Do not quote without permission from the authors

A daily occurrence: exploring the experiences of people who use the Sophie Lancaster website

Bogusia Temple and John Wainwright
(**btemple1@uclan.ac.uk**)
(**JPWainwright@uclan.ac.uk**)

School of Social Work 2010

Acknowledgements

A daily occurrence: exploring the experiences of people who use the Sophie Lancaster website

Background

On 11th August 2007 Sophie Lancaster and Robert Maltby were attacked because of their appearance as Goths and Sophie died on 24th August. Her mother, Sylvia, set up Sophie's Memorial Trust. Although police at the time did not regard the attacks as hate crimes, at the trial of the attackers Judge Russell stated "This was a hate crime equal to all others" and set a legal precedent with his opinion that the hate crime legislation was adequate for such cases because judges could use their discretion in deciding to prosecute. The charity has since been very active through the media, schools and criminal justice system in raising awareness of the number of verbal and physical attacks on people because of the way they dress and in trying to change stereotypes based on appearance.

Definitions of Hate Crime

The Home Office website lists current legislation that covers hate crime, including The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 and the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008. It defines a hate crime as any criminal offence that is motivated by hostility or prejudice based on disability, race, religion or belief, sexual orientation and transgender. The Cross-Government Action Plan (http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk) is organised around these categories. They also recognise hate incidents against these groups, which may not be criminal acts and seek to encourage increased reporting. As noted above, there is now a legal precedent for including crimes against people because of their appearance.

The Association of Chief Police Officers defines hate crime as 'any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate' (ACPO, 2005).

The literature

Hall and Hayden (2007) provide a useful overview of hate crime research in the USA and the UK. They argue that few hate crimes are motivated purely by hate:

> Rather, most of the offences that we now refer to as 'hate crimes' are primarily a product of an offender's negative prejudice towards a disliked characteristic that the victim possesses, such as their race, sexuality, religion or indeed any other identifiable characteristic *over which the victim has little or no control* (our emphasis) (p.11).

They also point out that it has been suggested that hate crimes may be more usefully defined as 'targeted violence' (p.11). Most of the research to date has been about crimes that are racially motivated and increasingly about those targeted at people because of their sexuality or religion (see for

example Iganski 2008). Hate crimes against people who choose to live alternative lifestyles may be different in that the victims have more flexibility in deciding to change their appearance if necessary but may still choose not to. Our evidence below suggests that the fact that the victim's appearance can be changed is used to argue that the victim in some measure caused the crime and that the solution is simply for them to accept the norms of the majority of society.

Hall and Hayden (2007) usefully summarise the explanations for hate crime as: scapegoating of certain groups for society's ills, social factors such as lack of community facilities and unemployment, the psychology of the perpetrators who need someone to blame or hate crime as a way of maintaining power structures. It has been argued that which of these theories has most relevance may differ across incidents. The research on the perpetrators of hate crimes also suggests that many victims know their attackers and that many are young people (Hall and Hayden, 2007, p.12). Two further significant factors that resonate with our research are that racist attacks often take place as people go about their daily lives and that many of the victims as well as the perpetrators were described as 'school children'. Our research points to the everyday nature of the abuse and to the significant role played by schools in the accounts.

MacDevitt et al (2002, quoted in Hall and Hayden, 2007, p. 13) have developed a typology of hate offenders in the USA based on their motivation: thrill (the most common), defensive, retaliatory and those with a mission. These differences may be significant when considering how to tackle negative stereotypes. Hall et al suggest that:

> Thrill offenders are not particularly committed to their prejudice, in contrast mission offenders are fully committed to their beliefs. Defensive and retaliatory offenders fall somewhere in-between the two ends of this spectrum (p. 14).

There may also be significant differences in the degree of involvement in an attack. Many hate crimes are carried out by groups and McDevitt et al (quoted in Hall and Hayden 2007, p14) identify: the leader, fellow travellers, unwilling participants and heroes. The categories are self evident except perhaps for the 'hero' who stands against the group and tries to stop the crime. Again, this suggest possibly different strategies for dealing with offenders.

Perhaps the most difficult issue for those looking at the results of the crimes is understanding how perpetrators justify their actions. Hall and Hayden summarise the research by pointing out that some offenders show little or no remorse but that some research on hate crimes against the Amish suggests that others 'attempt to justify or rationalise their behaviour by using 'neutralisation techniques' (Byers et al, quoted in Hall and Hayden, p.15). These are techniques which either deny the injury by suggesting it is insignificant and a part of life or by denying the victim by indicating they deserved what had happened or that the offences were of no significance.

This technique by those 'in authority' may be a result of the desire to maintain the existing social order within the school. We also found evidence (see below) that schools tried to justify non-intervention (see below). Other neutralisation techniques suggested by Byers et al include an appeal to a higher loyalty such as their own group and condemnation of the condemners for example as no better than the victims. The final technique is denial of responsibility by claiming, for example, that their upbringing was to blame.

As stated above, much of this literature focuses on race with an increasingly interest in religion and sexuality. We have picked out some of the points that seem to offer interesting avenues in terms of hate crimes against people who live alternative lifestyles and are targeted because of their appearance, such as Moshers and Goths. However, we have also pointed out one significant difference: these alternative appearances are chosen and can be altered. Many young people choose to adopt them despite the negative reactions of those around them and therefore they arguable have more control than suggested by Hall and Hayden. This does not mean that people should change their appearance as a result of the likes and dislikes of those around them and there is increasing acceptance that offences that result from choosing particular lifestyles that makes someone visibly different should be regarded as hate crimes. However, as suggested above, the hate crime literature does not directly address this group.

Other literature does address youth culture and targeted violence against young people because of their appearance. There is an interesting literature on the terminology relating to young people who identify themselves as members of particular groups associated with certain music and style preferences. For example, the usefulness of the term 'subculture', 'tribes' and 'lifestyles' has been debated (See Hollands 2002 for a review). There is also debate about the reasons for belonging to such groups (see for example, Hall and Jefferson 2006). However, authors concerned with experiences of violence by and on young people tend to focus on gang and youth subculture (see for example Hagedorn 1999).

Hollands (2002) argues that:

> …recent analysis of youth styles have been pre-occupied with more post-modern readings of club-cultures, post-subcultures, neo-tribal patterns of activity and lifestyles, and have often failed to address questions of inequality, segmentation and special separation amongst differing consumption groupings (p.153).

Hollands' work cautions against simplistic notions of youth cultures and signals differential access to public places across youth cultures. The research also shows the significance of factors such as class, ethnicity, gender and locality. Research about relationships between particular groups of young people following 'alternative' lifestyles and other groups tends to form part of the literature around gangs and youth violence However, the experiences of people in the research we discuss below suggests that many of these experiences are not gang related. Gangs according to the Eurogang

definition are 'Any durable street oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity' (Ralphs et al 2009). The young people in our research did not include illegal activity as part of their identity and their associations with other like minded people was often informal, transient and based around media preferences and dress.

The research

In summer 2009 Sylvia Lancaster approached the School of Social Work at the University of Central Lancashire to undertake an exploratory piece of research to look at the experiences of people who visit the Sophie Lancaster website. In October 2009 she placed a call on *myspace* asking for people to write in about their experiences of being part of their chosen subculture. This resulted in 29 responses. The low response rate can in part be explained by technical failures that led to a renewed call in December 2009 on *facebook* resulting in 48 responses. The original call asked for both positive and negative reactions by people. The second call was much more focused on experiences of verbal and physical abuse.

The findings

Of the 77 respondents 42 (55%) were women and 17 (22%) were men. Eighteen (23%) did not give their sex. They lived in different areas of England and six had written from the USA. The researchers read through the written accounts and separately identified themes that ran through them. They then compared the themes they had picked out and agreed which to use to analyse all the accounts. The written accounts from *myspace* turned out to be very different from those from f*acebook* in terms of the detail provided. Those from *facebook* were much briefer and more akin to messages sent by text than traditionally presented written narratives. However, both mediums produced very forceful narratives of everyday experiences of verbal and physical abuse. This research is not about the statistical incidence of such experiences but an exploration of the range of experiences and responses to them. The themes we focus on are:
- The psychological effects of verbal and physical abuse
- Attitudes of schools, workplaces and police
- Effects on lifestyle in terms of restricting movements and school and work
- Suggested future research directions.

On being 'alternative'

Following an 'alternative' lifestyle is seen by some respondents as challenging society's assumptions, values and mores. As one young man puts it:

My Gothic inspiration came when I was in my teens and I got into the horror genre heavily. When I was 15 I got into Buffy the Vampire Slayer as it was a great programme for me to watch when I was growing up as it fuelled my imagination. I would also watch most classic horror films such as Hellraiser, Nightmare on Elm street and the Friday the 13th series and other horror films

I was interested in... These films . . . have not inspired me to be violent but have released the anger within me. They have deeply influenced me but in a good way that makes me think about humanity , the world and what life is about. (20)

However, for some these alternative lifestyle evokes only negative thoughts and emotions (see below). Negative myths about how they live sometimes lead to verbal and physical assaults. Some of the comments made either before or as they were assaulted demonstrate the negative assumptions made about Goths. One young woman was told:

don't dress like a dog if you don't want to get treated like one. (23)

Often the word *'freak'* is used to describe respondents. However, the motivation for these unprovoked attacks need further exploration through research.

All the respondents explain that they have experienced verbal abuse and intimidation. This abuse ranges from straightforward insults for being a goth or/mosher, to threats of physical and sexual violence. Some of the women respondents describe how they themselves or their daughters were threatened with sexual assault and rape, solely on the basis of their appearance.   Both men and women have been threatened with physical violence, with knives and stones and this has often been by gangs of youths and/or grown men. Sometimes the threats are chilling, for example one woman describes how the perpetrator wanted to *'slit her throat'*, and this is one of a number of death threats.

Sexuality also seems to feature in the threats made to individuals, as men who wear make-up and follow an alternative culture as often victims of homophobic language and accused of being gay. Verbal intimidation has also been aimed at gothic follower's children, their siblings and their homes. Even if there is no physical violence is not carried out, the level of intimidation profoundly effects the victims, who are often terrified to leave their home, or move around their own town (see below). This comment from a young woman typifies some of the verbal and physical violence experienced:

I have been spat on, had bricks thrown at me, my house has been egged and had dog faeces thrown at it, I had hard boiled eggs catapulted from a speeding car at my (similarly dressed) sister, I have been hissed at, screamed at and have been in the middle of virtual riots in certain town centres when there are groups of warring sub-cultures. I have also been punched (by both sexes), jumped on from behind, and addressed in as many unsavoury names as you care to mention, for some time the favourite was "F****ing Goth or F***ing Mosher, but they become more varied depending on whereabouts you are. I am fortunate enough never to experienced sexual assault but I have pulled other men off weaker women outside our local rock club. (18)

The above quote is an example of verbal and physical abuse often being inflicted simultaneously. However, the overwhelming majority of respondents have talked explicitly about being the victim of unprovoked physical assaults. The violence is varied but often results in the victim receiving substantial facial and/or bodily injuries. It seems that gender is no barrier to the violence, with women as likely to be victims of perpetrators of both sexes. Below are three of many examples of the violence, followers of alternative cultures have had to endure:

My sister was set upon by a group of chavs outside the local pub. They beat her up pretty badly - it was a girl who attacked her mainly - she had chunks of hair pulled out, her eye was blacked, face covered in bruises, and she hit her head on a kerbstone & has had grand mal epilepsy ever since. She also has a vertebral fracture which has prevented…from living a normal life. (57)

Another young woman states:

I went to school and college in surrey as a goth. I was spat at, had rocks thrown at me, a dart thrown in my face. The worst was the constant verbal abuse. When my head of year was alerted he told me it was my fault as i had made the choice and tried to get me to do an assembly explaining why I had done it. (24)

A young man explains:

My best friend and I were in almost the exact same situation as Sophie when I was 14. I was beaten unconscious for being alternative by a group of twenty drunk yobs, and when my best friend threw herself on top of me 4 girls proceeded to beat her until they broke her collar bone. (32)

These examples of violence reflect the general experience of respondents, however, some of the respondents have provided details of even more brutal assaults. We now go on to analyse the effects of some of these experiences as well as the responses of those respondents turned to for help.

Psychological effects

what they did to me has changed me forever. iam now diagnosed with post traumatic stress disorder. i have to take medication daily to keep me from having panic attacks. i hate being in a car. i really dont like being anywhere as i once did. i live in fear of being attacked. sleeping with a shot gun, carrying weapons with me always[i]. (26)

A constant theme in this research project was an expression of psychological and emotional trauma of varying levels.   Some respondents reported panic attacks and or post-traumatic stress disorder as a consequence of the physical and verbal violence they had been subjected to. Eighteen respondents wrote about the traumatic psychological and/or emotional effect on their lives of the verbal and physical abuse. This young man explains how

he has struggled to cope since he had been on the receiving end of a brutal assault:

Since the event [assault] I have returned to work, over a year later and I'm still prone to panic attacks and depression, three weeks ago a guy 4 times my size decided to call and taunt me in an aggressive manner to show off in front of his girlfriend and small child. I immediately went in to a panic attack, I thought it was going to happen again and looked behind me the whole way home before collapsing on the couch in another panic attack now I am being checked for asthma too. I am still paranoid when walking home each day... (6)

The experience of living in daily fear of being physically assaulted or verbally abused is common to most of the respondents, and it is this ever- present feeling that the next time they venture outside they will be attacked again that erodes their psychological well-being. Some have even contemplated taking their own life. As this young woman explains:

At home I couldnt leave the house as i had been chased around my area a lot and couldnt handle the abuse. I contemplated killing myself, but i never had the guts to do it. (11)

Another young woman states:

I thought that when i reached secondary school i would be able to be myself, but the bullying got so bad that i had severe depression and was suicidal by the age of 13, i was in fights nearly everyday…. (19)

The everyday experience of being psychologically persecuted with the ongoing threat of physical violence leads to some respondents contemplating whether life is worth living. As well as the effects on well being constant harassment can lead to restrictions in where respondents feel safe, that is, in their ability to use pubic spaces. This differential access to public spaces by young peoplehas been alluded to by Hollands (2002).

Public Spaces

All the respondents, both in the UK and US, refer to physical or verbal attacks in public places because of their different appearance   Some have been forced to change their appearance so that they are not as instantly recognisable, others move around their city in a state of constant vigilance and anxiety.   The young woman describes a routine visit to the shop:

The worst instance I had was when I went to the supermarket to buy groceries, & a group of youths were hanging outside the entrance. I heard them shouting insults at me on the way in . . I would normally take a short-cut home through an alley running up the side of the store. However, on this day I got to the croner & could hear the youths . . . talking about me – 'dirty goth', 'let's give her something to be miserable about' & so on. I took a different route home & I don't use that aley anymore when I'm alone. (13)

This young woman provides other examples of how her movement has been curtailed and hindered because of the regular occurrence of verbal abuse in public spaces.   She describes this as a daily experience and whilst she is resigned to it happening, she is determined not to change her style of dress and appearance.

Public Transport

Eight respondents identify waiting for and/or travelling on public transport as a particularly vulnerable time in their daily routine. One young man (who self identifies as Goth) explains a verbal and physical assault that took place on a train platform (20). The perpetrators crossed over a bridge to reach the platform that the young man was on. He was then subjected to a tirade of insults and punched on the head. Another woman describes how she was waiting for a bus and was called cursed and sworn at simply because she admitted to following 'the Gothic subculture' (4).   Two other respondents, talk about being physically attacked when walking home after getting off a bus. One young woman explains how both she and her boyfriend were threatened with broken bottles and then attacked (17), whilst another respondent explains how she was assaulted on the bus, in her school uniform, only because she had a bat as a hairclip in her hair and the assailants identified this with the gothic culture (27).   Another young woman clearly articulates the level of intimidation and anxiety that can be engendered by the verbal abuse from a man. This incident took place on a bus, and as with all these accounts was completely unprovoked:

> *There was man sitting a couple of seats behind me with his partner and their daughter. At first he started making comments about me being weird and a freak which to be honest no longer bothered me. I just listened to what he said but didn't respond. The he started getting more personal in saying that I was ugly and the fact that I was gothic made me even more ugly. Eventually his partner got up to get off the bus with his daughter but he didn't go with them. He'd moved to seat behind where I was sitting, he leaned in close and said that he'd lived in the area that I had moved to for 10 years and he didn't want my kind living there. He also said that if he saw me again he'd slit my throat and smash my face in so that no one would recognise me. After that I didn't dare to get off the bus until we'd left the town centre and I felt safe.* (9)

These kinds of insults are frequent and expressed in pubic spaces, with little or no response from the victims because of the fear of more violent reprisals. The young woman explains later in her account that she complained to the police, but when the driver of that particular bus was interviewed he claimed the CCTV footage gave no evidence of any verbal or violent intimidation. The effect on the young woman was profound and has made her anxious of using this form of public transport.   To compound this experience she saw this man again on the bus and was subjected to more verbal intimidation.

The experiences of these respondents highlights how every journey they make, on public transport and/or in public is imbued with a sense of anxiety and trepidation.   The accounts also show that the verbal and physical intimidation takes place with little, or no response, from people who may witness the events.

School and Workplace experience

Many of those, but not all, who responded to the call by the charity for experiences are relatively young and consequently have negative experiences in their school environment. Several respondents talk about how they experienced bullying and unprovoked intimidation at school.   As one young woman explains:

The worst from school was when a normal day turned into chaos and a particular member of other social group took it upon himself to set upon myself and my friends . . . The whole school gathered to watch this guy push around my friends, listen to him hurl abuse beyond the usual mosha statements to things like "he must be gay because he has long hair" and 'fuck off to your own planet fag. The end resulted in spitting and eventually me and my friends reporting this to the head. (23)

Another woman states:

School was pretty hellish for both me and my younger sister... I was very badly affected at school, my grades suffered badly and I was diagnosed with anxiety disorders and a dangerous lack of self esteem courtesy of the teenagers who targeted me there. My sister spent a year in a special hospital because she was so badly bullied – she was incapable of attending mainstream school. (18)

Fifteen respondents identified school as a particular site of violence, pain and intimidation because of their interest and identification with an alternative culture. With the exception of one school, the response to the violence and bullying was to blame the victims for dressing differently. This response by the school exacerbated the feelings of helplessness and isolation. The view taken was that, if children/young people choose to dress differently and bring attention to themselves then it was to be expected that they should receive a violent backlash from other children in the school community. However, one young woman did acknowledge that after being violently assaulted for dressing and identifying with an alternative culture, the teacher that dealt with the matter, pursued the perpetrator and ensured that he was punished for his actions.

It is interesting to note that in the account by 23 there was an assumption that young men that dress in the particular style of Goths or Moshers would be Gay. This is a regular theme that appears in the statements and implies that if boys wear make up, or pay particular attention to their appearance, that this is a statement about their sexuality. Further, if their sexuality was deemed to

not be heterosexual, or even 'ambiguous' this would provide enough justification to vilify, bully and assault someone.

Workplace experiences

Whilst many of the respondents report their experiences of abuse when they are still teenagers, some have noted that the victimisation continues into their experience at work.   Again, respondents who identified the workplace as a site of discrimination have explained that it is their 'alternative' appearance that attracts negative attitudes and behaviour from employers and colleagues. One woman who works in a social services department has stated:

> *I am currently in the process of losing my job (at caring, sharing Social Services) because my boss objects to the way I look. I have also seen this enacted on clients, prejudice used in child protection cases because people have tattoos, piercings, coloured hair or alternative pagan lifestyle. The assumption is that it is somehow injurious to their children. I am also in trouble for speaking out against this. (28)*

Another woman explains that she worked in a shopping centre and had to tolerate regular critical comments because of her appearance. She has also had to defend others who have had identified with the Goth sub-culture:

> *I had to take action at work after a goth girl I didn't know left the store and was surrounded & harassed by a group of youths – again, teenage boys in baseball caps and hoodies. (13)*

Police/ Authority responses

Several of the respondents after being on the receiving end of verbal abuse and/or violence contacted the police for protection and in the hope of identifying the perpetrators.   With one notable exception, where the individual concerned was violently beaten up because of his appearance (6), the other five respondents explain that the police were not very interested the crime against them.   In the case of the pro-active and positive re-action from the police (6) they acted quickly and managed to apprehend the offender on the same night and he appeared in Court the next morning on a charge of violent assault and battery. However, even in this case the assailant received a suspended sentence and had to pay £150 in damages.   The victim of this crime, who was badly beaten up, in public view in the middle of the day, felt strongly that the eventual sentence was an inadequate punishment for the trauma and violence that he had experienced.

However, those who had contacted the police and complained that they were assaulted because of their distinct appearance (Goth, Mosher, Emo) have suggested that the police and other authorities blame them, as the victims for unnecessarily drawing attention to themselves, '*if he didn't dress like this he wouldn't get attacked.'* (23).   This is one recollection from a young woman who was punched in the eye and the back of the head several times, along with her sister and her boyfriend:

Two police officers came round later that night and I told them what had happened, but it wasn't until a month later that one of them came round again to take the statement. The area where the attack occurred should have been covered by CCTV, but the police officer explained to me that the police would have to fill out lots of forms to access the footage. He made it sound as if he viewed the thing as a really big hassle. I never heard anything more about it. (21l)

Some of the respondents feel that the police apathy and reticence to take action is a result of the difficulty they find it in placing the offences in a framework that they can work within. For instance, it is not a racially aggravated offence, nor is it viewed as a hate crime because of somebody's sexuality and religious beliefs. One person describes how her entire family had been terrorised in their own home, through windows being smashed by stones, graffiti on their walls, violently attacked, and threatened with sexual assault. However, when the police were informed about the offences some were sympathetic but when the details of the case were passed to SIGMA their response was:

..because this is not a racial, religious or disability prejudice, we are not being classed as a hate crime…The latest police officers have the attitude of "well it is only a few stones and eggs and everyone else round here has that.(2)

The family has been promised a visit from the Inspector that has never materialised. They have been advised to call and log incidents but when they do they are told:

Well its only name calling what do you want us to do about it? (2)

This distinct lack of interest in taking the offences seriously was replicated by the local housing authority. The family had requested that they were re-located to a house in another town, but the local authority were more interested in the family paying outstanding rent, rather than their immediate physical danger they were in.

A young woman from the US describes how she was terrorised on the road, as two young men with a truck began to throw concrete blocks at her whilst she was driving her car. The men also began hitting her car with a truck in an attempt to run her off the road. They were apprehended and appeared in court, but the young woman felt that the experience left her with the distinct impression that she was the guilty party:

they plead not guilty to aggravated assult, destruction of property, and attempted murder. In court i took out the piercings. i dressed as nice as i could. hoping again, wouldnt be judged by the court for being different. the boys were let off with a fine to pay to fix the damage to my car. . . the opposing lawyer held up a picture of me that was never taken by myself or anyone i know. the picture was taken of me out with my friends. he said

*that was the way i usually looked , that i was putting on a show with my
tears as i described my story.   even though they were on trial. it was my
trial, as i was found guilty in their simple minds that I deserved what I got. i
felt like they won. they even said 'goths are a gang and she was instigating
the situation, these boys were innocent'.*

The vast majority of responses by individuals and agencies that are
representative of authority are seen as being indifference or unable to help
and in some cases this goes hand in hand with moral condemnation of those
who identify, dress or follow an alternative lifestyle.

Discussion

This research is intended as an exploration of the experiences of people who
view their life style choices as 'alternative'. The physical and verbal assaults
that are an everyday occurrence for respondents had a variety of serious
psychological and emotional effects as well as affecting the life chances of the
people involved. Some readers will recognise the everyday forms of
'antisocial behaviour' in their own lives in the accounts we give above. They
are not unique to this group. However, we argue that they are recognisable
as hate crimes in the same way as such behaviour against people from
different religions or ethnicities. Respondents understood that some of the
responses from the police, for example, are experienced by other people.
They did, however, believe that they were targeted specifically as a result of
prejudice or hate – the criteria for a hate crime (see above). The research
suggests that there is a general level of intolerance towards alternative youth
cultures as evidenced by attacks in public places. However, respondents
focused on schools and the criminal justice system as having let them down
and research needs to establish how attitudes can be changed.

This research also suggests that gender and sexuality play a role in how
respondents are perceived. Women are seen as 'sluts' and deserving of their
treatment whilst men are assumed to be gay. Unfortunately, we have few
details about the backgrounds of respondents or perpetrators of the attacks.
Future research could usefully examine the backgrounds of whose who target
young people in the ways discussed above as research suggests that
appropriate responses to hate crimes may need to be tailored to the different
reasons for prejudice against specific groups (see above)

References

Hall, N. and Hayden, C. (2007) *Is 'Hate Crime' a relevant and useful way of
conceptualising some forms of school bullying?*
Http://www.ijvs.org/files/Revue-03/pp-3-24-Hall-and-Hayden-IJVS-n3.pdf

Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (2004) *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures
in postwar Britain.* Routledge: London.

Hollands, R. (2002) Divisions in the Dark: Youth Cultures, Transitions and Segmented Consumption Spaces in the Night-time Economy, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5, 2: 153-171.

Iganski, P. (2008) *Hate Crime and the City*. Policy Press: Bristol.

Ralphs, R., Medina, J. and Aldridge, J. (2009) Who needs enemies with friends like these? The importance of place for young people living in known gang areas, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12,5:483-500.

---

[i] We have used the writing styles used by respondents and not tidied them up.