's one family come down [from England] and they are, oh, he's a big boy and it's a big family and there's eight or nine of them and we stopped in town one night to go to the chip shop and this boy knocked on the car window. He was shouting and swearing and things and then he threw a pint of milk on the car and my father

said "I could have smacked him, he should be punished" but the police couldn't do nothing about it. He is in the bottom school and lives in Watling street. They are all a nuisance they are with drugs and they move down here and they make nuisance, they are friends with people from town (Marian, Year 11. Welsh).

These in-migrants were referred to by the young people in terms of their social disadvantage, and they were located in particular areas of Llanrwst town:

Watling Street I think is the worst place in town. There's someone new all the time you know...private and the DSS that's what it is and you go through town, maybe you're going home on Saturday night maybe it's half past twelve or one o'clock in the morning and you see little kids four or five years old they are out at that time of night. From a rough background really and when they're older they're cocky with older people, they have no respect, and vandalism and there was a they've you know caused a lot of trouble in the butcher's really - smashed two windows, they've broken a drainpipe you know. There's just trouble and spitting and that, just cheeky, when they are young so when they're older they are worse still (Peredur, Year 13).

The biggest problem, according to the young people interviewed, was that posed by the socially disadvantaged incomers moving in, a view also shared by many adults (see chapter four):

He [boys that nicked a car] lives in Watling Street, that's where they all live, there's always, there's a house there in Watling Street, and there always tends to be a bad family that moves in there you know...there's a lot of families move in to Watling Street and always tend to cause trouble. We don't see why they should move here and cause trouble to be honest with you...there's one now just gone back and she said she's coming back after she's finished school there [in England] and she's always like you know, you know you get cheeky with your teacher or something, but she was always beyond you know. The thing is the council move em to around here, it's a shame it spoils around here then doesn't it...they are friends with people from town you know the ones that smoke and stay out late...those new ones go they are drawing on the slabs by the flats...a lot have moved in, a lot go to the chalets as well...a lot of people have moved in, most of them do drugs. See when you are always going round like you know...you tend to go to Spar and go to the shop for a paper or can or something. You always see everyone. You know the ones that boast about it, and you see them that goes to the ones that are quiet, and you know who they are,

they are probably higher up or something so you know who they are and they are not locals (Emrys, Year 11, Welsh).

They could apparently be identified by their particular behaviour:

You can say the difference between the ones that's been here all the lives and the ones who has been moved here. You know they've got family problems and stuff like that. They shout and stuff, they are not shy and they are typical you know, loud mouths and stuff like that...they would be friendly with the people from the town definitely, the people they know and stuff like that with drugs because that's a big problem in town as well (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

And as already discussed, they were perceived to be a bad influence on the townies:

I don't know, I suppose drugs has been happening for thirty years. I suppose it's been happening for ever in Llanrwst on a small scale, but it's like people coming in from Coast, England maybe, saying "look what I've got, make money dealing that, might as well give it a go" local people mostly. People coming in show them [townies] what's what, kind of rubs off on them I suppose (Peter, Year 12).

The respondents who referred to the English in-migrants contaminating townspeople, seemed to take it for granted that they would be trouble:

People moving in are not good news really. We don't like to see, like in Watling street where the butchers is, two or three houses down have been turned into flats and there's some from a family of around eight I think from Warrington or somewhere like that. And some people are scousers and Manchester as well I think. They are bad news from rough backgrounds. They've been smoking since they are five years old and just drugs and fighting and everything, bad news really (Peredur, Year 13).

This may well have been because of language difference (as discussed earlier) with the English people moving in finding it easier to converse with the English speaking townspeople:

I don't know it's just we are from outside we don't really fit in. But then it's just 'cause it's a small town isn't it, they are all used to being just them...I don't think Llanrwst is more English speaking.

well not to get employment. you have to be bilingual (Olwen, Year 12).

However, some respondents believed that the incomers had different attitudes to the Welsh, and they did not want to be friends with them from the outset:

I suppose people round here have got similar attitudes, they've got different kinds of attitudes some of them [from outside]...I know a lad in Year 11, he seems, I don't know, he seems more cocky than you'd expect (Peter, Year 12).

The young people's perceived differences in the attitudes of locals and incomers, perceptions about cultural identity, use of space and associated behaviour patterns was similarly evident in their negotiated practices of everyday life. By focusing on this active process by young people for the remainder of this chapter, the preceding discussions can be seen to form part of the overall reproductive process of the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour and the underlying concerns about the imagined community and belonging.

Structure and culture in institutional and organisational environments

It can be argued that institutions and organisations operate a tight control on young people's daily lives, in addition to other forms of regulation they may be subject to, for example parental or guardian authority. In the broader context, for the purpose of the thesis, institutions can be understood as those that are educationally and/or religiously informed, and possibly further sub-divided by cultural, ethnic and special needs groupings. For example, forms of statutory schooling such as private, public and secondary educational establishments, and within these establishments, sub-groupings based on particular needs such as language ability or physical or mental handicap.

In contrast, organisations can be understood as settings that provide activities for young people outside more formal institutions, and again these may be based on specific criteria. Examples of such organisations would include particular interest clubs such as drama, golf, or music clubs, or those

others held on a regular basis such as the guides, scouts, or the St John's Ambulance.

Whilst these organisations can still be perceived as mechanisms of control in young people's lives, this control is less explicit as it is camouflaged by a more informal voluntary setting. For example:

...youth work was seen as a site of intervention where opportunities existed for the state to reinforce national norms and values and develop the responsibilities of citizenship (Smith, 1988:39).

In the context of Llanrwst town the major formal regulation of young people's time outside the home was imposed within the environment of an educational establishment, namely attendance at primary and secondary school based on age criteria. The concern of the thesis is with young people aged eleven to eighteen (an age range defined by respondents, see chapter two), and therefore, the secondary school played a central role in the focus on young people's negotiated experiences.

On a more informal basis, two main organisations provided activities outside the school timetable in the format of a club meeting place: the youth club and the young farmer's club. There were other organisations that met on a regular basis in the town, for example, the brownies, the guides, the cubs, the scouts, the chapel youth club and the Urdd. However, it was the former two clubs that appeared to be the leading players in the context of a conflicting cultural reproduction. That is, as already discussed in chapter five, these two clubs for young people acted as symbolic organisations that marked and reinforced cultural identity and belonging for local people.

It is also noted (and discussed later) that there exists a less explicit regulation of young people outside these institutions and organisations. That is, in the context of the broader spatial environment of the town. Here, expectations of the usage of public space across different times seemed to impact upon young people in an exclusionary manner. The important underlying point to be reiterated here, however, is that in Llanrwst such institutions, organised activities and usage of public space all acted in variable

degrees to construct cultural boundaries through either formal or informal means.

For example, at a local level structure could be understood as the primary organising feature of culture and agency, and in other circumstances culture and agency could be understood as the primary organising features of structure. Giddens (1984) talks of the reflexive nature of agency and structure, and how each influences the other. The relationship between structure and agency viewed in a local context was not one of equilibrium. In the organisation of young people's lives in the formal school environment, and the more informal youth club and young farmers club settings, the fieldwork analysis revealed different hierarchical power positions according to structural context. That is, the hierarchical supremacy of agency or structure was dependent on the context of the institution and organisation at a local level.

In practice it seemed that levels of structure and agency fluctuated unequally in the formation of cultural belonging and identity. This variable position is discussed further in the next two sections. First, it is argued that the institution of education was a structural framework that organised culture, and second, that the local cultural negotiation by young people of the youth club and the young farmers club structured these organisations. Whatever, the hierarchical position of structure and agency, both the institution of education and the youth club and young farmers club organisations acted to reproduce cultural identity.

Negotiating the structural framework of cultural organisation in the secondary school

The institution of education imposes a regulatory structural framework on a young person's time and space during the day-time Monday to Friday from the hours of nine to three-thirty. Young people live in an adult-controlled environment, and attendance at school is a major part of their young lives as directed by government and local authority educational policy. In a Welsh context, policy also informs cultural issues, where, for example the promotion of the Welsh language is compulsory in school education.

The implementation of the language policy was evident in Llanrwst by the tri-categorisation of Welsh speakers: Welsh (Welsh as first language), bilingual (Welsh as second language) and English (Welsh learner). This categorisation acted as a marker to segregate Welsh and English speaking pupils in taught lessons that may have been conducted in the Welsh language, for example, subjects taught through the medium of Welsh. Such segregation based on language, set out a framework within which young people developed relationships with their peers. This relationship in a segregated setting allowed young people to interact with each other from similar cultural backgrounds in terms of language ability.

As language is in fact crucial for communication, knowledge of language aided communication and therefore, the young people's relationships with their peers. It is no surprise in this case then, that young people formed relationships with each other, based on the facilitated organisation of their degree of ability to converse in the Welsh language:

They are always fighting in junior school. You know it's a common fact that the Welsh hate the English and the English hate the Welsh. Even if you are bilingual, they still class you as English you know...it's like English is another language. Well it isn't you know. I think that the Welsh don't really want the English to take over 'cause they feel like they are going to lose, you know, their culture (Crystal, Year 13).

Language

The structure of the school environment in the formal sense, that is the school timetable, laid down patterns of cultural segregation based on language ability. According to respondents, this affected the development of subsequent relationships between young people both within the formal school timetable environment and outside in the playground (see later discussion). This was because young people formed relationships with their peers who were part of the same group or classroom, and who were therefore, by default able to converse in their preferred or first language:

I don't really hang around with Welsh people. I think it is just because of the difficulty in communicating. Some Welsh do have trouble speaking English, and English have trouble speaking Welsh so I just don't think they get along that well (Tim, Year 10, English).

I don't hang around with [the] bilingual or English class [children]...I don't really know why. I just like playing rugby, something like that and we all talk Welsh (Wyn, Year 10, Welsh).

In its most basic form, the segregation of pupils based on language ability informed and maintained young people's negotiation of cultural identity and belonging in the school setting:

We don't hang around with each other 'cause they (the Welsh) just speak Welsh all the time and we don't understand it...I don't like it (Welsh language) that much, I don't understand it (Jenny, Year 9, English).

It was also a negotiation of cultural segregation that continued outside the school setting (see later discussion):

My friends are Welsh speaking, I haven't got any English speaking friends, I don't mix with the English. We don't play together and we are in separate groups in school. My best friend lives in Llanrwst and she is Welsh (Sara, Year 8, Welsh).

The structural constraints of the school timetable bound up with language ability impacted on other areas of interaction outside the formal timetable, and in effect, provided the basis for negotiating cultural identity through other processes. This was evident in young people's reference to physical conflict, use of space both inside and outside of the school building, and their utilisation of categories of crime, deviance and disorder as cultural identity markers.

Fights in the junior school

The secondary school is situated on two sites in the town of Llanrwst, and this separation is based on junior and senior status. Years 7, 8 and 9 attend the junior school and Years 10, 11, 12 and 13 attend the senior school.

It seemed that fighting was a 'normalised' part of everyday life in the junior school, and this action served to mark and maintain the cultural division between josgyns and townies:

Everybody that's Welsh I think gets bullied in this school, especially when I was in the first year [Year 7]. I remember the big third year [Year 9] English. They were always picking on you and calling you names. Welsh this and Welsh that, sheep and everything (Peredur, Year 13, Welsh).

It was a cultural division perceived by the young people in both geographical and linguistic terms. Josgyns were believed to be the 'real' Welsh, and respondents referred to a josgyns local habitat as the surrounding hillside villages and farms and places like Ysbyty Ifan, Penmachno and Llangernw:

Sometimes they (townies) start fighting and calling them josks [josgyns] and everythin'...the boys call them josks 'cause they're Welsh, farmers...they just get into fights...the josgyns live in Llangernw and Ysbyty Ifan and all them places, they are the Welsh ones (Jenny, Year 9).

In contrast, townies were perceived as being more anglicised both linguistically and in lifestyle, and they were located by respondents as inhabitants of Llanrwst town:

English people live in town [Llanrwst], they're just English [speaking], Welsh people, some live in town, but some live in the tops [hills] (Tomos, Year 7, Welsh).

The fighting was not perceived by the young people as anything 'big' or anything to be particularly worried about, and often it formed part of a game of football or rugby. After the fight the young people were friends again in the sense that the conflict subsided until the next time:

Oh it's nothing big, like Welsh and English...if you play football or something, sometimes the ball goes to the Welsh and the Welsh won't give the ball back, and all these things and then they start fighting (Eleri, Year 7, bilingual).

Underlying this conflict in the context of a game, however, was the cultural connotations that the particular game held for the young people:

Some play rugby, the Welsh ones. And some English ones play football (Emyr, Year 9, bilingual).

Rugby the national game of Wales is inherently physical and invites bodily contact:

We have rugby fights...we punch each other (English and Welsh), we just play violently (Meurig, Year 9, Welsh).

Football on the other hand tended to be viewed in contrast as an English game, and therefore justified provocation by the Welsh, such as hiding the ball if it came into their contact.

On a more general level, sport has often engendered situations of conflict between opposing fans on a national and indeed, international level. This conflict has been bound up with cultural identity, for example, the disorder witnessed at European football matches. It was a similar case in Llanrwst at a local level, and therefore, it could be argued the young people in the school were following in the same tradition:

I've seen loads of fights. I remember on the evening of the rugby when Wales beat England, we were in the Albion, and the floor was about 3 inches thick with glass and this girl was having like a bitch fight in the middle of the Albion and she had like blood pouring from her hand. But it's just I don't know you get used to it. It's just like people who get far too drunk and go really over the top...a lot [of Welsh] come from Blaenau into town on a Saturday, they usually fight with the locals [townies] (Crystal, Year 13).

It was interesting to note that for many of the young people interviewed, the instigators of fights that took place in the school playground unconnected to a sporting activity were perceived as being the English:

They like (English) start a fight with a gang and the gangs (English and Welsh) join in and there's a hell of a place. They punch and kick each other (Tomos, Year 7, Welsh).

These incidents were often referred to as 'gang fights'. and although not justified in terms of a sporting conflict, were still culturally informed fights in terms of respondents references to the josgyn and English participants:

There are fights sometimes with boys. Usually [the] English start it. They throw mud at them [the Welsh] and call them josgyns and things like that...we just call them farmers...we are friends afterwards (Stuart, Year 8, bilingual).

The physical fighting referred to by respondents tended to be in the context of boys fighting. Although girls were mentioned, with the conflict described as less physical and more psychological:

Its just bickering really with girls. girls (Welsh) bicker with the English...I keep quiet because my Dad's English (Eleri, Year 7, bilingual).

Yet this psychological conflict was still bound up with cultural reference in the sense that it was the 'English girls' or the 'Welsh girls' that were referred to:

Girls mostly just swear at each other...when we were in the dinner queue, we [English] pushed in front of them (Welsh ones) and they argue with us (Maggie, Year 9, English).

Fights in the senior school

Once young people moved up to the senior school, references to fighting were largely constructed, and located in the context of past experiences of junior school. However, these were still remembered in cultural terms, that is, between English and Welsh:

In the other school like the English call the Welsh josgyns and everything, and they get really annoyed and start throwing stones at each other and then they all start pushing each other in the river and hitting each other...it's mostly boys...people mature. have matured up here...down in that school they just take the mick all the time if you are Welsh or the Welsh take the mick out of the English (Candy, Year 11, English).

One male pupil tried to rationalise the fighting in the junior school. He talked about children coming together from different primary schools scattered across

the catchment area, and finding themselves all being located in one secondary school. Fighting, he argued, would break out after a couple of weeks in the process of locating one's cultural position.

This behaviour could be viewed as marking the boundary of cultural identity between josgyns and townies, a boundary that was less clear at the start of term as children from the hinterland mixed with children from the town:

There's not much [fighting] in this school, but in the bottom school yeh. When they come from primary school, normally you find the ones that don't like each other after a few weeks...like calling them josgyns, and you know you could call it racist more or less. They get discriminated against 'cause they are speaking their own language (Emrys, Year 11, English).

When reference was made to physical fighting in the senior school, it was also attributed to English girls fighting between themselves:

I know of somebody who was suspended for a couple of days for beating up somebody. It was a girl in this school, but it was out of school time. The girl was waiting for the train to Glan Conwy and they beat her up by the train station after school. I think they were mostly from town, and she was English (Holly, Year 11, Welsh).

There hasn't been fights in senior school between the Welsh and English for a while. Just fighting amongst the English, that's quite regular really...it's been mainly girls recently, they row and push each other...from the town really (Anwen, Year 12).

These accounts contrasted with the psychological conflict referred to by some respondents that took place in the junior school between the female josgyns and English.

By the time the young people reached the sixth form (Years 12 and 13) they seemed to have learned to negotiate their use of space within the school environment (see next section) with minimal conflict. This may have been as one respondent stated, due to a rationalisation of cultural position, and the fact that wherever one went, there were going to be English people (particularly say if one was hoping to go on to university):

In sixth form there's no fighting we just get on, 'cause we've got to. Wherever you go there's English there, it's bound to be, so you've got to get along don't you? (Nia, Year 13).

However, there were instances of physical conflict between sixth formers, although this tended to be mainly between the Welsh and English girls:

You get it here as well. [English and Welsh conflict] it's mostly abuse...she [Welsh girl] got all her friends by her and I'm down in the bottom corridor down there, walking down with my friends. She walks through the door and it swung and hit me, she did it deliberately yeh. I shouted at her, I didn't call her a Welsh bitch or anything like that, I just said what do you think you're doing? (Crystal, Year 13).

What was interesting, however, about the perceptions of some of the male sixth formers that fighting had more or less diminished by the time they reached this class, was reference to the townies having left by then:

I think all the troublemakers have left now, with everyone going to the sixth form...troublemakers more from Llanrwst yeh (Simon, Year 12).

The fact that many of the townies had left school by the time they reached the sixth form, also acted to conflate cultural identity with behaviour patterns. It seemed that Llanrwst townies did not tend to stay on at school:

I actually notice I'm the only lad from Llanrwst in the sixth form that speaks English...well there is a friend of mine...he lives in Llanrwst but he's more like a Welsh group if you know what I mean. There's no like really local [school] friends to pop to their houses (Peter, Year 12).

For this pupil, being a townie and staying on at sixth form presented a personal conflict regarding his peer group. He talked about having two groups of friends, and located these in different contexts:

I've got two different groups if you know what I mean. Like in school I'll be more with an English group. When I go out I'm more with a Welsh group...I just tend to go out more with my Welsh friends...[townies] live on the street, well most of them. The

Welsh have a lot of organised things like Welsh bands (Peter, Year 12).

First, in school he tended to be more friendly with an English group, but as he said, they did not live in the town like he did. When it came to going out socially in the evening he preferred to go out with his Welsh friends. This was, he said, because the English people from the town tended to hang about on the street, while the Welsh tended to go to more organised events.

This perception of different levels of organisation in young people's leisure activities is discussed more fully below in the context of the youth club and the young farmers club (see also chapter five).

Cultural space inside and outside in the playground

The young people from both the junior and senior schools referred to the relationships they formed with their peers in terms of cultural identity and language; groupings that were already marked in the formal structured programme of the school timetable. The reproduction of these formally structured cultural groups was evident in young people's references to usage of space in the school playground during break times:

We wouldn't join the Welsh kids 'cause we're not in the same class and we don't really know them. They've got their own groups...boys, the Welsh ones, go to the rugby posts, girls go anywhere but stick together [in cultural groups] (Maggie, Year 9, English).

The Welsh ones go to the far end to the rugby posts and sometimes the English come. They just, oh they don't respect our culture, and they say speaking Welsh is crap yeh and then we get angry (Meurig, Year 9, Welsh).

By the time young people entered senior school they seemed to similarly practice negotiating their use of space marked by cultural identity in the playground from Years 10 to 11:

The Welsh people they are normally out on the grass patch over there, and the English lot are normally playing football inside (Holly, Year 11, Welsh).

I hang about with English kids more than the Welsh. [The Welsh] go to the other side of the school where the tennis courts are (Sonia, Year 10, bilingual).

When the young people reached the sixth form (Years 12 and 13), their use of space outside of school lessons had changed. Sixth form respondents said that they did not use the playground during breaks, rather they had their own spaces within the structure of the school building. But again, this use of space was culturally defined:

[In sixth form] we do tend to keep to our own groups really. Everybody has got their spot I suppose. The Welsh tend to be on one side of the school and the English on the other (Anwen, Year 12).

Sixth form pupils had the use of a common room, a 'flexi' room and the library. The first two rooms were referred to by respondents as places to talk, have a cup of coffee and generally socialise, whilst the library was described as a place to work in:

...at the moment the English people they will always be in the flexi room, that's the lower sixth. Then upper sixth English will be in the common room, and then the upper and lower sixth Welsh people go into the library. We don't, I don't know why, it's just, it's supposed to be whichever room you want to be. Flexi for kind of talking working, library strictly for working and the common rooms just if you've got no homework (Peter, Year 12).

Interestingly, the Welsh young people used the library, a place that symbolised and in practice facilitated a working environment. The English and bilingual young people used the other two rooms that signified a more relaxed meeting place away from a working atmosphere. Even though the Welsh members of the sixth form socialised with each other in the library setting, the connotations bound up with their use of space and their culture could be said to have an implicit symbolic significance. This was because it acted as a sober contrast to the more informal environment chosen by the English young people.

Respondents across all academic years in the secondary school openly talked about their different cultural identities, the conflicting situations they had experienced as being members of particular cultures and the influence this belonging had on their usage of space. During the course of the interview phase with the young people, numerous references were made to the different behaviours of young people according to their cultural identification. Behaviour that was perceived largely to be deviant and disordered and sometimes criminal was attributed to townies:

Their behaviour is a lot different...well the Welsh ones are very well behaved but it's always the English ones that do any you know, drinking and smoking and fighting and things. You see them [English] hanging around town and things, and I don't think I have ever seen any of the Welsh ones doing that... (Carol, Year 10, Welsh).

In contrast, behaviour that was perceived to conform was attributed to the Welsh:

I would be very shocked if one of them [Welsh class] would be sent home from school (Llinos, Year 9, Welsh).

It was an identification of behaviour that could be easily separated by factors such as use of space in the playground, because the young people in the school had already marked out their cultural space:

The smokers (townies) normally hang out the front (Holly, Year 11, Welsh).

Marking cultural identity through categories of behaviour

As already discussed in both chapters four and five, the construction and reinforcement of cultural boundaries at a local level was achieved by the utilisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour as symbolic markers of cultural identity and belonging. They were also categories of behaviour referred to by the young people as they negotiated their daily lives both within and outside the school environment. Such negotiation of categories acted to

include and exclude particular young people in everyday situations (see later discussion), as well as reinforce cultural identification through behaviour.

In the school setting reference to categories of non-conforming behaviour by respondents tended primarily to include actions that were perceived to be deviant and disordered. For example, smoking, being disruptive in lessons, drinking alcohol on the street, dodging school and fighting:

...mostly the English ones go to a corner [in school playground] to get a smoke...sometimes in our classes some of the English girls they don't want to try, they are just not bothered and they just sit in the corner and they don't want to do anything...the teacher doesn't like that you see and he goes and gives them a row and then they will answer back and stuff like that...they are not afraid if they go to the headmaster, or the head of the year. All the girls from the Welsh, I don't know why, they are more scared, and then the English ones they don't bother, it doesn't bother them, they are mainly the ones from the town (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

Criminal behaviour was mentioned less often, and if this was the case it tended to be attributed to people who had moved into the area from England and included reference to drugs, stealing and burglary (see later discussion).

In both the junior and senior schools, behaviour such as smoking and dodging school was conflated with an English identity by both Welsh and English respondents:

None of my friends smoke, but most of the girls from town do. Most of the English ones smoke, but we don't in our group...I think it's something by the English ones that it looks hard, looks dangerous or something...(Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

I don't know that many Welsh people that smoke, but bilingual definitely and English some of them yeh (Tim, Year 10, English).

It was interesting however, that when dodging was admitted to by a Welsh pupil it seemed to take on a moral dimension. That is, it was explained as not dodging for dodging sake, but a justifiable action:

I have dodged yes, but to help on the farm...but I haven't been hiding in the toilets from lessons, things like that. I've stayed home to help on the farm sometimes, or when it is end of term and we

don't do any work. I haven't been dodging for dodging sake. there's always been a reason (Peredur, Year 13, Welsh).

It was the English who were perceived to take part in any behaviour referred to as 'bad', and therefore socially and morally unacceptable. The English, both English and bilingual children, were generally constructed as a group from the town, although there were exceptions that included English and bilingual young people living in the surrounding areas:

My friend from Betws, she's gone off with a crowd I don't like. Well they are into smoking and drugs and stuff, so I keep clear of it. They come into Llanrwst a lot for youthie [youth club], and like when the fair is on they're always here [in Llanrwst], stuff like that (Sonia, Year 10, bilingual).

When references were made to more criminal than deviant or disordered behaviour, as already mentioned this tended to be located outside the school environment:

I may be biased, but I do think actually that, um, the English are more troublesome than the Welsh...it was nearly always caused by English speaking pupils, you know they were spitting or stealing or whatever. I can't think of anyone in my year really who has been caught stealing or anything like that and was Welsh. But I can think of quite a few English, [taking] drugs or smoking or something...they have been caught stealing out of school, and drugs and that mostly, and you know a lot of drinking under age as well when they are very young and that. It seems like that some of them have created a bit of trouble in Llanrwst really. Fair time and occasions like that there has been a bit of trouble and the Police and that have been involved (Peredur, Year 13, Welsh).

Although both the English and the bilingual classes were perceived as English, the bilingual young people could be located in a central position between English and Welsh young people (see earlier discussion). In a sense bilingual young people could be placed conceptually on a continuum between English and Welsh where one's identity position was flexible according to context. For example:

No-one from the country would, you know, be friends with them [people from Manchester and Liverpool who move into Llanrwst]. Well I've never seen it. Just take it that you don't know them really. You know they are troublemakers, just a nuisance really. They you know cause trouble in school and they sometimes they will be friends with people from town and maybe they are alright but after they've got to know these people from Liverpool they go into a bit of troublemakers as well and go down the wrong road if you know what I mean (Peredur, Year 13).

That is, it was believed that if the bilingual young people got into trouble or behaved 'badly' then it was because they were influenced to a greater extent by the English children:

It sort of depends who they [bilingual] hang around with. If they hang around with the English ones then they tend to get into trouble. There were quite a few troublemakers in my old class [bilingual] last year...they would make the teacher's life very miserable. Just never do any work and be very noisy...the other [kids] are sort of frightened of them...there's a few in the bilingual class who take drugs...an awful lot of them smoke. I think just about 75% of them do, sort of bilingual to English, I don't know any of the Welsh ones who smoke actually (Carol, Year 10, Welsh).

Indeed, it was not just behaviour that was perceived as 'bad' that seemed to symbolise cultural identity, behaviour that was perceived to be 'different' also acted as a marker of cultural identity and Englishness:

A friend of mine [from the bilingual class I was in last year] was sent home because she dyed her hair pink and refused to dye it back again. Her mum was on her side that she should be allowed to dye it whatever colour she wanted so she didn't make her come to school...she goes to a different school now (Carol, Year 10, Welsh).

Dying one's hair may be viewed as a normal sub-cultural action undertaken by many young people across the country, yet in Llanrwst it also symbolised an English cultural identity because of its perceived modernising nature:

I think they [the English] are worse really, more rebellious, some of them, they are in the town (Anwen, Year 12).

Whether in reality the categorisation of deviant and disordered behaviour conflated with a particular (English) cultural identity did strictly apply just to English young people, it was a perception that seemed to be strongly adhered to by both English and Welsh respondents. Welsh young people were perceived to conform:

Josgyns never seem to do anything wrong, they seem to live by the rule books (Trudy, Year 13).

This conformity was linked to a particular stage of youth. It seemed that once the josgyns reached eighteen, the legal age for drinking alcohol in public houses, then their behaviour was perceived to be disordered at times. However, this was believed to be part of a natural progression and part of a traditional Welsh culture (see chapter four):

The josgyns have been here longer than the others [English]. The Welsh boys tend to not cause too much trouble until they are older, but the ones that cause trouble now, hang around town and all that. You know you don't see many Welsh people smoking, well my age smoking, but the ones that do speak English and you know from the towns and that, they do tend to smoke and drink and all that more than the Welsh people (Emrys, Year 11, English).

During the research it was in fact only the English or bilingual children that admitted they smoked tobacco or cannabis:

Yeh I've done it [smoked cannabis]. In this area it is so easy...if we go camping or something (Trudy, Year 11, English).

Minimal reference was made by the Welsh young people to their involvement in behaviour that they perceived as deviant, and if it was, then it was explained as being interlinked with their connection with English young people:

I have been done once by the police when I was hanging around with the English ones. One of my friends, um English had put my Taid's garage on fire with petrol about two years ago (Wyn, Year 10, Welsh).

However, it was a connection that was recognised as being a bad influence and was thereby quickly severed or distanced:

My two [Welsh] friends does [smoke] but [my two other Welsh friends] keeps away from them. We don't like to hang around with them when they are smoking so we go away sometimes. They talk English sometimes, like they are friends with English people that are smoking (Marian, Year 11, Welsh).

It seemed that both the Welsh and English young people's perception of what constituted a deviant act was different when it came to the underage consumption of alcohol:

I know alcohol is a drug, but I don't know I couldn't go to cannabis, oh I couldn't (Nia, Year 13).

That's one thing you can say about Welsh people, none of them smoke, none of them take drugs, but they drink a lot (Peter, Year 12).

For example, when reference was made to Welsh young people partaking in the underage consumption of alcohol, it was believed to be different to the English young people's action of consuming alcohol. This was explained by the contrast between the Welsh drinking alcohol in organised settings and the English drinking alcohol on the streets:

The Welsh do drink, but they have parties (Sonia, Year 10, Bilingual).

This last point about the Welsh young people having parties seemed to be the key to understanding the acceptance of Welsh children drinking under age. The justification was that the drinking took place in an organised setting, and this is what, therefore, appeared to make it acceptable:

We drink sometimes when we go out or something, it depends. I've been to a barbeque in young farmers. I didn't get drunk but I did have a drink, it was available at the barbeque...hooch or beer or something...we buy them...mum and dad are alright with me drinking, just that I don't come home drunk, don't drink on the streets (Angharad, Year 10, Welsh).

Negotiating the cultural organisation of structure in the youth club and the young farmers club

As already discussed in chapter five, the youth club and the young farmers club in Llanrwst town were two organisations that attracted different cultural membership drawn from local young people. The josgyns attended the young farmers club, and the townies attended the youth club. It was also a membership that acted symbolically to locate young people's behaviour within these organisations as culturally informed behaviour for both young people themselves and for the adult population. In so doing, a significant stage in the process of the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour was achieved by this perception of cultural membership and associated behaviour. Furthermore, it is argued, the young people reproduced the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour within these organisations by their own actions and negotiations.

Cultural membership

Membership of both clubs, as already discussed, was comprehensible at a local level. Josgyns would not go to the youth club in Llanrwst and townies would not go to the young farmers club:

I don't go...I suppose it's for Welsh people really (Sid, Year 10, English).

I wouldn't fit in [in the young farmers club] 'cause it's all Welsh people that go (Candy, Year 11, English).

However, according to both Welsh and English respondents, a prime reason for not attending the youth club was because of the perceived behaviour patterns of the young people who attended. The youth club had a particularly 'bad' reputation locally according to respondents, and numerous references were made to the kind of behaviour that took place in the vicinity of this club:

I don't go there [to Llanrwst youth club]. From what I've heard it's a bit rough. Well one of my friends like he goes but he doesn't

come to school next morning because he's usually got a hangover (Sonia. Year 10, Bilingual).

People are always naughty there [in Llanrwst youth club]...they throw stones at the window and are cheeky...smoking...some of them aren't in school...they fight with people their own age and the police are called all the time. (Maggie. Year 9. English).

I wouldn't go [to Llanrwst youth club] because they only go there to smoke and they are not really my friends either. They drink and stuff like that outside. I don't know, I just don't like it really...I know the crowd [who take drugs] so you just keep your distance from them (Sally. Year 11. Welsh).

Again, as discussed in chapters four and five, fluency in the Welsh language was also an issue. This was because it was cited by some of the Welsh respondents as an exclusionary mechanism that acted to discourage them from attending the youth club:

We never go there [to the youth club in Llanrwst]. I used to go swimming on a Thursday night to town [next door to the youth club], then we would see them hanging around and they wouldn't do much really just hanging around outside so it wasn't very appealing...they would shout stuff like josgyns or 'sad' or something like that...they just choose to speak English, they think it's more trendy or something like that (Anwen, Year 12).

Nobody speaks Welsh [in Llanrwst youth club]. It got shut down [at one time] 'cause they [two 16 year old lads that hang about outside] were throwing snooker balls round. They turned all the electric off and started throwing snooker balls round and they hit a lad in the eye so...once they smashed the door...you know the doors they are made of glass...they were drunk and they slammed the door and everything (Candy, Year 11, English).

And even when an occasion was referred to where some of the Welsh young people had attended the youth club, they were quickly told by youth club members that they did not belong:

They [four Welsh girls] came the other week [to Llanrwst youth club] and this girl was having a go at them, and she said get out you don't belong here, and they went (Maggie. Year 9. English)

There were, however, other youth clubs situated outside Llanrwst town that the Welsh young people did attend:

I don't go to Llanrwst youth club...people smoke and stuff...I go to Llangernw youth club Friday nights...my mum and dad take me in the car there (Sion, Year 8).

Youth clubs outside Llanrwst

One youth club situated in a nearby village was referred to on a number of occasions by respondents, and it was a club that clearly was perceived by the young people to have closer links with the Welsh fraternity:

I used to go last year [to Llanrwst youth club] with my Welsh friend, but there wasn't much Welsh people there. Then we went to the Llangernw one. In Llanrwst [youth club] there were a lot of people smoking and stuff and here [in Llanrwst] all the English, well not all, but most of the English are you know, more violent than the Welsh...it didn't feel safe and we didn't really socialise...a load of people got thrown out. I saw the police there once but I don't know what it was about (Meurig, Year 9, Welsh).

Its popularity, however, was not only bound up with the Welsh language being practised there, but also with the behaviour of the members. That is, it was believed to be safer than Llanrwst youth club, because the young people attending were Welsh:

I go to Llangernw [youth club]. I feel I can trust the people, the children in Llangernw than I can do in Llanrwst...and we know the people in Llangernw anyway because my Nain [grandmother] and Taid [grandfather] used to live in Llangernw...I just don't feel I could go to Llanrwst. It's because it's mainly English children going there and they smoke and stuff like that, but that doesn't happen in Llangernw youth club...in Llanrwst youth club there's fighting and stuff like that there...and smoking...I wouldn't be happy going to the one in Llanrwst after hearing the stories about it, I prefer to go to the one in Llangernw (Llinos, Welsh, Year 9).

One respondent who was English, however, and had moved into the area from Liverpool, said that she did attend the Llangernw youth club. Her father believed it to be much safer than Llanrwst youth club, and she did not seem to meet with any problems regarding the language issue:

It's mostly Welsh [in Llangernw youth club], but anyone can go there. the Welsh are okay with me (Cindy, Year 10, English).

Young farmers

Some of the Welsh young people talked about their membership of the young farmers club in Llanrwst, and this was only ever in terms of how much it had to offer in terms of organising activities:

I go Monday nights [to young farmers]. There's a lot going to young farmers, people from Llangernw, Pandy, Penmachno and Llanrwst. The older ones look after us. Some of my brother's mates [aged around twenty] are there. There was a quiz the first week, then a barbecue on Friday and last Monday we were doing circuit training. Another quiz tonight and then we are going to see a Welsh television programme being filmed (Angharad, Year 10, Welsh).

There was no reference made by either English or Welsh respondents to any problems in the young farmers club, either in the past, or in more current times. It was always described in positive terms:

I go to the young farmers club sometimes...it's good. All the Welsh ones get together and we are allowed to do stuff, we do quizzes and we do line dancing or games or stuff like that...there is never any trouble and everyone comes from Llangernw, Llanddaged, Nebo, Penmachno to Llanrwst (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

Negotiating cultural spaces outside the sphere of formalised control

Alcohol seemed to play an important part in young people's lives out of school hours. For example, as already discussed, alcohol was associated with some of the activities organised by the young farmers club, and with the young people who hung about outside in the doorway of the youth club, where it was believed to be consumed. Even when the young people were not attending the youth club and the young farmers club, alcohol still acted as a cultural boundary marker. In the town of Llanrwst, public houses were culturally exclusive places for some respondents. The Red Lion pub was known as a Welsh pub:

The Red Lion, the Welsh go there...I heard that the English never go to the Red Lion 'cause they think that it's full of josgyns and they'd never go there (Anwen, Year 12).

And this marking out of the Red Lion as a Welsh pub acted to exclude English young people, at least in their view:

I only go out like one day out of the weekend. I go to Betws first and then I go to Llanrwst...mainly three pubs, the Penybryn, the New Inn and the Albion. I wouldn't go to the Red Lion, 'cause there's a bad atmosphere and I remember me and some people from Betws went and stood in there once for a drink and the atmosphere was like so tense we just went and stood outside because that's a really Welsh pub and they just don't like us...definitely no welcome, so we just stay out of the way (Crystal, Year 13).

However, perhaps because the respondents were aged eleven to eighteen, most references to underage drinking were in the context of either drinking out-of-town, where perhaps they would not be recognised, or to drinking on the streets:

Yeah, we go out drinking now and again. We normally go to Swallow Falls...I don't think I'd drink on the street, I'd be too scared of being caught or something. In Swallow Falls I am always aware though because I mean whenever there's police round there I am very wary and I don't really want to go in...I just go up to the bar and they serve you. My parents don't like me drinking too much (Holly, Year 11, Welsh).

Drinking alcohol in out-of-town pubs tended to be attributed to the Welsh young people, and drinking on the streets of Llanrwst to the English young people:

Yeah, we drink alcohol. We go up to um Swallow Falls and stuff like that and Porthmadog...we go up to the bar...it's more difficult to pass the bouncers on the door, then once you've passed there it's ok, but some have fake ids [identification cards], but I don't bother with them in case the police get involved. Some of my friends would be very drunk...it's okay because everyone goes out now in our age and that and my parents don't mind because they like to see me go out and enjoy myself and meet people...they don't mind me having a drink, but not too much...I only drink when I go to these places. I would never go down town and go to Spar or Cellar 4 and

buy drink and hang around there or anything like that because of the crowds that are around town really (Sally, Year 11, Welsh).

It seemed that parents' views were taken into consideration by the Welsh young people, and although their parents accepted they had a drink inside a public house, they were not to have too much. In contrast the townies, both those in school, and those who had left school, talked about how they drank alcohol on the streets while they hung about town:

We go over the bridge and sit on the seats drinking. The police asked us to move last week. If it's raining we hang out at the side of Spar (Bethan).

The young people, who either admitted to, or were cited by others to be drinking alcohol outside the Spar shop, or in other public areas of Llanrwst town, were a group identified by their age. It seemed that those young people in years 7, 8 and 9 of the secondary school who tended to hang about outside the Spar shop were eating sweets:

We hang about outside Spar shop, well just for a bit, but not too long. We are on the other side [not at critch cratch], 'cause mostly the older teenagers go there...they are smoking and drinking...they've left school, they are about sixteen...they hang about outside drinking and smoking (Jenny, Year 9, English).

The older young people from years 10 and 11 and those that had left school were identified as the drinkers:

After youth club, we sit against the rail and just eat our sweets and stuff...I have to be in before 9.30. Critch cratch [an alleyway at the side of the Spar] is where the older ones hang around. We stand the other side by the gate in front of the Spar and the pub...we all just stay there...we usually call them [the older ones] names and run, they are drinking (Stuart, Year 8, bilingual).

In contrast, the Welsh young people were never referred to as hanging around town, a perception, that was borne out in fieldwork observations, as already discussed in chapter five. It seemed that for the Welsh young people, living in town acted as a measure of social control. If they were to hang about down

town, then they would be associated with the townies. This was because adults perceived young people out on the streets of Llanrwst in the evening as being up to no good, and this kind of behaviour was associated with the townies (see chapter five):

You can't really go out at night, just afraid of going out in case you'll get people looking at you. People said oh they should be at home or something like that if you go out eight or half past eight something like that...I just get the feeling like people look at you and say oh these children should be in bed by now. or they should be home by now doing their homework and stuff like that...we go around town in the day time, not in the evening. I don't go into town itself in the night I just go to my friends house (Llinos, Year 9, Welsh).

However, it should be noted that not all townies hung about town, even if this was a generalised stereotype of them at a local level:

I go straight home from school. I've got clubs I go to after school and things. I play golf on Thursday and there's usually football training on Tuesdays...I usually go out with my Dad on Sundays (Chris, Year 7, English).

Sometimes I go out and play games after school in the Leisure Centre. I have got to be in before it gets dark. I have a dog I take for walks sometimes, and sometimes I go and get sweets or something from the shops on my bike...my Mother wants me in at about eight thirty (Katy, Year 7, English).

Summary

As already argued throughout the thesis, local people in a Welsh rural town constructed cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour as one response to the changes they perceived were taking place at a local level. The concern of the thesis has been to discuss this process in order to give credence to this assertion. In so doing, and through analytical procedures bound up with a grounded theory approach (see chapter two), three stages appeared most pertinent during the period of data collection: the construction phase, the institutionalisation phase and the reproduction phase. Although of course, and as already pointed out, these phases were in reality inextricably

bound up with each other, and were not, therefore, phases practised in isolation at a local level. For example, each phase can be understood at different levels to combine all three dimensions: construction, institutionalisation and reproduction. For analytical and presentational reasons, however, they have been structured individually.

This chapter has focused on the reproduction stage, arguing that young people's negotiation of cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour acted to reproduce ideas about community and belonging in everyday life. It is further argued that their knowledge of the categorisation process was accumulated through both primary and secondary agencies of socialisation. The experiences young people gained from this socialisation process were bound up with the young people's active negotiation of cultural categories of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour in their everyday lives. Through the young people's negotiations of the categorisation process, it is argued ideas about culture and identity were reproduced, and these were ideas bound up with the imagined community and belonging.

Because young people spend a large part of their day in educational institutions, the secondary school was a natural choice for conducting interviews. This was not only chosen on methodological grounds, for example, ease of access (see chapter two), but also because the school played a large part in structuring the young people's time. Fieldwork observations also channelled the choice of focus on two organisations for young people: the youth club and the young farmers club, and thus, negotiated experiences in these two clubs also formed part of the data collection.

The secondary school and these two clubs proved to be complementary in that, whilst it is argued they both reproduced the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, they each did so by different processes. For example, the structural framework of the school organised culture in the sense that it segregated pupils based on degree of fluency in the Welsh language. In contrast the youth club and the young farmers club were culturally structured through local practices of attendance, based on area of residence. For example, respondents said that josgyns attended the young

farmers club, and townies attended the youth club in Llanrwst town. Indeed, this did seem to be the case from observations conducted during the fieldwork phase.

A final area of discussion focused on more informal settings for young people, for example, on the streets. However, even in these environments, there was still evidence of the reproduction of the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour through the young people's negotiated practices across time and space in their daily lives.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter draws on the main arguments of the thesis for two purposes. First, to draw together and summarise the thesis as a whole, and second, to use these arguments to discuss what has been learned and what new questions have been raised. Wolcott (1990:56) has advised that the closing statement should: 'recognise and resist the temptation of dramatic but irrelevant endings or conclusions that raise issues never addressed in the research', and that:

In reporting qualitative work, I avoid the term *conclusion*. I do not want to work toward a grand flourish that might tempt me beyond the boundaries of the material I have been presenting or detract from the power (and exceed the limitations) of an individual case (1990:55).

The thesis has argued that crime, deviance and disorder were forms of behaviour that acted as signifiers of cultural identity in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland. The reference to cultural identity was defined specifically in terms of either a Welsh or English ethnicity, although of course, this was by no means a simplistic differentiation and there were many gradations identified during the research. For example, there were three categories of language competence used in the local school: Welsh, bilingual and English, or the broader dimension of josgyn, townie and English applied more generally by the respondents. Each identity was also subject to factors other than language, such as accent, geography, particular context of definition and so on.

Ideas about cultural identity were bound up with ideas about behaviour, hence each dimension was inextricably linked to and thus symbolised the other. Put simply, incidents of crime, deviance and disorder were categorised at a local level according to particular forms of behaviour, and this categorisation of behaviour was bound up with perceptions about cultural identity. Disordered behaviour, for example, could be categorised by respondents as 'healthy' fighting if it involved josgyns, or 'dangerous' behaviour if it involved

townies. Young people who engaged in the under-age consumption of alcohol in public space were perceived as deviant, and this behaviour was linked to a townie identity. In contrast, young people who similarly drank while under-age in a more organised setting such as the young farmers club barbecue, were perceived differently and linked to a josgyn identity. Different behaviours, therefore, acted to signify one's cultural identity.

The whole process of categorising forms of behaviour that were bound up with cultural identity was a process that appeared to be driven by local people's concerns about the social and economic changes they were experiencing as part of their everyday reality. One visible dimension was the in-migration of people to Llanrwst town. In-migrants were believed generally to present a threat to local resources and aspects of Welsh cultural tradition. In particular, the socially disadvantaged in-migrants taking up temporary accommodation in the town were believed to import behaviours incongruent with perceptions of traditional Welsh community life - drug related crime, a transient population and young people hanging around town.

The in-migrants presented an alternative version to local people's familiar understanding of rural life, and effectively challenged their everyday reality. They also acted to signify an uncertain future. The familiar lifestyle people had come to expect, based on their accumulated knowledge of what they believed constituted a Welsh rural way of life, was perceived to be under threat. In turn, local concerns about the issue of in-migration became conflated with forms of behaviour and cultural identity. Crime, deviance and disorder effectively acted as symbolic markers of cultural identity and belonging for respondents, and this key idea represents a major theme of the thesis as a whole.

Indeed, the process of the categorisation is what underlay the whole thesis, and guided the subsequent explanatory framework of the fieldwork-based chapters that discuss the construction, institutionalisation and reproduction of this categorisation (see chapters four, five and six). Each discussion of these stages drew on different evidence and arguments. However, as already pointed out, these were not entirely separate parts, rather

they were all bound together in the whole process of the categorisation. The stages were separated out for ease of presentation and reading, and this is also a strategy that has proven helpful in presenting a discussion of what has been learned and what questions have arisen in the context of the thesis.

Construction

Situating the local context of everyday reality in Llanrwst town within the context of the broader processes of the restructuring of the countryside and more general globalisation theories means that a micro-level analysis can also be placed within a macro context. Generalising broadly, for example, about the conceptual value of rurality as localities have become increasingly homogenised across time and space has engendered the view that the countryside is facing uncertainty and instability (Giddens, 1990) (see chapter one). Certainly, this can be said to be true of contemporary Llanrwst, where social, economic and political changes on a wider scale have impacted at the local level (see chapter four).

Similarly, the contrasting theory about the strengthening of global heterogeneity in the face of global processes has argued that an awareness and experience of diversity and difference has become more accessible. Thus, responses to globalisation do not necessarily support the homogenisation thesis, rather they may contribute to the strengthening of local identities in the face of change, or even produce new identities (Cohen, 1986; Hall, 1992) (see chapter one). Elements from both arguments can be said to apply to the case of Llanrwst. It is true that there was a degree of instability and uncertainty at the local level that could be traced back to broader processes, such as the declining agricultural industry, the closure of local shops and people moving into the area (see chapters three and four). It was also true, however, that there was evidence of a strengthening of local identities in the face of such changes. This was in fact a response that manifested in the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder.

An understanding of broader processes alone, however, is not sufficient fully to understand the local context. What was being experienced as everyday

reality in Llanrwst could not be said to be true of all localities. Whilst the broader processes have significance, they cannot possibly reflect every case. Rather, everyday reality at the local level can be understood as a particularised effect of the restructuring of the countryside and the broader context of globalisation. It is as Robertson (1995) has argued, when global meets local, the glocal response is not necessarily the same for all areas. That is, the form the glocalisation process takes is dependent upon the social, economic and political conditions established across time and space. And furthermore, Crow (2000:176) has pointed out that:

The observation that broad social processes like globalisation have uneven spatial effects means that the specificities of location matter, and against this background the capacity of community studies to explore these specificities in detail represents a positive advantage of the approach.

It is important therefore to understand the micro-level as well as the macro-level as one does not necessarily reflect the other as a mirror image. The micro-level can be understood as a dimension of the macro-level. For example, setting the study in Llanrwst within the broader context of a number of relevant issues (conflict in the contemporary countryside, the meaning of rurality and community, marking boundaries of identity and belonging, and issues of crime in the countryside) acted to locate the glocal dimension. Again Crow (2000:173) has argued this point regarding the capacity of community studies:

First, community studies have the capability of 'placing' sociological arguments. Secondly, community studies have the capacity to illustrate the meaning of macro-level trends for people's everyday lives. Thirdly, community studies facilitate holistic treatments of the social relations under investigation through their emphasis on context.

Indeed, another generalised process that the thesis can be located within, albeit with its own distinctive everyday reality, is the relationship between locals and in-migrants, and the drawing of local boundaries of identity and belonging in

Llanrwst. Elias and Scotson's (1997:157, first published 1965) study of population movement argued that:

One can discover variants of the same basic configuration, encounters between groups of newcomers, immigrants, foreigners and groups of old residents all over the world. The social problems created by these migratory aspects of social mobility, though varying in details, have a certain family similarity.

And indeed parallels can be drawn with Elias and Scotson's argument about the image of outsiders being conflated with the 'minority of the worst' and the established residents being conflated with the 'minority of the best', which they argue is an 'emotional generalisation from the few to the whole' (p.159). In Llanrwst, josgyns were perceived to behave in ways that reflected concepts of the traditional Welsh community, for example, not hanging around town, attending socially controlled organisations such as the young farmers club and partaking in community life. Josgyns were believed to belong, and it was an identity that conjured up ideas about the traditional community, about good behaviour, or acceptably 'healthy' disordered behaviour. In sum, a josgyn could essentially be termed a conceptual identity that subsumed all the elements of the 'minority of the best'. In contrast, the townies and English immigrants were perceived to partake in deviant, disordered and criminal behaviour, and were taken to represent the 'minority of the worst'.

In the interviews with young people even the respondents themselves seemed to accept the construction of such a self-image, for example, the Welsh young people talked about the deviant behaviour of the townies, and similarly the townies and English young people talked about the 'good' behaviour of the josgyns, and how the Welsh young people never seemed to 'get into any trouble' (see chapter six). Elias and Scotson have argued that the established population 'can often impose on newcomers the belief that they are not only inferior in power but inferior by "nature" to the established group' (p.159). This point was exemplified when one young respondent referred to how she and a group of friends were called 'druggies' and 'slags' because they hung about outside the Spar shop. It seems their use of public space signified their

identity, an identity that was conflated with their perceived inferior status of 'socially disadvantaged in-migrant'. Similarly, attending the youth club in Llanrwst could be said to act as a signifier of a young person's perceived 'inferior' status, as it was an institution whose founding philosophy was based on 'children in need', and in Llanrwst it was a club that had become conflated with problematic behaviour (see chapter five).

A final point is drawn from Elias and Scotson's work that illustrates both a local social problem in the context of Llanrwst, and a wider sociological aspect of migration. In the context of Llanrwst, chapter four discussed how people living and working in the town and surrounding hinterland were experiencing social, economic and political changes at the local level and how this manifested in the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour. It was argued that respondents' concerns about the visible changes in their everyday life became transposed into issues of threat and instability and engendered a form of responsive action. Further, that a preliminary stage in the responsive action of the respondents interviewed was the construction of a historically imagined version of Llanrwst. In the case of Llanrwst, the imagined community (see also chapter one) was a version of reality that acted as both a reference point and a safety net in the divisive conceptualisation of 'traditional' community versus 'modern' community. Elias and Scotson locate such a response in the wider context when they argue that:

Confronted with the difficulties of a highly mobile and quickly changing world one is apt to seek refuge in the image of a social order which never changes and projects it into a past that never was (1997:160).

Institutionalisation

Moving from macro-processes to micro-processes is important if the glocal effect is to be appreciated. If the wider process alone is considered, then any responses can be said to be generalised and lacking in the particular. Of course, a criticism could also be made if one confined the focus to the local context, and did not take account of broader processes. It is only when the

micro-level analysis of everyday reality is considered that a 'true' understanding of the effects of broader processes can be understood within the local context. And this is an important consideration for policymakers at the local level, for example, in the allocation of relevant resources based on demographic factors such as population age and the requirements of local housing (see chapters one and four). Most significantly, however, for the thesis, is the consideration of Welsh culture bound up with perceptions of a traditional community lifestyle in the face of a perceived threat from immigrants, and the effect this perception has on the local context.

The cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder was bound up with long-standing ideas about traditional community and hence ideas about the rural idyll and a 'crime-free' or at least socially controlled countryside. In effect, such ideas can be said to have permeated and therefore directed a number of institutions at both a wider and more local context. This is what I will term both the academic and public institutionalisation of issues raised in the thesis. And it is an institutionalisation that has formed a hierarchy of ideas that has effectively funnelled the academic gaze towards the wider context, and at the local level acted to inform public institutions such as the local authority and the criminal justice system (see later discussion).

Principally, for the thesis, it is argued that long-standing ideas about rurality, community and crime in the countryside have acted to negate any understanding of crime, deviance and disorder in contemporary rural Wales (see chapters one and three). The issue of an urban hierarchy has been addressed to some extent by the 'cultural turn' in rural studies (Cloke, 1997), which has allowed a 'theorisation of difference' and a focus being opened up on a more diverse rural population such as young people, old people, the disabled, women, new age travellers, gypsies and lesbians and gays. But to date it has not been a focus that has been embraced by criminology, and therefore, has negated any specific rural context for understanding crime in the countryside. The urban hierarchy has maintained its dominant status among criminologists, and as Bottoms (1994) and Moody (1999) have argued, placing an importance on specific local environments has been neglected, and 'the field of rural

criminology remains largely unexplored' (Moody, 1999:24). What does this mean then for criminology, and exactly where does this locate the contribution made by this thesis? What has been learned, and which questions have been raised?

As discussed above (and also in chapter one), globalisation theses have argued for and against the homogenisation of identity and places across space and time (Lash and Urry, 1987; Giddens, 1990; Cohen, 1986; Hall, 1992). This has led some academics to argue that the conceptual value of rural is not a useful one against a backdrop of the changing nature of city life, and an increasing globalisation that encroaches on both towns and villages. This has raised questions about the relevance of a rural-urban distinction, and in so doing also negates ideas of a distinctive rural or urban identity. But this point of view is also challenged by the conceptual value of rurality that can be located in both concrete and more metaphoric understandings. The thesis has argued that the metaphoric value of rurality was important in Llanrwst, and similarly the value of concepts of the traditional (imagined) community in respondents' lived reality. Such understandings can also be linked to more concrete aspects, for example, lack of resources, geographical location, sparsely populated areas and a dominant (at least in terms of perception) agricultural industry, and reinforced by perceived threats such as in-migration (see chapters one and three).

If we accept that there is a valid rural-urban distinction, and consequently situate Llanrwst town and the surrounding hinterland at some point within a rural-urban continuum (the town was perceived as either semi-rural or semi-urban dependent on who was doing the defining - see chapter one), this raises a number of points and questions. First, and as already discussed, the distinction was based on everyday reality and closely embedded with concepts of the traditional community, ideas about Welsh culture and a perceived threatened lifestyle located in aspects of the modern community. Second, and again already discussed, was the importance of locating the global context of both local and broader processes. Third, if this resulted in the local cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder, what did this process

mean for understandings of crime and criminal justice in the local context, and fourth, how did it affect the everyday reality of both locals and in-migrants.

The last two points, which are also questions, will form the basis of the rest of this chapter. The first question raises issues about the meaning of the categorisation process within local institutions, and the effect this had on locals and in-migrants. The second question raises issues about how the categorisation impinged on negotiating everyday life, and in the next section this is placed in the context of young people's lived reality.

Chapter five of the thesis developed the framework of the cultural categorisation process by focusing on how young people's criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour became institutionalised in local settings. Local social and political networks challenged the perceived threat of social and economic change by stereotyping the cultural identity of the 'typical in-migrant' as 'townie' or 'English' and, in some cases, as criminal or deviant. Such a response incurred particular consequences for people in Llanrwst. For example, young people experienced both social and cultural exclusion (see also next section) in the context of two clubs: the young farmers club and the youth club. Each club had their own cultural membership, and were thus institutions that acted as boundary markers of cultural identity and belonging. Contrasting perceptions about the two clubs' members were maintained by the cultural categorisation process, as it acted at the local level to reinforce ideas about identity and belonging. Josgyns were located in the young farmers club by respondents and were described as well-behaved, townies and English were located in the youth club in Llanrwst which was perceived as an anglicised club with a history of problematic behaviour. Neither josgyn nor townie would cross the boundary marker the other club signified, and thus the boundary also acted as an exclusionary mechanism. On one occasion when josgyns did attend the youth club it was made clear they were not welcome and they did not attend again (see chapter six and next section).

The local authority and the criminal justice system at a local level could also be said to have institutionalised the cultural categorisation of behaviour. Reference, for example, was made to the 'changes within its indigenous

population' with regard to in-migration to the town and how this had affected the rural population (see chapter six). And also, members of the criminal justice system talked of the 'hard working life' associated with agricultural labour, and the 'letting off steam' on a Saturday night when such workers came into the town from the outlying areas. Some respondents working within the criminal justice system talked about the different ways of dealing with disordered behaviour in Llanrwst compared to other more densely populated areas on the coast. It was said that the farmers' behaviour was often regulated by an informal response of 'piss off home now' in Llanrwst, whereas in other areas such behaviour would result in a more formal response. This was explained a number of times by the fact that locals and their families were known to the police, and this in itself acted as a measure of social control. Of course other respondents referred to the changing nature of Llanrwst in that both the police and neighbours were no longer known, and associated this with the perceived breakdown in local social control by the community (see chapter four).

This raises questions, then, about the changing nature of social control at the local level. And also, if social control measures were indeed implemented on a more informal basis in the context of ideas about Welsh identity bound up with the traditional community (as some respondents believed), further questions need to be asked about how this is done and what are the implications for those people who find themselves caught up in the system. These were questions largely outside the remit of the thesis, although the perceived changing nature of social control at the local level was discussed in the context of the imagined community (see chapter four).

Reproduction

The institutionalisation of the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder did not just stop at the institutions discussed above. As chapter six highlights, young people reproduced ideas about community and belonging through their negotiation of everyday life in various contexts, and this included both primary and secondary agencies of socialisation. That is, their knowledge

of the categorisation process was built up through their socialised experiences that were mediated through institutions such as the family, the secondary school and after-school clubs and organisations, as well as in more informal contexts such as their usage of public space.

By its very nature, the secondary school played a central role in the statutory organisation at a local level of young people's lives. This was also added to by the attendance by some young people at voluntary organisations such as the youth club and the young farmers club. It is argued in the thesis that these facilities were bound up with culture at a local level, albeit with different primary influences. For example, the structural framework of the school seemed to organise culture in the sense that it segregated pupils based on degree of fluency in the Welsh language. In contrast, the youth club and the young farmers club were culturally structured through patterns of local attendance. The organisational framework of the school, effectively, segregated young people according to cultural identity because it separated out pupils in different classes based on fluency in the Welsh language. This was a statutory process, and therefore, has broader implications at a national level.

Another point that is outside the remit of the thesis, is the segregation of pupils based on language, and thereby it could be argued, cultural competence, which could be said to be a contributory factor in the exclusion of young people from particular culturally informed activities. It is well documented in the literature that peer groups play a major part in the secondary socialisation process. It could be argued that local peer groups were determined to a large extent by the structural constraints of the statutory organisation of the school, whereby Welsh young people, for example, were segregated according to competence in the Welsh language from English young people.

However, it is important to note that such organising of cultural boundaries may not be overtly recognised, and may be accepted as 'normal' everyday life. As Sibley (1995) has pointed out:

It is the fact that exclusion takes place routinely without most people noticing, which is a particularly important aspect of the problem (xiv).

It could be argued then that cultural boundaries were constructed inadvertently through organisational processes such as schooling, and thereby, there was a sense of 'normality' about any consequent inclusionary and exclusionary practices. However, in a more local context, the young farmers club and the youth club segregated young people according to their cultural identity, but this was not a statutory obligation, rather, it was negotiated at the local level by the young people themselves, and was informed by the cultural categorisation process. Young people therefore, can be said to have negotiated the cultural categorisation process as part of their everyday reality outside the more formal environment of the classroom. Paul Willis' (1977) work was used to draw parallels with his idea of cultural construction and reproduction in the sense that the negotiated actions of the young people in Llanrwst acted to reproduce the cultural categorisation of criminal, deviant and disordered behaviour, and thereby, ideas about the imagined community and belonging. Young people, for example, reproduced the categorisation process in the playground, in their attendance at the youth club and the young farmers club, and in their usage of public space. In sum, it could be argued that young people were themselves complicit in practices of inclusion and exclusion rather than any inclusionary and exclusionary practices being what could be determined as an outcome of the structural framework of the school.

Young people's negotiated actions can be seen to have generated both inclusionary and exclusionary practices in their perpetuation of their cultural segregation. In the school playground, it seems that young people 'knew their place', with the Welsh hanging about by the rugby posts and the English by the football field, while the townies (well, at least the ones that smoked), congregated by the front of the school. In the sixth form, the Welsh tended to congregate in the library and the English in the flexi room. In the junior school, fights between the josgyns and the townies acted as both active and retrospective boundary markers. That is, in the junior school the fights appeared to be commonplace, and by the time the young people had reached

the senior school they were remembered in cultural terms, that is, between the English and the Welsh.

As already discussed, attendance at Llanrwst youth club and the young farmers club was negotiated at the local level, but it can be said that the local practices of attendance were inherently exclusionary because of their cultural connotations linked to identity and particular forms of behaviour. Young people who attended the young farmers club would not attend the youth club, and similarly, members of the youth club would not attend the young farmers club. The youth club was known locally as an anglicised club, one that had a history of problematic behaviour associated with the young people that attended. On one occasion four Welsh girls attended Llanrwst youth club and they were told by a member of the youth club to 'get out you don't belong here'. The young Welsh people explained that they would not attend the youth club in Llanrwst because 'people smoke', 'people are always naughty there' and 'they drink and stuff like that outside'. Similarly, members of the youth club said they would not attend the young farmers club because 'I suppose it's for Welsh people really'.

These negotiated practices of attendance by the young people themselves acted to reproduce ideas about community and belonging, both within these organisations and outside in the wider context of the town and surrounding hinterland. This is because they perpetuated the segregation of cultural identity, and the idea of different behaviours associated with the particular club. On a policy level, such segregation and exclusionary practices on both sides raises questions about the setting up of resources for young people. For example, local resources were more than the sum of their constituent parts, rather they acted to symbolise cultural identity and belonging and thereby reproduced ideas of community and belonging. This was clearly the case in the proposed establishment of a drop-in centre. At the outset such a resource engendered a local response that located it outside of ideas of the traditional community and hence Welsh culture and identity. Thereby, if a drop-in centre for young people had been set up, from the start it could be argued that it would signify cultural membership and cultural exclusion in that it would serve

as a boundary marker between concepts of the traditional and modern community. (see chapter five).

The central point argued in the thesis has been the importance of taking into consideration lived realities in order to understand the local context. The local context should be situated within a broader context, and in particular should consider the social, economic and political factors relevant to the glocal situation. In so doing, in the context of rural Wales, the cultural context has proven to be an important consideration in understanding perceptions of crime, deviance and disorder. This understanding has been related to the broader processes of globalisation. The adoption of the urban-centric focus common among environmental criminologists would not have allowed the development of any such understanding of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst, or indeed, in rural Wales more generally. Furthermore, understanding the process of the cultural categorisation of crime, deviance and disorder in Llanrwst and the surrounding hinterland has raised questions for further academic research, as well as issues for local policymaking and practice (see above discussion).

For example, the specific local environment in the rural context has been neglected by criminologists. However, as the thesis has argued, it is only by focusing on the local context that a 'true' understanding can be gained about the meaning of crime, deviance and disorder in the glocal context. In Llanrwst the categorisation of such behaviours was closely bound up with ideas about the traditional community and Welsh culture perceived to be under threat from in-migrants. It could also be said that local policy practices were both influenced by, and contributed to, this categorisation. Criminal justice employees, for example, seemed to take it into consideration when dealing with disordered behaviour in an informal manner, and as discussed this has implications for local social control. And for agencies providing resources for young people such as the local authority (Llanrwst youth club) and the young farmers club (in Llanrwst) the categorisation process can be said to have been reproduced within these settings and thereby contributed to inclusionary and exclusionary practices. There are, however, difficulties in attempting to eliminate inclusion and exclusion in young people's lives in the local context.

The categorisation process is inextricably bound up with cultural identity and the Welsh language. For example, the provision of a club that (in theory) would attract both Welsh and English young people would raise questions about the language, and similarly disbanding the segregation of pupils in the secondary school based on their ability to speak the Welsh language would also raise questions. If every young person was to participate fully in all spheres of everyday reality at the local level, then it could be argued that English would be the preferred language because everyone can speak it. However, this has grave implications for the cultural reproduction of the Welsh language and it is, clearly, a dilemma that is so far unresolved in Llanrwst.

APPENDIX 1

Schedule 1 for interviews with young people aged 11-18 living in Llanrwst

Use for: young people in school setting (Ysgol Dyffryn Conwy)

(Before I start I would just like to thank you for helping me with my study on Llanrwst today, and to let you know that no-one else will see or hear anything that you say to me. Also any information that I use in the future for my project from this interview will not use your name. To save me taking notes as we go along, would you mind if I used my tape recorder?.) (informal statement).

Section 1: Background Information *(background info on in-migration, Welsh culture, gender etc)*

1. Age:
2. Gender: F/M (circle one).
3. What part of Llanrwst do you live in? *(area rather than specific address).*
4. Who do you live with?
5. Have you always lived in Llanrwst? (tick one) Yes No*
- * (if no) Where did you move from?
- * Why did you move to Llanrwst?
6. Can you speak Welsh? (tick one) Yes* No
- * (if yes) Is Welsh your first language?
- * Do you use Welsh everyday. If not, why don't you speak Welsh?

Section 2: School ('In-place?') (*implicit themes: inequality/deprivation; categorisation of groups; culture; social exclusion; victimisation; social control mechanisms; concepts of time, place and space, when are young people out of place during school hours?*)

7. Do you enjoy school

What is it like?

Do you feel safe in school? (*issues of victimisation, bullying, crime, drugs etc*)

What do you want to do when you leave school?

Do you want to stay in Llanrwst?

8. Who are your friends in school, do they live in Llanrwst town or outside?

Are there particular groups of friends within school (*English/Welsh*) and if there are which group do you think you belong to?

What makes these groups different?

Do you all get on together (*Welsh/English*)?

Are there any troublemakers in school? If so who are they (*age, gender, Welsh/English etc*)?

9. Have you or your friends ever played truant from school?*

*(if yes) Why, and what did you do on those day(s) you played truant?

Where did you go?

Were you caught? And what happened?

10. Have you or your friends ever been sent home from school for doing something wrong (excluded/suspended)?*

*(if yes) Why, what did you do?

11. Tell me about your friends, do any of them ever get into trouble in or out of school? (*smoking, drinking, fighting, told off by parents, teachers, neighbours, other adults*).

12. Have your friends or yourself ever been bullied and if yes by whom? Or have you ever seen anyone being bullied?

13. What do you do lunchtime?

Do you stay in school?

Do you stay with your friends? (*sit with particular groups*)

Or do you go into town? (*with your friends*)

If so where do you go?

And what do you do?

14. What about home time, do you and your friends go straight home? Or do you go somewhere else first?

15. Does the school ever have organised events like discos?

Have you been?

Has there ever been any trouble? (*drinking, fighting etc, who was involved?*)

Who do you think was responsible for any trouble?

Section 3: Organised Leisure ('In-place?') (home/adult supervised,)
(implicit themes: deprivation/inequality; time and space, when during periods of organised leisure are young people out of place?; concepts of deviance; social control mechanisms - by adults, organisations, community)

Home

16. What do you do at home? (watch TV, computer, have friends around, listen to CDs etc)?

Do you get on with your parents/people you live with?

Do you like living in Llanrwst? (if yes or no, why?)

Do you ever play near your home, e.g., football?

Have your neighbours ever complained about you and your friends?
Why?

Can you go out evening and weekends, and do you have a time when you have to be in?

Have you ever been grounded? Why?

Organised Leisure

17. Do you attend any organised activity - youth club, young farmers, use leisure centre, swimming pool, shopping etc?

Are these facilities adequate, or would you like to see something else for young people in Llanrwst?

Why do you go to that particular club and not another (can name as apply, e.g. youth club, young farmers etc)

What do you do there?

Meet friends

What is it like?

Do you ever see/have any problems there?

Who do you think causes any problems?

Have you ever been banned from ?club?

Section 4: (Un)organised Leisure ('Out of Place?') (issues of time, space, place, community) (*implicit themes: deprivation inequality; concepts of deviance/crime; time, space and place; local social control mechanisms; victimisation; social exclusion; community perceptions; young people's perceptions; policing*)

18. Do you ever go in to Llanrwst town just to meet friends?

Where do you meet?

What time do you usually go into town?

Do you stay in the same place?

Do you have any particular places to hang out? (*Square, river etc, Glanrafon flats*)

What do you do when you are hanging out? (*nuisance, drink, smoke, drugs*)

Do you ever get anyone asking you to move on?

Who? Why?

Are there any problems when you hang out?

Who do you think is responsible for any problems that may occur?

19. Do you ever go into pubs in Llanrwst?

Which ones?

Do you ever see any trouble in the pubs, e.g. fighting?

Who do you think is responsible?

Are there any pubs you would not go into?

Have you or your friends ever been sent out of a pub? Why?

20. Do you ever see the police around Llanrwst?

What do you think of the police in Llanrwst?

Do they ever come up to you?

Ask you to move?

Stopped you or your friends for any reason?

Asked you about any crime etc?

Ever called at your home?

21. What is it like to live in Llanrwst?

Do you think Llanrwst is a safe place to live?

Do you have any worries/fears about living in Llanrwst?

Are there any places/times you would not go somewhere in Llanrwst?

Is there any trouble in Llanrwst?

Is there any crime in Llanrwst? What kind of crime?

Who do you think is responsible for any trouble?

Who do you think is responsible for any crime?

22. Have you ever seen any trouble, fighting etc on the Square? (e.g., at the weekend)

Who do you think is responsible?

(I would just like to thank you once again for taking the time to talk to me, no doubt I will see you around Llanrwst sometime).

APPENDIX 2

Schedule 2 for interviews with young people aged 11-18 living in Llanrwst and outside

Use for: young people in school setting (Ysgol Dyffryn Conwy)

(Before I start I would just like to thank you for helping me with my study on Llanrwst today, and to let you know that no-one else will see or hear anything that you say to me. Also any information that I use in the future for my project from this interview will not use your name. To save me taking notes as we go along, would you mind if I used my tape recorder?.) (informal statement).

Section 1: Background Information *(background info on in-migration, Welsh culture, gender etc)*

1. Age:
2. Gender: F/M (circle one).
3. Where do you live (if Llanrwst answer next question)?
What part of Llanrwst do you live in? *(area rather than specific address).*
4. Who do you live with?
5. Have you always lived in? (tick one) Yes No*
- * (if no) Where did you move from?
- * Why did you move to?
6. Can you speak Welsh? (tick one) Yes* No
- * (if yes) Is Welsh your first language?
- * Do you use Welsh everyday. If not, why don't you speak Welsh?

Section 2: School ('In-place?') (*implicit themes: inequality deprivation; categorisation of groups; culture; social exclusion; victimisation; social control mechanisms; concepts of time, place and space. when are young people out of place during school hours?*)

7. Do you enjoy school
 - What is it like?
 - Do you feel safe in school? (*issues of victimisation, bullying, crime, drugs etc*)
 - What do you want to do when you leave school?
 - Do you want to stay in?

8. Where do your school friends live (in Llanrwst town, in your village or elsewhere)?
 - Are there particular groups of friends within school (*English Welsh*) and if there are which group do you think you belong to?
 - What makes these groups different?
 - Do you all get on together (*Welsh English*)?
 - Are there any troublemakers in school? If so who are they (*age, gender, Welsh/English etc*)?

9. Have you or your friends ever played truant from school?*

 - *(if yes) Why, and what did you do on those day(s) you played truant?
 - Where did you go?
 - Were you caught? And what happened?

10. Have you or your friends ever been sent home from school for doing something wrong (excluded/suspended)?*

 - *(if yes) Why, what did you do?

11. Tell me about your friends, do any of them ever get into trouble in or out of school? (*smoking, drinking, fighting, told off by parents, teachers, neighbours, other adults*).

12. Have your friends or yourself ever been bullied and if yes by whom? Or have you ever seen anyone being bullied?

13. What do you do lunchtime?
 - Do you stay in school?
 - Do you stay with your friends? (*sit with particular groups*)
 - Or do you go into town? (*with your friends*)
 - If so where do you go?
 - And what do you do?

14. What about home time, do you and your friends go straight home? Or do you go somewhere else first?
15. Does the school ever have organised events like discos?
- Have you been?
 - Has there ever been any trouble? (*drinking, fighting etc. who was involved?*)
 - Who do you think was responsible for any trouble?

Section 3: Organised Leisure ('In-place?') (home/adult supervised,)
(implicit themes: deprivation/inequality; time and space, when during periods of organised leisure are young people out of place?; concepts of deviance; social control mechanisms - by adults, organisations, community)

Home

16. What do you do at home? (watch TV, computer, have friends around, listen to CDs etc)?

- Do you get on with your parents/people you live with?
- Do you like living in? (if yes or no, why?)
- Do you ever play near your home, e.g., football?
- Have your neighbours ever complained about you and your friends? Why?
- Can you go out evening and weekends, and do you have a time when you have to be in?
- Have you ever been grounded? Why?

Organised Leisure

17. Do you attend any organised activity - Youth Club, Young Farmers, Use Leisure Centre, Swimming Pool, shopping etc?

- Are these facilities adequate, or would you like to see something else for young people where you live or if you come into Llanrwst?
- Why do you go to that particular club and not another (can name as apply, e.g. youth club, young farmers etc)
- What do you do there?
- Meet friends
- What is it like?
- Do you ever see/have any problems there?
- Who do you think causes any problems?
- Have you ever been banned from ?club?

Section 4: (Un)organised Leisure ('Out of Place?') (issues of time, space, place, community) (*implicit themes: deprivation inequality; concepts of deviance/crime; time, space and place; local social control mechanisms; victimisation; social exclusion; community perceptions; young people's perceptions; policing*)

18. (for those living outside Llanrwst) What do you do in the village you live?
- Where do you go in the evenings, weekends, holidays in your village?
 - Do you meet your friends somewhere in particular and hang out?
 - Why do you choose to hang out here?
 - Are there girls and boys hanging out together?
 - Are there Welsh and English people hanging out together in your village?
 - Do you ever have any friends visit from other villages/towns or perhaps other young people that you may not be friendly with?
 - Do you ever go into the pub(s) in the village where you live?
 - Have you ever been moved on by someone in your village for doing something?
 - What about the police, have you ever seen them around your village?
 - Do you ever see anything in your village like graffiti, alcohol, fighting, drugs?
 - Do you think that it is a safe place to live?
 - Is it the same in Llanrwst (safe)?
19. Do you ever go in to Llanrwst town just to meet friends?
- Where do you meet?
 - Are these young people you meet English speaking or Welsh speaking from Llanrwst Town or outside Llanrwst?
 - If they are English speaking are any of them from England originally?
 - What time do you usually go into town?
 - Do you stay in the same place?
 - Do you have any particular places to hang out? (*Square, river etc. Glanrafon flats*)
 - What do you do when you are hanging out? (*nuisance, drink, smoke, drugs*)
 - Do you ever get anyone asking you to move on?
 - Who? Why?
 - Are there any problems when you hang out?
 - Who do you think is responsible for any problems that may occur?
20. Do you ever go into pubs in Llanrwst?
- Which ones?
 - Do you ever see any trouble in the pubs, e.g. fighting?

- Who do you think is responsible?
- Are there any pubs you would not go into?
- Have you or your friends ever been sent out of a pub? Why?

21. Do you ever see the police around Llanrwst?

- What do you think of the police in Llanrwst?
- Do they ever come up to you?
- Ask you to move?
- Stopped you or your friends for any reason?
- Asked you about any crime etc?
- Ever called at your home?

22. What (*do you think it is like to live in Llanrwst)/ is it like to live in Llanrwst?

- Do you think Llanrwst is a safe place to live?
- *Would/do you have any worries/fears about living in Llanrwst?
- Are there any places/times you would not go somewhere in Llanrwst?
- Is there any trouble in Llanrwst?
- Is there any crime in Llanrwst? What kind of crime?
- Who do you think is responsible for any trouble?
- Who do you think is responsible for any crime?

23. Have you ever seen any trouble, fighting etc on the Square? (e.g., at the weekend)

- Who do you think is responsible?

(I would just like to thank you once again for taking the time to talk to me).

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APPENDIX 6

Brief biographical details of 52 respondents interviewed outside school setting

Note: all names are pseudonyms. English speaking denotes monoglot English or Welsh learner, Welsh speaking denotes Welsh first language, bilingual denotes English first language.

Annie - female, aged 20s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Arthur - male, aged 40s, working and living outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Bet - female, aged 20s, works in Llanrwst, lives outside, Welsh speaking.

Bethan - female, aged 17, living in Llanrwst, student, bilingual.

Caroline - female, aged 40s, living and working outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Catriona - female, aged 40s, local authority worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Ceri - female, aged 20s, living and working outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Damien - male, aged 50s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, bilingual.

David - male, aged 15, moved to Llanrwst from England, English speaking.

Felicity - female, aged 30s, lives in Llanrwst, bilingual.

Frank - male, aged 40s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Harold - male, voluntary organisation worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Harvey - male, aged 30s, local authority worker, living outside Llanrwst, bilingual.

Henry - male, aged 50s, works in Llanrwst, lives outside, Welsh speaking.

Heulwen - female, aged 20s, working and living in Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Julie - female, aged 30s, lives and works in Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Mary - female, aged 40s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Michaela - female, aged 80s, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Mick - male, aged 40s, local authority worker, lives outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Mr Ball - male, aged 40s, moved into area from England, works in Llanrwst, lives outside, English speaking.

Mr Collins - male, aged 50s, moved into area, lives in Llanrwst, works outside, English speaking.

Mr Davis - male, aged 50s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Mr Edwards - male, aged 50s, works in Llanrwst, lives outside, returned to area, English speaking.

Mr Efans - male, aged 70s, retired, living outside Llanrwst, does voluntary work in town, Welsh speaking.

Mr Hawkins - male, aged 50s, moved to Llanrwst from England to retire, English speaking.

Mr Huws - male, aged 30s, working in Llanrwst, lives outside, local to area, Welsh speaking.

Mr Jarvis - male, aged 40s, working and living in Llanrwst, moved into area, English speaking.

Mr Johnson - male, aged 50s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, bilingual.

Mr Lexton - male, aged 50s, local authority worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Mr Patterson - male, aged 50s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Mr Roberts - male, aged 60s, retired, living in Llanrwst, does voluntary work in town, moved into area, bilingual.

Mr Thomas - male, aged 60s, retired, living in Llanrwst, moved into area, Welsh speaking.

Mr Thompson - male, aged 60s, working and living in Llanrwst, moved into area, English speaking.

Mr Williams - male, aged 30s, living and working in Llanrwst, moved into area, Welsh speaking.

Mrs Davies - female, aged 60s, living and working in Llanrwst, local to area, Welsh speaking.

Mrs Jennings - female, aged 50s, housewife, moved to Llanrwst from England, English speaking.

Mrs Johnson - female, aged 40s, works in Llanrwst, moved into area from England, lives outside, English speaking.

Mrs Jones - female, aged 20s, housewife, moved to Llanrwst, living in town, Welsh speaking.

Mrs Owen - female, aged 40s, working and living outside Llanrwst, local to area, Welsh speaking.

Norman - male, aged 30s, lives and works outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Paul - male, aged 30s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Sandy - female, aged 30s, born in Llanrwst, living outside, bilingual.

Sasha - female, aged 40s, local authority worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Sophie - female, aged 40s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Stanley - male, aged 40s, lives and works outside Llanrwst, Welsh speaking.

Steve - male, aged 30s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, bilingual.

Stewart - male, aged 40s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Susan - female, aged 40s, moved to Llanrwst from England, works in town, English speaking.

Sylvia - female, aged 19, moved to Llanrwst as child, works and lives outside town, English speaking.

Tina - Female, aged 20s, living and working in Llanrwst, local to area, bilingual.

Tom - male, teenager, living in Llanrwst, unemployed, bilingual.

Tony - male, aged 30s, criminal justice system worker, lives outside Llanrwst, English speaking.

Brief biographical details of 43 respondents interviewed within school setting

Note: all names are pseudonyms.

Angharad - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Anwen - aged 16, lives in Ysbyty Ifan, Welsh.
Candy - aged 15, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Carol - aged 14, lives in Dolwyddelan, Welsh.
Chris - age 11, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Cindy - aged 14, lives in Llangernw, English.
Crystal - aged 17, lives in Betws y Coed, English.
Derek - aged 15, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Des - aged 13, lives in Dolgarrog, English.
Dion - aged 17, lives in Cwm Penmachno, English.
Eleri - age 12, lives in Llanrwst, bilingual.
Elwyn - aged 16, lives in Eglwysbach, Welsh.
Emrys - aged 15, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Emyr - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, bilingual.
Helen - aged 13, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Holly - aged 15, lives in Llanddoged, Welsh.
Ieuan - aged 15, lives in Trefriw, bilingual.
Jayne - aged 17, lives in Dolwyddelan, Welsh.
Jenny - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, English.
John - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Katy - age 12, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Liz - aged 16, lives in Penmachno, Welsh.
Llinos - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Maggie - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Margaret - aged 17, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Marian - aged 15, lives in Llanddoged, Welsh.
Meurig - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Nia - aged 17, lives in Cerrigydrudion, Welsh.
Olwen - aged 16, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Peredur - aged 17, lives in Pandy Tudur, Welsh.
Peter - aged 16, lives in Llanrwst, bilingual.
Sally - aged 15, lives outside Llanrwst, Welsh.
Sara - age 13, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Sian - age 12, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Sid - aged 14, lives in Llanrwst, English.
Simon - aged 16, lives in Glan Conwy, English.
Siôn - age 13, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Sonia - aged 14, lives in Betws Y Coed, bilingual.
Stuart - age 13, lives in Llanrwst, bilingual.
Tim - aged 14, lives in Glan Conwy, English.
Tomos - age 12, lives in Llanrwst, Welsh.
Trudy - aged 15, lives in Pentrefoelas, English.
Wyn - aged 14, lives in Maenan, Welsh.

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