**Diversifying Perceptions of Public Safety among Youth:
Can youth safety audits affect everyday spaces?**

By

LEONORE EVANS

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

© Leonore Evans 2009

Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-52012-3
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-52012-3

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Abstract

Young people's perceptions of safety can play an important role in whether or how they use specific public places. How young people relate to certain places is further differentiated by their gender, age and other factors. Places also affect how they see themselves and others. Public safety initiatives act to maintain and enforce norms regulating these shared places. These do not generally include young people in their decision-making processes, although they affect youth, sometimes disproportionately. This thesis engages diverse opinions among young people to critically examine community safety initiatives. These are elicited through interviews and focus groups. This thesis also describes how youth participants were engaged in questions of public safety through their involvement in youth safety audits. Outcomes stemming from the audits include both tangible and intangible changes to young people's everyday spaces.

Acknowledgments and thank-yous

I would like to acknowledge the ongoing support of my supervisor Dr. Fran Klodawsky, Associate Professor of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University, Ottawa. Your reliability, clear guidance and good consistent humour made all the difference.

Thanks also to all staff from the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies. Special thanks to David Bertram and Natalie Pressburger

Thank you to my fellow graduate students who combined good times with constructive criticism.

There are many community partners without whose tireless efforts this research would have not been the same. Especially Alison and the support team at WISE and the team at PQ.

Thank you to the amazing research participants.

The biggest thanks to my family: Nick, your constant and complete support made it possible for me to complete this challenge. Maya and Steffen, you kept me on track by reminding me of what is most important. Thank you Mom, for ongoing inspiration and occasional editing.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Maps	viii
List of Appendices	ix

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction	1
Selection of the Research Neighbourhood	6
The Research Neighbourhood	6
Description of Neighbourhood Demographics	9
Dwelling Tenure	9
Young people in Greenbay	9
Diversity of ethnicities	10
Occurrence of low income	13

Chapter 2

Introduction	16
Community Safety	19
Community Safety Initiatives in Greenbay	21
Social Control exerted by a religious community	24
Diversifying Youth	27

Collective Action through Youth Safety Audits	31
Conclusions	35
 Chapter 3: Methodology	
Introduction	36
Searching for a suitable methodology	36
Action Research/Activist Research	37
Positionality	40
Reflective Practices	43
The Research Process	44
Participant selection	45
Participant observation	46
Outreach	47
Youth Safety Audits	49
Semi-structured interviews and group discussions	51
Implementation and presentation of recommendations	54
Conclusions	58
 Chapter 4: Analysis	
Introduction	60
Analysis of qualitative data	60
Analysis of quantitative data	62
Preliminary remarks about the data	63
Limitations of the data	63

Perceived Safety in Public Space	65
Linking perceptions of safety to specific public space	70
The Greenbay Park/Fieldhouse and Basketball courts	70
The Greenbay Shopping Centre	75
The Greenbay Recreation Centre	78
Muslim responses as distinct?	83
Youth residents as safety auditors	87
Conclusions	91
 Chapter 5: Results and Discussion	
Introduction	94
Discussion of key findings	94
Specificity of Research	99
Areas for further research	100
Conclusions	102
 Appendices	105
 Bibliography	126

List of Tables

Table 1: Number of immigrants, non-official mother tongue and visible minority respondents	11
Table 2: Mother Tongue responses: Greenbay	11
Table 3: Comparing the prevalence of low-income households in Greenbay and Ottawa	14
Table 4: How safe youths feel during the day	67
Table 5: How safe youths feel at night	67
Table 6: Respondents experience of aggression	68
Table 7: How safe youths feel in Greenbay Park	72
Table 8: How safe youths feel in the Greenbay Mall	76
Table 9: How safe youths feel in the Greenbay Recreation Centre	79

List of Maps

Map 1: Greenbay	8
Map 2: Greenbay Park	71
Map 3: Youth Safety Audits in Greenbay	106

List of Appendices

Appendix A	Description of WISE youth safety audit project	105
Appendix B	Map of youth safety audits in Greenbay	106
Appendix C	Youth participation chart	107
Appendix D	Summary of fieldwork	108
Appendix E	Abridged Youth Safety Audit Final Report	109
Appendix F	Consent form for participation in research project	119
Appendix G	Interview schedule	121
Appendix H	Advertisement for local art and poetry competition	125

Chapter 1: Introduction

On September 1st 2007, a young woman was sexually assaulted while working in a chemistry lab at Carleton University. The assault was brutal and left her with a broken jaw, facial injuries and a dislocated shoulder. Media reports stated that the attacker stole her jeans, shoes and underwear before escaping. The perpetrator was never caught.

Sexual assault is not a new phenomenon at Carleton University; in 2006 there were five cases, in 2005 there were eight (Egan, 2007). However, this particular assault spurred a comprehensive safety initiative, recommendations from which included new safety measures including improving the emergency phones network and outdoor lighting, adding additional security officers and installing swipe cards for specific buildings. An additional staff person, responsible for coordinating sexual assault education was also hired. In total this cost Carleton University 1.6 million dollars (Laucius, 2008). Safety initiatives are not new to Carleton. Since 1987, 26 safety audits have been conducted on campus (Brown, 2007). Yet somehow, assaults continue to occur. This suggests that the measures used by the University for making the campus safer do not fully address complex issues related to public safety.

When this particular assault and the subsequent reaction to it happened, I was a daily user of the Carleton University campus. At this time I received multiple emails warning me not to walk alone, not to work late and to take extreme caution when on campus. These messages made me feel more fearful when on campus, as did media reports stating that the offender had planned this particular attack carefully and was likely planning another (Seymour, 2007). These warnings, and my reaction to them, made me realise that individuals' perceptions of their personal safety can be highly influenced by

media portrayals and other messaging. It also showed me how my perceptions of safety can define whether and how I use certain places. Research has shown that women and girls tend to have higher instances of fear than men and boys. These fears can affect females' decisions to go about, especially at night. Fear for personal safety then, disproportionately impacts females' participation in, and use of public space. One of the underlying understandings of this thesis is that individuals' use of physical space can be directly related to their participation in other spaces, such as employment, volunteer, educational or social activities. If women and girls cannot participate equally because they are afraid for their personal safety, then much work needs to be accomplished before Canadian society can call itself inclusive and egalitarian.

This thesis seeks to examine the gendered nature of fear in more detail. Gender is but one difference between us and in order to avoid essentialising females as fearful, I began to question to what extent other differences affect people's perceptions of safety and use of public space. This is accomplished by engaging and exploring the opinions of a group that does not generally receive a lot of attention among Canadian scholars: youth. Diversifying young people's perceptions and experiences of public safety is approached by way of three distinct research questions. The first question that this thesis seeks to address is: Are there significant differences among young people with regard to perceptions of safety, other than gender? Are differences in age an important factor? How about ethnicity or class? These questions relate perceptions of fear and safety to a more complex understanding of individuals' identities, of which gender is but one, albeit significant axis.

The second question regards the situated nature of individuals' fear: Do young

people fear certain places more than others? This question seeks to link perceptions of fear and safety to particular places in the research neighbourhood. This is because experiences of public safety always take place in our shared physical environment. Designing out fear through changes to the physical environment is one strategy commonly pursued by safety initiatives, as seen in the Carleton University example. Taking a spatially specific approach also leads to understandings of whether certain places are used differently by various population groups. This in turn helps focus the gendered nature of fear as situated in particular places.

The third question which this thesis seeks to address has to do with the inclusivity of safety initiatives: Can young people's inclusion in the decision making and implementation of a local community safety initiative affect both material and discursive change in their everyday spaces? In practice, public safety initiatives generally do not include young people in decision making on issues of safety in public space. Yet many youth, particularly from low-income and other marginalised families depend on access to everyday spaces outside of the home for a variety of activities. Excluding those youth as decision makers can work to further distance them from the mainstream. In order to reverse this process this research includes an action-research component. This process is reflective of the importance I place on the researcher's responsibility to give back to their research participants. Through the use of youth safety audits, a diverse group of young people participated in the critical assessment and took steps towards transforming their local public spaces. This thesis seeks to establish whether this process was successful in accomplishing what it set out to do.

Chapter Two highlights the contradiction between scholarly literature on youth

and scholarly literature on community safety. Much of the policy and academic literature on young people includes claims that young peoples' active inclusion in all realms of society is fundamental to the healthy development of society as well as the young people themselves (Rajiva, 2005; Valentine, 2004; Public Health Canada, 2008). Conversely, when crime prevention and community safety literature mentions young people, they are generally perceived as potential perpetrators and are typically not included in defining issues or solutions (Crawford, 1998; Schneider, 2007). Chapter 2 examines community safety initiatives in more detail and suggests that they are generally exclusive processes that can rely heavily on stereotypes of the 'Other'. By diversifying the category youth, and showing how specific young people are often targeted by safety initiatives, ideas of safety in public space are made more complex. This chapter also introduces the practice of safety audits as an inclusive tool for resident engagement in questions of safety in public space. Youth safety audits are a fairly recent phenomenon, and there has been no academic writing done on them to date. However safety audits help participants, whether young or old, work collectively to affect change. This experiential learning can further develop the skills required of active citizens.

Incorporating young people and their perspectives in any realm is a challenge when youth traditionally play a marginal role in mainstream society. Engaging youth in an area as contentious as public space is particularly difficult because young people are not seen as valid decision makers of that space. Their potential spatial empowerment through involvement in public safety initiatives (in this case through the use of youth safety audits) can be highly threatening. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used in order to elicit and sustain youth's involvement in youth safety audits. The interviews and

focus groups are also described here.

Research on youth geography and community safety generally does not distinguish between youth beyond their gender. This is because differentiating between young people's experiences in terms of their multiple differences is a complicated and time consuming endeavour. Chapter 4 uses the categories of age, gender and religious affiliation to engage with young people's perceptions of safety. Examining youth's perceptions of three specific neighbourhood locations further differentiates these perceptions. Diversifying young people's experiences of specific places moves away from being able to make general statements about the neighbourhood, as well as the young people living there.

There are several goals to this thesis. The first is to inform decision makers of the importance of recognising diversity among youth. This recognition affects decisions related to recreational and social programming. The second goal is to demonstrate to neighbourhood leaders and particularly young people, that participation in safety audits can be a valuable experience. Not only can direct physical changes be made, but participants can also learn a variety of valuable skills experientially. Here, it becomes important to target and involve a wide diversity of young people in decision making on issues that concern them. The third goal of this thesis is linked to the discursive changes a participatory activity such as safety audits can induce. By engaging a variety of young people in the contentious questions of public safety a new kind of space is carved out; one in which youth are regarded and regard themselves, as valuable contributors to their neighbourhood.

The rest of this introductory chapter describes the research neighbourhood. This

particular Ottawa neighbourhood has a lot in common with other high-density rental communities across Canada. Many of the residents survive on low incomes. In fact, almost 60% of all children under the age of 6 live in low-income families. Also, many of the residents are newcomers to Canada and ethnic minorities. This combination of concentrations of low-income and newcomer ethnic minority residents in high-density rental housing is not unusual (Walks and Bourne, 2006; United Way, 2004). Thus, many of the young people living in the research neighbourhood are facing multiple challenges in their struggle to fit into Canadian society.

Selection of research neighbourhood

I chose Greenbay as a research location because I was already familiar with the neighbourhood. Greenbay is a pseudonym, as are all names in this thesis. Pseudonyms are used in order to protect the identity of the neighbourhood, affiliated agencies and research participants. I was employed in Greenbay as a community developer with the Brankin Community Resource Centre from January 2003 to April 2004. During this time I helped with the reestablishment of the Greenbay Youth Council, and led a group of adult and youth in a community research project. Having worked in the neighbourhood previously made reentry into Greenbay less daunting, as I was already familiar with many of the key players and issues. Unfortunately most of the youth I had engaged there previously were no longer living there.

The research neighbourhood

Greenbay was built by a single developer as one of Ottawa's first planned suburbs

between 1963 and 1970 (Buchanan, 1972). This was the modernist planning era, when large scale projects dominated the landscape. At this time, the Jacques Greber Plan was being implemented by the federal government in Ottawa. This included removing all the railroad tracks from the inner city, demolishing a downtown neighbourhood called Mechanicsville and the construction of large highways and national museums. Greenbay reflects similar values. It was built as a commuter community, just off the main highway: a ring road and many parking lots emphasise the importance of car ownership for residents. A large green space was located in the centre of the area, connected by multiple pedestrian options:

A system of pedestrian greenways is a prominent feature of the plan, providing pleasant and safe access from the dwelling units to schools, parks, recreation facilities, and shopping. Broad, well lighted paved streets with sidewalks have been designed to create a sheltered, parkland setting, free from the hustle and bustle of traffic and noise (Ottawa Journal, Trontin Full Advertisement, 1964).

These interconnecting pathways for pedestrians are distinctly separate from the parking lots and roads. This clear separation of residential space from the roads suggests that the planners wanted to create a utopic residential area. This can be seen in the map below:

Map 1: Greenbay

(Google Maps, 2008)

Three locations in the neighbourhood play important roles for the young people living there: at the geographic centre of the neighbourhood is Greenbay Park. The Park includes a playground, a soccer field, two baseball diamonds, a basketball court and a Fieldhouse. The second is Greenbay Shopping Centre, (known as the Mall). It spans the southern length of the neighbourhood. It was built in the early 1970s, initially as a strip mall, and was later expanded to its current size. The third is the Greenbay Recreation Centre, located in the bottom left corner. It offers free recreational programming to residents in the area, and is a facility which some young people in the neighbourhood use on a daily basis.

Description of neighbourhood demographics

Neighbourhood level statistics are not always readily available. For this research, the City of Ottawa Statistics Department provided me with three years of neighbourhood level census tract data: 1986, 2001 and 2006. In the 2006 data, comparative figures with the City of Ottawa were also included. This allowed me to compare differences between the City of Ottawa and Greenbay. I focused primarily on the 2001 and 2006 data as this is most relevant to the experience of young people in Greenbay today.

Dwelling Tenure

Greenbay is a rental neighbourhood. The company which owns and operates the housing stock is the City of Ottawa's largest private landlord and developer (Geoff, 2005). Trontin controls the rental prices, and is responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the 2325 rental units located in Greenbay. These are divided into townhomes, garden homes and apartment buildings. Rental housing in City of Ottawa is generally expensive or in disrepair, and very little new stock is being built. Over 31% of Greenbay residents pay more than a third of their income in rent. This is significant as it suggests that tenants have to make difficult decisions on how to spend their remaining income. The number of people per bedroom, a measure of crowding, is well above the City of Ottawa average (Ottawa Neighbourhood Study, 2008).

Young people in Greenbay

In the 2006 Statistics Canada census, the Greenbay neighbourhood included 7535 residents. Of these, 3515, or 47% are under the age of thirty. This is a very high

proportion of young people compared to the City of Ottawa where the percentage of residents under thirty is 38%. The number of youth, defined for the purposes of this thesis as between the ages of 11 and 19, was 915 in the 2006 census. These teenagers make up 12% of the resident population. This number is comparable to that of the City of Ottawa, where 13% of the population are teenagers.

Diversity of ethnicities

Ethnicity is a highly contested concept and although I use the term within the thesis, its use needs to be diluted and questioned. Statistics Canada collects several statistics which have helped me determine the ethnic makeup of Greenbay: mother tongue, language spoken at home, visible minority, immigrant status, and place of birth and ethnic origin (by country). These figures are only collected from 20% of the population. Figures on religion are not collected.

In order to examine neighbourhood level data relating to ethnicity I looked at three variables: residents who self-identified as immigrants, as visible minorities and had a mother tongue other than English or French. This allowed me to see a clear pattern in Greenbay. In the 2006 census data, 53% of Greenbay residents self-identified as immigrants not born in Canada. When compared to the City of Ottawa's overall rate of 22% of residents as immigrants, it suggests that Greenbay is an area with a high immigrant concentration.

Table 1: Number of immigrants, non-official mother tongue and visible minority respondents

	Greenbay, 2006	Ottawa, 2006
% of immigrants	53%	22%
% of non-official mother tongue respondents	56%	20%
% of visible minority	56%	20%

(Statistics Canada 2006)

Corresponding to the high numbers of immigrants in Greenbay are the high numbers of self-identified visible minority residents who responded that neither French nor English was their mother tongue. These numbers are very high when compared to the average for the City of Ottawa. This suggests that Greenbay is a neighbourhood where immigrant groups, whose first language is neither English nor French tend to establish themselves.

In order to examine which ethnic groups live in Greenbay, I examined the responses for mother tongue in more detail, as language can correspond closely to ethnicity. Greenbay is home to a wide range of cultural and ethnic groups. The table below lists the highest numbers of mother tongue responses. I did not include them all as there were over 24 different languages listed.

Table 2: Mother Tongue responses: Greenbay

Mother tongue	2001 Census data	2006 Census data
Total population	7750	7525
English	2990	2580
Arabic	765	960
Chinese	720	245
French	545	455

Other language	320	200
Mandarin	305	150
Urdu	240	330
Bengali	205	70
Vietnamese	200	190
Serbo-Croat	170	10
Tamil	135	185
Russian	90	95
Tagalog	90	165
Persian	0	430
Somali	0	245

(Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006)

This table demonstrates that the population in Greenbay speaks a wide variety of mother tongues. It also shows the fluctuation of different population groups in a five year time span; demographic groups which grew significantly were residents whose mother tongue is Arabic, Persian and Somali, while other groups such as English or Chinese and Mandarin speakers declined. It is interesting to note that the 2001 census did not include Persian or Somali as distinct languages. This might explain the high number of residents who marked 'other' for their mother tongue in 2001. The fluctuation of different groups shows differences between different ethnic minority groups: some are wealthier and more mobile, and can choose to leave the neighbourhood. Others perhaps, choose to stay if family and friends are near, or because they are constrained by their income and lack of other affordable housing options.

Many scholars have worked on issues of the increasing concentration of ethnic minorities in specific Canadian urban areas and neighbourhoods. Cheryl Teelucksingh refers to it as a spatial manifestation of the process as 'racialisation', which she describes as the uneven development of minority groups and their neighbourhoods resulting from

relationships between ethnic minorities and dominant institutions (Teelucksingh, 2006). She states that although Canada depends upon racial minorities, immigrants and low-income people for capitalist development, these groups constitute a subordinate segment of the labour force. These minority groups are also stratified spatially, as housing options squeeze those with the lowest incomes into rental neighbourhoods. Many immigrants in Canada occupy low skilled jobs for low wages, as their foreign qualifications are often not recognised (Social Planning Council, 2005). These immigrants' poverty directly impacts the quality of their family life, and the ability of parents to provide for their children and youth.

Occurrence of low-income

It is generally recognised that spatial concentrations of poverty have a 'multiplying effect' as residents already experiencing poverty can be further marginalised by social, economic and ethnic segregations of their neighbourhood. In 2004 Toronto's United Way released a report entitled Poverty by Postal Code in which they stated that poor families now live in higher concentrations than they did twenty years ago. Of those living in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of poverty, 77.5% were families of visible minorities (United Way, 2004). A study comparing 1991 and 2001 census data in four Canadian cities, found that the single most important factor in determining low-income concentration in neighbourhoods was the concentration of apartment housing (Walks and Bourne, 2006).

In Greenbay, similar conditions exist. Incidence of low-income across all categories of economic families is two-thirds higher than in the City of Ottawa. This relates directly to the numbers of children and youth living in poverty. In 2006 Census

Canada counted 57.7% of Greenbay children under the age of 6 as in families deemed 'low-income'. This is a staggering number in comparison to Ottawa's rate of 19.8% of children under the age of six living in poverty (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Table 3: Comparing the prevalence of low-income in Greenbay and Ottawa

	Greenbay, 2006	Ottawa, 2006
Total economic families	34.6%	11.1%
Couple economic families	31.9%	7.6%
Male lone-parent economic family	55.6% (N=45)	17.5%
Female lone-parent economic family	40% (N=370)	31.7%
Children less than 6 years of age	57.7%	19.8%

(Statistics Canada, 2006)

Poverty affects youth in many different ways. It can mean feeling hungry and cold, and having less access to resources and recreational opportunities. It also means that parents are struggling to cope with daily life and are not necessarily available to engage with the school system. High numbers of young children living in poverty is an indication that their older siblings are probably also living in the same conditions. Forty-nine percent of all Greenbay households include children and youth; of these 17% are headed by single parents.

Greenbay is a neighbourhood where several different factors converge. There are a high number of children and youth living there. Over fifty percent of the population was

born abroad and self-identifies as having a mother tongue which is neither English or French. And while over 30% of families fall into the low-income category, more than fifty percent of children under the age of six live in poverty. Taken together, these statistics show that Greenbay is a neighbourhood of extremes, where poverty and minority ethnicity status converge.

In the City of Ottawa, Greenbay has developed a reputation as a dangerous neighbourhood: in 2003 and 2004, local youth were arrested for participating in 'prize fights'. In the spring of 2007, a young man was stabbed and killed at the local gas station (Lewis, 2007). A police crackdown on youth street gangs targeted Greenbay. This ongoing stereotyping by dominant groups tends to perpetuate a system already based on inequalities. It is countered by local institutions and residents who are fiercely proud of their neighbourhood, but do not have access to many financial or other resources.

Chapter Two

Introduction

Young people do not generally have much influence on the places around them. The state does not allow them to vote, drive, enter bars or restricted films and insists upon regular school attendance. Some youth's parents add to these constraints by imposing curfews or adherence to other practices. These rules can work to spatially constrain young people, thereby lessening their potential impact on the everyday spaces around them. Yet young people's activities in public spaces are important opportunities to help develop a sense of place and independence outside the parental home and for the “forging and negotiating of peer culture and acquiring various social skills” (Katz 1998). These public spaces are far from being equally accessible to or accessed by all youth. For example, young males living in overcrowded homes, without access to structured recreational, educational or social activities are likely to use their local public spaces frequently. Their female counterparts on the other hand might not be allowed to, or want to access these spaces in the same way. It is through such unequal access to public spaces, that some places can gain a reputation specific to a gender, ethnic or age group.

Young people and their actions are highly influenced by the discursive and material spaces around them. There are general norms and rules in each place that they frequent. For most youth, the rules in everyday public spaces are not clear cut, as they differ for each situation, location and individual. Yet the material and discursive construction of each of these spaces by youth can influence how they perceive of themselves and others. Youth's perception of certain places can also influence how and where young people act. For instance, when young people feel afraid in certain places,

they will avoid them, or only access them with someone else. Thus, the formation of places and identities are closely linked.

This thesis recognises that definitions and experiences of public safety and therewith public space, are contingent on individuals' identities. Individual identities can be seen as unique positions that are developed through multiple layers of experiences and social identifiers. Also referred to as an intersectional approach, such an approach allows for the diversification of social categories that are otherwise stereotyped and taken for granted. For instance, instead of lumping all 'youth' together, it is important to recognise the differences among this group. This can be accomplished by examining the multiple axes of identity which co-construct one another and exist within each individual. This thesis focuses primarily on the axes of gender, religious affiliation and age. If taken separately, the use of these categories can be used for stereotyping. An example of such can be seen in the statement: 'All young people are troublemakers.' If these axes of identity are taken together, a much more complex picture emerges, wherein youth (for instance) are made up of multiple, fluid, and interdependent categories.

Taking an intersectional approach complicates understandings of public safety as the rules governing this construct tend to rely on generalisations about specific groups. For instance, when in public spaces, young people tend to be constructed as either vulnerable or dangerous. Youth are not generally included in helping to define issues and solutions with regard to safety in public spaces. Yet being frequent users of these spaces, and highly influenced by them, this thesis argues that safety initiatives would benefit very much from young people's input. When young people feel included in initiatives where their opinions are heard and valued by others, their skills and experience grow. These

learned skills in turn, are very important for the development of young people as active citizens, who take an interest in issues in and beyond their neighbourhood, and who are used to speaking out and expect to be heard. (Public Health Canada, 2008)

The goal of this chapter is to establish the theoretical framework for the thesis. First a critical discussion of existing community safety initiatives is presented. The assumptions which these initiatives are built upon are shown to rely heavily on distinct power differentials between those who make the rules and those who do not. Two examples of community safety practices are discussed, both of which are relevant to Greenbay. The first describes a geographically demarcated safety initiative. The second describes how one specific identity group maintains its norms through a safety discourse. Both examples illustrate how young people are not generally included in defining issues and solutions related to public space and safety. Yet these initiatives can also affect youth disproportionately, in part because many young people are regular users of public spaces.

The second section highlights how safety initiatives generally rely upon a muted understanding of youth. By assuming a binary definition of young people as either needing to be protected or feared, ideas around public safety can become very polarising. Diversifying the category 'youth', allows a shift of these binary stereotypes to complicate understandings of safety in public space. This shift can enable a more complex understanding of safety as well as more inclusive ideas about how safety in public spaces can be maintained.

In the third and final section I introduce the practice of safety audits as a participatory tool through which young people can actively engage with questions of safety in their local public spaces as a group. Including young people in defining issues

and solutions with regard to their and others' personal safety is central to this thesis.

Youth's involvement can help to create more inclusive spaces, both materially and discursively. Youth's inclusion also develops youth's skills and experience of speaking out and being heard. These inclusive spaces, complete with residents who are experienced in being heard, are the foundation for a healthy civil society.

Community Safety

Community safety initiatives are efforts undertaken by residents which are fundamentally concerned with maintaining and enforcing public order in their neighbourhoods. This section describes what community safety initiatives are, how they are maintained and offers examples to illustrate how they affect everyday spaces and the young people who frequent them. Whereas the responsibility for maintaining public order formerly belonged to the police and justice system, community safety initiatives as currently conceptualised and implemented rely on the collaboration of multiple local level partners. These initiatives have been supported by governments committed to ideas of minimal state interference, free markets and individual choice and responsibility. Community safety initiatives then, generally rely on the ability of neighbourhoods to self-organise around crime and safety issues. This can happen in a variety of ways and usually relies upon shared values. Diverse groups and individuals can have very different notions of what it means to be safe, and generally have their own methods for the self-preservation of their own families and values. This makes the notion of community safety a highly contested issue.

To better understand the contested nature of 'community safety' requires a closer

examination of the concepts 'community' and safety'. A 'community' generally has two definitions: the first is a geographical community; this can encompass whole municipalities (either urban or rural), neighbourhoods, or specific housing areas. A 'community' can also mean a group of people who share common interests, beliefs, and institutions. This thesis is primarily concerned with one specific geographically defined neighbourhood, as well as the various communities of interest which exist within it.

The concept 'safety' is also highly contested. 'Safety' includes ideas of personal safety, pedestrian safety and environmental safety. It can also encompass safety of tenure and financial safety. This thesis is primarily concerned with youth's perceptions of their personal safety in public spaces. Perceptions of 'safety' are highly contingent on individuals' positionality as well as their lived experiences in specific times and places. Organising around safety requires shared values and experiences, and neighbourhood activists are frequently a homogenous group. In geographically defined communities such as business districts or wealthy neighbourhoods, small groups of vocal and well organised residents typically participate in community safety initiatives (Pain, 2002). These are generally homogeneous groups of educated property owners (Schneider, 2007). One example of this is gated residential communities which hire their own private security companies.

Maintaining and reproducing the values which any one community holds can be done in a variety of ways. Geographically defined communities have seen the rise of formalized community safety initiatives since the mid-1990s (Pain, 2002; Leonard et al, 2005; Whitzman, 2008). These typically involve partnerships with multiple agencies: police, residents, business associations, schools, non-profits, and local governments.

Communities of interest however generally engage in less formal means of maintaining shared customs, for instance through various strategies of social control (Dwyer, 2000; Mohammed, 2005). What these examples have in common is that both geographic communities and communities of interest rely on a distinct power differential between the people making the rules and the people affected by them. This section uses applied examples to illustrate how both a geographically defined community as well as a community of interest work to maintain and re-produce certain values and shared spaces.

Community Safety Initiatives in Greenbay

The strategies employed by formal groups organising around geographically defined community safety issues generally fall under two broad categories: social and situational (Crawford, 1998, Schneider, 2007). The social approach recognises that crime is the product of complex social and economic processes. These initiatives are concerned with tackling the root causes of crime: living conditions, literacy and education, and life skills development through a plethora of community development programs. These programs require long term political and financial commitment from governments to be successful and are not the focus of this thesis.

Situational strategies recognise that crime is opportunistic and can be deterred through modifications to the physical environment. These initiatives have grown out of traditional crime prevention theory, and often rely on technological solutions. While also implemented by city-wide initiatives, these strategies are commonly pursued by neighbourhood level groups because they are inexpensive yet can have an immediate impact. Their primary focus is usually target hardening and increased surveillance, in

order to make crime more difficult to commit. Examples include the installation of cameras, removal of benches, and criminalisation of certain behaviours such as skateboarding, begging or sleeping in public. The general effect of situational crime prevention techniques has led to more tightly controlled public spaces. While these initiatives state that their focus is on making specific places safe, they actually work to temporarily remove certain types of people and their activities from these spaces. Deterring specific types of behaviours in order to make the public spaces safer for all, relies upon a very specific understandings of crime and safety, and the ongoing construction of specific bodies as threatening.

Situational community safety initiatives rarely take the reality of violence against women into consideration (Andrew and Shaw, 2005; Whitzman, 2008). Most violent crime against women takes place in private, yet situational crime prevention strategies divert attention away from this by focusing on public spaces (Wilcox, 2006; Pain, 2001). Women are more fearful than men in public spaces, but recognizing that females are at higher risk in private spaces suggests that designing fear out of the environment is very difficult. This paradox further illustrates that situational crime prevention strategies generally only focus on the most visible manifestations of localised crime and disorder.

In Greenbay, two geographically defined public safety initiatives directly affect youth's everyday public spaces. These are above and beyond the supports provided by the Ottawa Police. The first is maintained by Trontin, the landlord. As a member of the Ottawa Police's Crime-Free Multi-Housing Initiative, Trontin submits to a yearly Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) audit. This is conducted by the Ottawa Police. This status allows Trontin the privilege of requiring new tenants' police

records before renting them an apartment and denying tenancy to people with a police record. Trontin also employs its own security force, which is on call from 5pm to 5am every night. They patrol the neighbourhood on foot and by car. This example of privately owned and enforced security is not the focus of this research, but it allows the reader to have a better picture of the circumstances under which public order is maintained in Greenbay. This thesis is more concerned with how resident groups and specifically young residents maintain and reproduce their own safety.

The other geographically defined community safety initiative which currently affects young people in Greenbay was initiated by local residents and received funding for two years from Crime Prevention Ottawa. Called 'United Neighbours', its goal is to mobilise residents and service providers to develop a response to youth involvement in criminal activity, and crime and safety issues in general (United Neighbours, 2008). However, only a minority of area residents are actively involved in this initiative, although these include both tenants and homeowners (Robyn Collins, 2008). This minority group was already engaged in other organisations, such as Neighbourhood Watch and local community associations. Other members of the initiative include representatives from the police, local schools and businesses. There is no youth representation at all. This example demonstrates how one segment of the local population, in conjunction with area service providers can take responsibility for developing a response to local manifestations of crime and safety issues while excluding the very demographic group they are purporting to support. This task is legitimised through funding from the City of Ottawa, as well as through partnerships with already established groups. Closer examination demonstrates that the community representatives

active in this project are a very small group and not necessarily representative of the wider area. The group made an extensive effort to survey local residents and 393 young people filled out a youth survey. However, because young people were excluded from the decision making process the collective identity of the steering committee was not challenged. Including young people and getting to know them as people can break down stereotypes about youth. The United Neighbours project is currently trying to involve young people in various capacities; however, this process is taking some time to establish.

Social Control exerted by a religious community

Informal means of maintaining shared customs, social norms and the spaces wherein these interactions happen, rely on various methods of social control. These are generally overlooked by more formal community safety partnerships because they rely on informal relationships within and between various demographic groups (Wilcox, 2007). Yet these are valid community safety initiatives, even if they are not legitimized by institutional funding or support. Parents, family members, friends and neighbours can engage in a variety of responses to unsuitable behaviour. These can range from raised eyebrows, ridicule and gossip, to direct engagement with others through verbal reprimands, warnings or physical intervention (Schneider, 2007). Individuals are not only subject to social control as exerted by others, but also act to control themselves. Social control acts to re-produce specific values, and can be seen as necessary for the self-preservation of dominant groups.

The informal methods of social control described below illustrate how a group of

Muslim community members living in the UK collectively regulate young, female Muslims. This example shows how one specific religious community uses forms of social control in order to preserve its shared values. This example is particularly relevant to this thesis because Greenbay has high numbers of residents from countries where a similarly strict form of Islam is dominant. While this example highlights the experiences of one specific Muslim community, many other religious groups have similar methods of social control.

In Muslim culture, the sexual purity of Muslim females before marriage is the foundation of the family. Therefore female bodies are closely regulated by the larger Muslim community through appropriate codes of dress and behaviour (Dwyer, 2000). Young Muslim women are expected to wear the hijab, and behave in controlled ways when in public. Their dress and behaviour is policed by their families, neighbours, friends and themselves. Dwyer shows that for the men and boys, enforcing these “local patriarchal gender relations” was seen as a means by which the male's “own adolescent masculine ethnic and religious identity could be maintained” (Dwyer, 2000: 479). This example demonstrates that the identities of these particular Muslim community members are inter-related. The informally policed young women become the ‘Other’ whose dress and activities are closely monitored. These young women are also complicit in monitoring their own and each others' behaviours.

In the UK as in Canada, the state does not police the dress or activities of women, as it might in a country under Muslim law. Therefore, it is the Muslim community members who monitor and regulate their young female bodies. Robina Mohammad relates how the spatial containment of these young women is legitimised through Islamic

discourse, wherein females' sexual purity is central to the (re)production of the Muslim community (Mohammad, 2005). Because young men are not policed in the same manner, these methods of social control reinforce very specific patriarchal structures. The spatial implications are significant; specific kinds of public space are created and maintained wherein young females' bodies are closely monitored and controlled. This gendered spatial control is also closely linked to gendered fear.

This section has shown how the conceptualisation of community safety initiatives depends upon existing power differentials between those affected by the rules and those making them. In geographic communities, shared values and concerns are required to engage residents in safety initiatives. These groups are generally homogeneous. The second example has suggested how one specific religious community works collectively to maintain its specific customs and public spaces. Both groups rely on the construction and policing of the 'Other', often gendered youth, in order to validate and maintain their dominant position. This section has suggested that young people's opinions are not generally taken into account as active decision makers with regard to community safety. The examples have shown how young people can be disproportionately affected by community safety initiatives or completely ignored. The next section introduces the category 'youth' as a diverse group. Diversifying youth shows how community safety initiatives rely on constructions of difference and tend to be exclusive processes. In order to create material and discursive places which are more inclusive and allow for wider participation, current safety initiatives need to be questioned and widened.

Diversifying Youth

Community safety initiatives which do not include young people in decision making can further marginalise and disengage youth, both spatially as well as socially. Diversifying the category youth enables a critique of community safety initiatives and a potential opening for young people's inclusion. This section critically examines how community safety initiatives tend to target and stereotype specific youth and can rely upon very narrow definitions of crime and safety. Recognising the diversity among young people also recognises that meanings of public safety are constructed, and reliant upon individual and group perceptions. This section argues that it is very important to distinguish between young people's experiences of safety in public space as this allows for a more complex understanding of the issues of public safety and potential strategies to create more inclusive spaces.

In uncritical community safety and crime prevention literature, young people are generally represented as a threat. For instance one such statistic reads: "It is estimated that people under the age of 21 are responsible for about half of the crimes committed. The peak age for male offending, according to criminal statistics is 18" (Crawford, 1998: 109). Violent and offending youth are generally described as a 'youth problem'. Yet young people are the group at highest risk of violent crime (Statistics Canada, 2004). Crime statistics rarely recognise that young people underreport child and sexual abuse. Nor do they recognise other forms of structural violence that young people can experience on a daily basis. For instance, one significant problem is the under resourcing of social services needed to offer support and alternatives to the most vulnerable young people and their families. Recognising these factors is an important start to more discussion and

funding for solutions to the structural inequalities in young people's lives.

In the UK, a series of draconian policies brought in by the New Labour government have disproportionately targeted young people's activities in non-white residential neighbourhoods (Fitzgerald and Hale, 2006). Through the development of measures such as Acceptable Behavioural Contracts and Agreements, young people engaging in antisocial behaviour have been highly criminalised. Anti-social behaviour is defined as "likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household" (Crime and Disorder Act, 1998 as quoted by Stephan, 2006). These developments have led to a 'punitive spiral', through which some young people are systematically excluded from public spaces and commercial areas (Stephen, 2006). By taking an enforcement and suppression approach, community safety initiatives in Britain have led to further marginalisation of certain types of young people. Similar developments are happening in Canada. In the 2008 federal election, conservative incumbent, Stephen Harper vowed to toughen the Youth Justice Act by increasing sentencing and decreasing protection for offenders under the age of 14 (CBC, 2008). These 'tough on crime' measures focus on very specific kinds of youth and their activities. By demonising these young people in order to play to popular opinion, politicians are reinforcing the idea that very specific young people are particularly dangerous, thereby deflecting attention from other issues.

Yet the category youth is much broader than "primarily deviant, spectacular and male" (Valentine and Skelton 1998: 10). For instance, girls are at greatest risk of sexual assault by a family member while between 12 and 15 years of age (Statistics Canada, 1998). Community safety strategies rarely focus on preventing domestic violence nor do

they target other gender-specific issues such as date rape or sexual harassment. Such strategies would require extensive education and ongoing supports for young people in all aspects of their lives; in schools, community, and at home. They would also require support from the media, all of which would amount to a deep shift in society's priorities. While this is not impossible, it requires strong leadership, ongoing political will and most importantly, sustained funding.

Recognising the diversity among young people is crucial to understanding how constructions of community safety rely on issues of difference, domination and subversion which are generally taken for granted and left unchallenged. Young people are often stereotyped by their appearances and actions. Youth's bodies function as one of the primary markers of identity, both to those who seek to define them from the outside, and those who inhabit them from within. Their physical nature allows them to be marked in multiple visible ways through dress, posture, where they work, how they propel themselves forward (car/bus/bike), and where they live. These diverse bodies are often stereotyped and targeted by politicians and other decision makers, in order to further their own goals. Kathy Davis helps put this into perspective: she writes that by

imprisoning the Other in his/her body, privileged groups – notably white, Western bourgeois, professional men – are able to take on a bird's eye view as disembodied subjects. They become the ones who set the standards and judge rather than the ones judged against standards they can never hope to meet (Davis, 1997: 10).

Pinning groups of individuals to their bodies is an ongoing phenomenon, which helps to maintain the position of those in power. The neighbourhood they live in can also stereotype young people. For instance, Tim Lucas found that in an American city, the media used metaphors of illness in the construction of young visible minority men from a specific neighbourhood (Lucas, 1998). This had devastating effects on investments in the

area and worked to distance the neighbourhood and its residents socially and spatially from mainstream society. Nayak also found that young people were related to differently depending on their neighbourhood (Nayak, 2003). Including locale as an axis of differentiation allows theorists to explore that identities are “highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which our experiences are lived” (Valentine 2007: 19). This example suggests how meanings of 'youth' can differ across ages, genders, ethnicities, and neighbourhoods. Dominant groups can use these variable meanings to maintain their own position.

Community safety initiatives impact public spaces which affect the activities and perceptions of young people who frequent them, but these initiatives do not necessarily take the differences between young people into account. One example is that the language used in community safety initiatives is generally gender-neutral. In the ‘United Neighbours’ project mentioned earlier, the analysis of the 393 youth survey responses was not differentiated by gender, ethnicity or age. This was not done because of time and other constraints. For instance, the United Neighbours report found that 38% of young people know that drug dealing happens in their neighbourhood (United Neighbours, 2008). Not having differentiated this finding between young people's genders and ethnicities is a significant gap. Doing so might enable better strategies for deterring youth from participating in existing drug activity through targeted preventative programming as well as breaking down stereotypes.

This section has examined the concept of youth more closely in order to diversify understandings of safety in public space. Because specific places are given meaning through their repeated use and the bodies which use those places can take their meanings

from them, places and bodies are closely linked. Therefore, recognising differences among young people allows for a more nuanced understanding of both safety and public space. This in turn, can inform community safety initiatives' strategies in creating safer spaces for all, the first step being to include a diversity of youth perspectives through a variety of methods.

The next section proposes the potential of safety audits as a method through which to inclusively engage young people in neighbourhood spaces. Undertaking safety audits with young people allows adult practitioners and residents to engage with the 'Other', thereby building relationships, breaking down stereotypes and potentially lessening fears. Active participation in safety audits allows young people to affect change in their neighbourhoods as a group. Being involved in such an initiative can build young people's skills and experience as activists. By creating a participatory space, this simple process can be used to (re)engage young people in their neighbourhoods.

Collective Action through Youth Safety Audits

As this chapter has shown, community safety initiatives are problematic. They are characteristically focused on the hardening of public spaces in order to deter criminal activity. These initiatives are typically decided upon by narrow demographic groups, and rely heavily on specific, oft politicised constructions of the 'Other'. Mobilizing residents to participate in situational crime prevention initiatives is often unsuccessful in neighbourhoods with a diverse demographic in part because organizing around safety relies on shared values (Schneider, 2007). Yet processes of social control as embodied by active residents is key for maintaining and modeling healthy social norms; this can

include calling police if violence is witnessed or intervening if a child is being bullied. In neighbourhoods where there are concentrations of poverty, newcomers, unemployment and family dysfunction, residents are less likely to phone police for help. This is partly due to low levels of trust in formal systems. Young people who have grown up witnessing violence in their families or neighbourhoods are as unwilling to speak out as their parents and neighbours. Fear of being stigmatised as a 'snitch', or fear of recrimination, goes hand in hand with these young residents' inability to influence their own lives. Engaging these young people in taking responsibility for their surroundings is one way of reinforcing that their opinions will be listened to and that they can affect some change.

One tool which has the potential to enable young people's participation in collectively transforming public space in a positive way is a safety audit. Safety audits fall under the rubric of situational crime prevention. They were initially developed by Toronto's Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence against Women and Children (METRAC), and have since been used across Canada and around the world (Andrew and Shaw 2005, Whitzman 2002, Andrew 2000). In a safety audit, users of space walk around a given area as a group, noting aspects that make them feel insecure collectively. Notes are made and photographs are taken, which leads to recommendations for change being written. These are then submitted to the appropriate body; this might be the local municipality, a business owner, or a utilities company. The transformative potential of safety audits rests in their ability to involve a broad spectrum of residents. Because they are easy to use, and members are not necessarily required to attend meetings or participate in following up, safety audits can be very inclusive processes. This thesis argues that the transformation of physical and social spaces is best achieved through such

inclusive measures.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is also a form of safety audit. The main difference between a safety audit and CPTED, is the empowerment aspect. Whereas CPTED is conducted by professionals (usually the police), safety audits are primarily designed and used by groups of residents.

Documentation on safety audits has described their ability to empower users. By working collectively, residents are able to face their fears together. By affecting change in users' physical environment, that fear is potentially transformed into confidence. The most empowering part of the safety audit process is seeing the recommendations implemented. Caroline Andrew states that their potential can be seen in various ways:

- in creating a sense of shared ownership and control over the environment
- in increasing residents' sense of social and political effectiveness
- in empowering residents with a sense of positive social action and
- in fostering a sense of a right to the city and the unfettered use of public space

(Andrew, 2000)

Andrew sees safety audits as a useful tool for resident mobilisation. By recognising, valuing and acting upon their local knowledges, residents can affect physical changes to their immediate environment. However, similar to other situational crime prevention methods, safety audits can also become a tool for exclusion. Carolyn Whitzman describes how women's safety audits in High Park Toronto, made the park unsafe for homosexual activity. The key to safety audits then, is wide-spread resident participation, or participation by the most vulnerable groups. Safety audits have not become an integral component of crime prevention, as most initiatives continue to rely on experts auditors.

These are often members of the local police force. In the City of Ottawa a small non-profit group engages residents in auditing their local public spaces. The Women's Initiative for Safer Environments (WISE) has also audited transit stations city-wide and both university campuses. This agency recognizes the link between creating safer social and physical spaces, and focuses on the ability of residents to affect change as a group.

The question of whether participation in safety audits contributes to actual safety is still open. The efficacy of these strategies has not been widely researched (Pain, 2001, Whitzman, 2008). Along this same vein, it is interesting to note that most community safety initiatives have not been evaluated. This is partly because it is difficult to measure when crime does not happen (Crawford, 1998). However, although safety audits do little to directly address structural or root causes of crime, they work to empower participants through the active engagement with space, thereby potentially transforming participants' perceptions of safety and space.

There has been no academic writing to date on youth safety audits. Combining young people with the empowering potential of safety audits is potentially threatening to adults who believe that young people are a menace in public space. However safety audits are a tool which a wide variety of young people can use. In this thesis, young people's participation in safety audits was used in several distinct ways. Youth safety audits were a practical means through which to elicit youth's participation in the research project. They helped engage young people in making a positive difference in their neighbourhood. This process of engagement built relationships, developed skills and offered new experiences to all participants involved.

Conclusions

The experiences of young people in the daily spaces they frequent has a profound impact on youth's perceptions and uses of those places and of themselves. The tendency of community safety partnerships to target certain young people's activities can result in their increased disengagement from the mainstream. Diversifying young people to include co-constructions of gender, ethnicity and age allows for a broader understanding of community safety. It is my contention that engaging young people in their neighbourhood spaces through the use of youth safety audits is one way of developing more inclusive ideas about shared places. Only the inclusion of, and engagement with the 'Other' will lead to recognition and respect for one another's diversity, in shared spaces for both adults and youth alike.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The previous chapters worked to introduce the research neighbourhood and establish the theoretical frame for this research. This Chapter outlines and describes the methodology used to conduct this study. It begins with a description of the broader research objectives and my subsequent choice of methodologies. This discussion recognises that the research methods employed will directly affect the data produced. Then my own positionality is discussed, as who I am and how I reflect upon the data also directly affects the knowledge I purport to be producing. Next, the multiple methods I used in eliciting data and youth engagement are described. These include participant observation, outreach, safety audits, interviews and focus groups. Finally, the specific outcomes of the safety audits are discussed.

Searching for a suitable methodology

The production of knowledge is a highly politicised process (Kobayashi, 2002). The methods a researcher chooses reflects their beliefs of how knowledge is produced, shapes the data accumulated, and impacts upon the respondents (Naples, 2003, Kobayashi, 2002). Research methods therefore, need to be transparent and the researcher needs to take responsibility for their use. In 'doing' research with young people, "adultist" methods such as one-on-one interviews and questionnaires have been seen as inappropriate and intimidating (Punch, 2002, Langevang, 2007). In order to reduce the power differentials between researcher and respondent, suggested methods include ones which work to empower young people. Another approach is to adopt multiple methods. This is because

no single method is suitable to counteract the issue of unequal power relationships, nor is able to capture the complexity and variety of young people's lives in and through space and time (Langevang, 2007:272).

Trying to bridge the unequal power relationships between researcher and participant is a key concern of this research. Therefore, I used multiple methods combining traditional qualitative research tools such as interviews, group discussions and participant observation with ongoing outreach, and youth safety audits. Engaged youth had multiple opportunities and formats through which to discuss questions of neighbourhood safety. The practical experience of representing their neighbourhood at the City level was a further opportunity to be leaders for change.

One important methodological question which was partially resolved by using a variety of methods was the difficulty of measuring youth's perceptions of safety. By combining youth safety audits with interviews and focus groups, I was able to examine youth's perceptions of safety in a variety of ways, leading to a wealth of different forms of data. Crime is notoriously underreported, and crime data is therefore not usually very accurate. Researchers generally rely on victimisation surveys in order to elicit perceptions of safety, which depends on individuals' experiences.

Action research/ Activist research

Choosing to engage young people in youth safety audits fulfilled two distinct aims. It allowed me to contribute or 'give back' to the community I was researching, through engaging youth in what I saw as a meaningful project. The youth safety audits also provided a space of engagement through which I connected with young people on issues they were concerned with, thereby allowing me to access them in an informal friendly

way. In Kobayashi's definition, activist research requires:

a commitment on the part of the researcher to become involved in the goal of social change. Such scholarship makes no claim to neutrality or non-intervention. It is by definition normative and undertaken with the hope that the research will result in changed conditions for the subjects – not just the world in general, but those particular subjects with whom one works on any specific research project (Kobayashi, 2002: 56).

Kobayashi's comment fits with how I see my own approach to action research. Doing research with youth should not only be about the extraction of their knowledge for my own purposes. Instead my goal was to give my time and energy to engaging the young people in a worthwhile effort. These efforts were definitely linked to the goal of social change, and more specifically to engage young people with the spaces around them as political activists. I made no claim to neutrality, and saw myself as facilitating what could be called a youth leadership project.

In order to be most effective, I aligned my research with an existing youth safety audit project. The Women's Initiative for Safer Environments (WISE) had received provincial funding to coordinate youth safety audits across Ottawa (See Appendix A). Being associated with a formal organisation was beneficial on several fronts. It provided me with a formal association and therewith credibility. It also provided me with a co-worker with significant youth experience, and resources for engagement such as money for food and prizes. This affiliation also allowed me to bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical experience, thereby grounding my contribution to geographical thought in what was happening “on the ground”. My involvement in the Greenbay youth audit also meant that the youth engagement in this neighbourhood progressed faster and further than the other audits done by WISE. The WISE coordinator and I worked closely together, and supported each other's ideas and efforts. Thus, my engagement in youth

safety audits also contributed to WISE's efforts at implementing their project in Greenbay.

Youth safety audits are a low-tech participatory method which can lead to changes in the participants' immediate environment. More importantly, youth safety audits build on youth's local knowledge as young people can have a very intimate knowledge of their surrounding neighbourhood. Affecting change through collective action showed these young residents the power of working together. Following the project through meant that the most dedicated youth saw how the process of affecting change can work; from doing the safety audit to writing recommendations, and presenting them, to seeing changes made. Many of these engaged youth had a strong sense of community pride, and were already leaders in their community. Participating in this project gave them another opportunity to contribute and be role models for younger youth.

Naples (2003) recognises differential power relations in three aspects of the research process: first, those stemming from the different positions which young people as research participants embody. These include age, class, ability, gender, religious affiliation, and can be hidden or visible. Second, the unequal power relationship as exerted during the research, such as unequal exchange or exploitation of the participant. The third power differential to be aware of is the researcher's power in the post-fieldwork period, and during the analysis, writing and representation. Having an action research component does not lessen this power differential, but attempts to address it as the researcher has committed to working with participants for change. However, the extent to which this is a collaborative process depends on multiple factors: how the project is designed, whether the researcher strives for real participation and how committed and

able the participants are. In this research, youth participated primarily in the implementation stage: they led the safety audits, wrote recommendations and presented their findings to a wider audience.

Positionality

Feminist methodological writing recognises that all knowledge is produced in specific contexts, and that these “situated knowledges are marked by their origins” (Valentine, 2002:116). This acknowledgment justifies and requires that researchers be transparent about their own 'position' or 'positionality' in order to reflect upon any implied notions of neutrality or implicit assumptions. Naples states that the concept of positionality is a useful tool which allows the researcher to strategically reflect upon and use their 'position' as a place wherein the continuous formation and interpretation of their own assumptions and values takes place. A researcher's position intersects with their age, religion, gender, race, class and political, historical and geographical context. This positioning does not stand alone, and needs to be examined as a dynamic process in constant interface with participants' positionalities.

Where do I stand then, in the multiple intersections of identity? And how do my values influence what I experience, and how I represent the experiences of others? My own intersectionality is as complex and globalised as most of the research participants, yet I do not pretend to claim any insider status. I immigrated to Canada at age four, having been born in Germany, of a German/Canadian mother and British father. At age eleven and again at fifteen I returned to Germany with my mother and three siblings to complete a total of three years in high school. After finishing my undergraduate degree in

the UK, I moved to Ottawa, where I met my husband. Currently 33 years old, with two young children, we live in a predominantly white, middle class neighbourhood close to the university.

The power differentials between myself and the research participants were immense. The youth I engaged with were 11 to 17, and the majority of them were non-white, first generation Canadians. Being an immigrant to Canada myself I have lived some of the negative factors of not having established family members and other networks. However being a white anglophone makes my immigrant status invisible. Being a homeowner also immediately sets me apart from not only these youth, but also their parents, as they live in a rental community. As Valentine suggests, once I had appropriated my participants' voices and represented their lives, I was able to return to my privileged position of white middle-class homeowner (Valentine, 2002). This is why I was eager to choose a project which would enable me to contribute to the neighbourhood.

Reflecting upon my own experience of public space from the ages of 11 to 16 brings some interesting insights. As the eldest of four I was often given household responsibilities and regularly escaped into the world of books. My experience of public space was fairly muted, and consisted largely of traveled-through spaces in order to access other private spaces. My experiences and points of reference changed as I grew older, accessed other spaces, and as we moved (twice) to Germany. Freedom and trust were two defining characteristics of my upbringing. Growing up with few restrictions has made it very difficult for me to understand why and how the Muslim girls are so closely monitored, and why they concede to such strict guidelines. I was never subjected to what Dwyer calls 'community policing' nor was I ever expected to have an escort while

outdoors. Neither have I ever been directly subject to discrimination due to my ethnicity or dress. Being a non-native German speaker in Germany, and having a Canadian accent in the UK did solicit some negative comments, but my blond hair and blue eyes helped me blend in as a northern European. And while I have felt fear in public spaces, I have never experienced direct violence in the home or in public. Reflecting upon these differences has allowed me to recognise how childhood is lived differently through various spaces.

I used my female gender throughout the research process in a strategic fashion as it allowed me to gain access to the female participants in girls-only events and in one on one or group interviews. On the two occasions when I phoned youth in order to elicit their parent's permission for an activity, my gender was especially useful in connecting with the mothers in a nonthreatening manner. However my gender can also be seen as having influenced the research. As a male, I would have had easier access to other males, especially older ones. This would have reconfigured the research significantly.

Reflecting upon my experience as an activist will also help the reader understand why the action research component of this project was invaluable to me. Naples states: "Incorporating one's activist experiences and positionality into the analysis can result in a deeper understanding of the political strategies chosen and the process of politicisation" (Naples, 2003: 31). I have been an activist since high school, when I was voted a student representative. My activism and belief in social justice was further reflected in my choice of undergraduate degree (Peace and Development Studies), as well as my continued engagement in activist communities. My work as a community developer required collaborative lobbying with certain population groups. Through political activism I have

accessed a community of interest, and felt as if I could contribute to society in a meaningful way.

A final reflection I would like to emphasise was my own 'becoming' throughout the research process. Thompson's 'myth of the competent adult' (vs the incompetent child) is an extremely useful concept here (Thompson, 2007). Prior to the research I had never done a safety audit, never held a video camera, and never presented before city council. Through engaging these youth and being a co-learner throughout the process, I gained an inordinate amount of knowledge and experience, in a hands on, collaborative manner. This influenced my understanding of youth engagement in issues of public safety.

Reflective Practices

The reflexive practices entangled with writing and understanding positionality require an ongoing questioning of the inherent power differential between researcher and participant. Naples highlights the importance of reflective practices as a series of strategies which “work to reveal the inequalities and processes of domination that shape the 'field'” (Naples, 2003: 38). These include how the research is presented, who the initial contacts are, one's form of dress and where one should work and live whilst conducting fieldwork.

Doing research with youth requires a careful reflexive practice which can be “employed to map the power relationship between the researcher and the researched and the way it affects the production of knowledge” (Langevin, 2007: 270). As the power differential between researcher and participant is significant when doing research with youth, one means through which young people can gain some control over the knowledge

being produced is by employing empowering research methods. During the interviews and group discussions, a series of strategies were employed in order to allow the youth more power; interviewing them in groups rather than individually, giving them a copy of the interview questions, giving them the choice of writing their responses, and allowing for multiple segues.

Naples separates reflective practice into weak reflexivity and strong reflexivity. While weak reflexivity is the continued self-awareness of the ongoing relationship between researcher and researched, strong reflexivity is a more self-critical process which challenges the authority of the author and the power differential between researcher and participants. In my research, weak reflexivity can be exemplified through me being very aware of my dress while in the field: not wearing clothing that was too tight, too low cut or anything that went above elbows or knees. This, I believed allowed better access to the Muslim girls for whom modesty in dress is an important identifier. Another example of weak reflexivity is being aware of participants' religious dietary requirements. This translates into simple actions such as ordering cheese only pizzas. Strong reflexivity is about letting go of complete control of the process, and allowing the youth to participate on their terms. This can be exemplified through the safety audits, in which youth led the walkabouts, as the experts of their community. Adults were always outnumbered and never had any say in the path which was taken, or what was filmed.

The research process

The research process was lengthy, in that it spanned a period of 7 months, from August 2007 to January 2008. Multiple methods were used, many of which were intuitive and

simply required me spending a lot of time in places where I could find young people. Throughout this time I developed relationships with the research participants and other key stakeholders in the neighbourhood. The action-research component helped the research feel meaningful. It allowed me to provide clear examples of my research questions; it also helped youth articulate their understandings of public safety in a variety of ways. Most significantly young people saw that their actions made a difference.

Participant selection

The majority of the research participants were elicited through various activities at the Greenbay Recreation Centre. The only prerequisite for participation in a safety audit or an interview was being eleven years old, or older. Ages of the research participants ranged from 11-17, although the majority were 12-14. Although I was interested in researching older youth's perceptions and uses of public space, the wide variety of differences among this younger age group was enough for an in-depth analysis. It was also difficult to access older youth as the older girls did not frequent the Recreation Centre, and the group of young men who stayed late to play basketball were intimidating to a young white woman. Having the age of eleven as a limit allowed me to cut off the younger youth who were very keen on being involved, yet whose experiences of space were very different, due to their almost constant supervision. Throughout the research I engaged a total of 37 youth in safety audits and interviews. Of these, 24 youth participated in an interview, and 21 in a safety audit. Ten young people presented at City Hall (See Appendix C).

Participant observation

Participant observation was an ongoing and important aspect of the research. Langevang notes: “Qualitative studies with young people require prolonged interaction with research participants, not only to understand their life worlds, but also to form relationships, build rapport and gain mutual trust”(Langevang, 2007: 272). In reality, developing relationships with the research participants translated into a lot of 'hanging around' in the Greenbay Recreation Centre, which is where most of the research participants were recruited. I also collected various impressions by walking through the neighbourhood, and allowing for spontaneous interactions to surprise me (See Appendix D).

In order to access youth, I spent many weekday afternoons and evenings in the neighbourhood. On several occasions I was also there on the weekends, but only if there was a special event. The fieldwork period lasted from early August, 2007 to February 2008. The seasonal changes in residents' use of local public space were also observed during this time. I accessed the neighbourhood in different ways. By cycling through, I noticed how few cyclists were in the area, compared to the middle class neighbourhood where I live. Drivers were also not used to making room for cyclists. Driving through helped me understand that Greenbay was indeed built for the car; the neighbourhood ring road is easy to access from the main highway with traffic lights on either end. Walking through the neighbourhood allowed for a very different experience. Pedestrians are offered multiple paths, with centrally located grade schools connected by greenways lined with fenced backyards. During the warmer weather, many town home residents sit outside their homes in small groups, casually supervising small children. The patterns of apartment dwellers were more difficult to observe, and not noted.

As already noted, most of the participant observation took place at the Greenbay Recreation Centre. As I became a regular fixture there, it was difficult not become aware of the politics of staff turnover and management decisions. In the seven months that I was active in Greenbay, there were some big changes to the recreation schedule, due to staff turnover and management decisions. Gender specific programming was abolished in favour of age specific programming, even though numbers of female participants had been at record highs. These changes further complicated any analysis, as in the time it took to complete the research, the lives, support structures and existing role models of some of the participants had changed considerably. The insight that the passing of time renders analysis more complex has also been offered by other youth geographers (van Blerk and Ansell, 2007).

Outreach

Ongoing outreach was the main method in recruiting research participants, and took many different forms. Prior to starting the research I contacted all of the relevant (adult run) organisations. This was to let them know about the project, as well as to (re)introduce myself to them and hear any concerns they might have. I spoke with the Greenbay Community Association volunteers, outreach workers at Steelborrow Community Health Centre, and managerial staff at the Greenbay Recreation Centre. This was primarily done by telephone, as well as email.

A key contact was the coordinator at the Boys and Girl's Club. The landlord subcontracts all youth programming to this organisation, who run a youth drop in centre within the Greenbay Recreation Centre. The coordinator was very excited to hear about

the project, but told me I would need to get the green light from head office. When I phoned in order to inquire about the process required, I received a stern message: I would be allowed to give the local coordinator the project information, but was not allowed to press it on the youth directly while they were attending programming in youth club. This was circumvented by the coordinator and her enthusiasm in the project, but made me more cautious in approaching the youth.

My attempts at recruiting youth were characterized by the need for me to remain flexible due to the drop-in culture of the Recreation Centre. For instance, just before one of the initial group discussions about safety, three of six girls who had been present in the youth centre left to watch a movie at one of their homes. Later, two other girls and two boys arrived and participated enthusiastically. This flow of youth, in and out of the project became a defining characteristic of the outreach, informal focus groups and safety audits. Once the project developed its own rhythm, and specifically once we were preparing for the presentation a shift became apparent, from a drop-in culture to engaged youth knowing and expecting that 5pm on Wednesdays was the meeting time for the safety project. These informal sessions were not taped but notes of relevant comments and interactions were made after every meeting.

My main method for 'doing outreach' was simply spending time in the neighbourhood, and specifically at the Greenbay Recreation Centre. I also spent a lot of time explaining the project to and developing relationships with the front line staff. A central component was being relaxed, friendly and open to questions and suggestions. For instance, the second safety audit had fifteen youth participants, which made the discussion noisy and the audit unwieldy. However, by remaining calm, and not

domineering the conversation, by listening, yet still calling them to order when necessary, the audit was able to proceed. Giving youth leadership roles in the safety audits was another tool for positive engagement. Some of the examples included designating a youth leader for the route, giving them the video camera to hold, actively hearing their concerns and asking them to note down their ideas and recommendations.

Creativity was another key tool for getting and keeping youth's attention. Food was useful for drawing youth, and was never served until after the meeting. The exception to this was during Ramadan, when food became an even more important element, as many of the youth fasted during the day and could not eat until sundown. Creativity also played an important role in the use of group facilitation techniques and tools. These included having clear ground rules, giving everyone the chance to share early on, breaking into smaller groups for focused work, and the inclusion of an informal evaluation element before closing.

Safety Audits

A total of three safety audits were completed during August and September, 2007. The first consisted of five males. The second was a group of fifteen mixed-gender participants. The third had four female youth participants. Two female and one male youth participated twice. The audits took place at dusk, and lasted approximately one hour each. In order to clarify the process and establish ground rules each safety audit was preceded by a group discussion. Two audits included food and the WISE coordinator brought prizes to use as incentives for the one audit she participated in. Every audit started at the Greenbay Recreation Centre, yet took a different path through the

neighbourhood (See Appendix B for map of audits).

All three audits were videotaped by the youth. I had initially decided to use the video camera as a tool with which to capture youth's comments throughout the audit. A few of the comments were useful, but the majority of the footage was very difficult to decipher due to poor light and sound quality. As it turned out, the camera served as a great incentive for youth to participate. The majority of the youth were very interested in using this new technology. For some of the youth, holding the camera was a very powerful experience. They interviewed other youth, Trontin security and each other throughout the audit. Langevang, who did her research with African youth, states that giving youth cameras can potentially compromise their safety as it changes their habitual practices. In this project however, the youth were always in a group setting with supervision when the camera was active.

The audits themselves were excellent research tools because they were largely inclusive. They served as a tangible focus for the project, and were referred to in a positive fashion in several of the youth's interviews. The audits also allowed me to get to know the youth better, and observe their interactions in a group. Recommendations stemming from the audits were written up from the youth's notes by the WISE coordinator. These were then discussed and confirmed by the youth in a follow up meeting. Some of the recommendations were immediately acted on such as the graffiti removal (discussed in more detail below) and streetlight replacement. The others were sent to the responsible parties, such as Trontin and the City of Ottawa, prior to the presentation of the recommendations to the Greenbay Advisory Committee (See Appendix E for an abridged version of this report.)

One of the drawbacks of the youth safety audits is that not everyone was allowed to participate. Specifically, several of the senior girls did not have permission. The Boys and Girls Club coordinator insisted that senior girls have their parental consent forms signed in order to take part in the neighbourhood safety audits. Her reasoning was that the parents of these girls had entrusted the Boys and Girls Club to take care of their youth, and were uncomfortable allowing them to leave the building on a different project. The coordinator only stipulated this for the girls. When it was time for the girl's audit, only one parental consent form was returned. However the coordinator allowed the three remaining girls to participate, as she knew that their parents would allow them to be involved. A second drawback of the safety audits we completed is that only the physical features were assessed (not programming, youth's relationships with staff or other intangibles). A final drawback was that some of the youth who participated were upset by the drug activity they witnessed during the audit, as they had not seen it before.

Semi-structured interviews and group discussions

The interviews took place once the safety audits were completed, and lasted from October 3rd to January 26, 2008. In that time I interviewed twenty-four youth from the ages of eleven to seventeen. Of these, thirteen were girls and eleven were boys, and thirteen interviewees were of Arabic descent, while six were Black, five Asian and two White. (See Appendix C for chart.) After gaining each participant's oral consent they signed a consent form, if they had not already done so, for participation in a safety audit. (See Appendix F for consent form.) In order to have this research approved by Carleton's Ethics Committee, I designed three different consent forms: an informed consent form for

youth to sign, a parental consent form, and a verbal consent script. The ethics commissioner was clear that parental consent would not be required for 'emancipated' youth. Most of the youth I engaged were solicited independently of their parents, and only signed the youth consent form. If they had signed the consent form to participate in the safety audit, they did not sign it again for an interview.

All of the interviews were tape recorded and followed a semi-structured outline. (See Appendix G for the interview schedule.) Fifteen interviews and focus groups were held in the multi-purpose room at the Greenbay Recreation Centre. These were conducted on various week nights, between the hours of 5 and 7pm. Youth respondents were solicited in the lobby, Girls' and Boys' Club or gym. None of these interviews were pre-arranged. Five of these interviews were held individually. The remaining ten youth were interviewed in three separate impromptu focus groups, comprising of two, four and four youth respectively.

The focus groups did not go into the same depth as the interviews, but were interesting in that the youth played off each other's responses. These groups happened spontaneously, when solicited youth brought others with them, or had been solicited together. Langevang notes that young people generally find a group setting more comfortable as they find themselves able to steer the discussion, and therefore take a more active role in the production of knowledge (Langevang, 2007). However, she also notes that the discussion can easily be dominated by the most active participants, and that several of her participants did not feel at ease in a group setting. In retrospect, the early informal group discussions which I held, in order to assess whether there was interest in the project followed a very loose, primarily youth led structure. These would have made

for excellent data but were only recorded by hand, once the discussion was finished.

In order to access youth who did not frequent the Recreation Centre, I hired a local youth as my research assistant. Her primary task was to introduce me to youth not active in the Greenbay Recreation Centre. My choice fell to Sharifah, 13, as she had already volunteered to introduce me to her friends and we had an established relationship. She had not been allowed to participate in the safety audits and her parents insisted that her brother accompany her for the interviews. This meant that on the afternoon that Sharifah and her brother assisted me in locating youth who did not actively participate in Greenbay Recreation centre activities, the research team had grown to three. Together we conducted seven interviews. These were awkward for several reasons. First of all Sharifah and her brother were present for every interview. This no doubt influenced the participants' responses. Secondly, in the first interview they occasionally interrupted in order to clarify my questions if they felt it was necessary. After this interview I asked them not to do that again. Thirdly, I felt that the peer pressure they exerted made a difference as to whether youth participated in an interview, as well as youth's responses (depending on who was being interviewed).

Five of these interviews were conducted in the hallways of an apartment building, just outside of the interviewees' apartments. We were stepped over by other residents, and one respondent's little sister needed to be distracted by chasing a ball down the hall which Sharifah threw for her. These interviews were further punctuated by the youth planning their afternoon excursion. Most of the youth seemed very comfortable in the hallway; two boys lay sprawled out together, with one head on the other's abdomen. But one respondent did not seem comfortable being there at all, and his sister had refused to

participate outright. Two final interviewees were solicited through a friend. These were held in the youth's home, with a parent present. In total 24 young people answered the interview questions, either in groups or individually.

The interviews and group discussions were held in the various different places and conditions. This no doubt influenced the participants' responses to the questions. While group discussions made some respondents feel more comfortable, peer pressure may have worked to silence the already shy youth. The experience of hiring a research assistant will be handled very differently next time, but this experience showed the difficulties that arise in interviewing youth, who are uncomfortable in bringing strangers into their homes and do not have access to a common room, such as is the case in the Trontin apartment buildings.

Implementation and presentation of recommendations

The youth safety audits resulted in two sets of outcomes. The first were situational and directly affected the research neighbourhood. The second set were more intangible and enabled young people's participation in the larger political and civic sphere, including being broadcast by local media across the City of Ottawa. This section describes these outcomes. My observations suggest that when young people are organised they can create spaces for themselves and will be listened to. However it took a lot of persistence, many telephone calls and meetings, and many boxes of cookies to see these projects through.

Situational Effects

The situational effects of presenting the youth safety results were threefold: those

responsible for specific properties made repairs, young people helped clean away graffiti and the City of Ottawa decided to modify its summer programming in order to reflect youth's concerns about Greenbay Park. The property repairs were primarily carried out by the landlord, Trontin. This included fixing broken doors, lights, and gates. The City of Ottawa immediately replaced the burnt out street lights.

The graffiti removal was done by five male youth (aged 12 and 13), myself and the WISE coordinator. The WISE coordinator brought graffiti wipes, masks and rubber gloves from City of Ottawa's Graffiti Removal Program. Together, we scrubbed at graffiti in various locations around the neighbourhood. This served as an interesting forum to discuss why graffiti was a negative factor in the neighbourhood, and why the youth thought it had been done.

The third situational outcome which the youth safety audit influenced was the City of Ottawa's decision to modify its summer recreational program in order to have adult supervision and informal sports activities during weekend evenings in the Greenbay Park. The City representative held an informal meeting in order to discuss this new initiative. Many of the boys were very forthcoming about the Greenbay Park and that they did not feel safe there. They were very vocal that their primary concern was having the lights at the court turned on in the evenings so they could play basketball. However, directing the City's limited resources towards evening supervision of the Greenbay Park was problematic because young women were not willing to work those hours in that location. Not having a female supervisor would make this program even less attractive to young women, many of whom are not allowed out in the evenings anyway. The City went ahead with this program, and hired supervisors for the basketball courts and Fieldhouse

on Friday and Saturday evenings.

Intangible effects

The more intangible set of outcomes resulting from the youth safety audits involved enabling young people's active participation in the wider political and civic sphere. Youths' political participation occurred through presenting the recommendations of the youth safety audit report to the Greenbay Advisory Committee (GAC). The WISE coordinator and I did this initial presentation. The GAC is a monthly meeting of key stakeholders in the neighbourhood. Representatives include the municipal councilor, a Trontin manager, the community developer from Steelborrow Health and Community Resource Centre, the two primary school principals, the president of the Greenbay Community Association and the community police officer. The final report has been sent to all members one month in advance. The presentation went very well, and all of the youth's concerns were heard and discussed. The Trontin representative had not known that the area the youth call 'the drug place', was an area of concern, although the Greenbay Public School principal confirmed this. Later that afternoon, I came across the Trontin representative with the Steelborrow community developer at the 'drug place'. They had wanted to see the place for themselves, and walked over together. To see these decision makers step out of their cars and walk to area in question was an extremely positive outcome, as it showed me that our presentation had influenced their view of the neighbourhood. In order to give the youth safety audit report more weight, the municipal councilor invited the youth to present at a City Council committee meeting in the new year.

In early February, ten youth, the WISE coordinator and I presented the youth safety audit recommendations to the Community and Protective Services Committee at City Hall. We had met weekly for a month in advance in order to develop and practice the presentation. In order to illustrate the presentation, the WISE coordinator and I had devised an art and poetry competition with the theme 'What I love about Greenbay' (See Appendix H). This inspired over thirty youth to write a poem, paragraph or draw a picture. These were subsequently professionally bound and passed around by the councilors during the presentation. Watching the young people present their efforts in front of eight city councilors was very rewarding. Unfortunately the official response was a bureaucratic one, as the primary requests made of the City were for better lighting and more programming, all of which is very costly. Therefore, our delegation was asked to wait until a process could determine the best mechanism through which to implement the recommendations.

The large amount of local media attention our project received at this point was unexpected. WISE had put out a media release about the presentation at City Hall. Prior to the presentation the local television and radio station contacted us. Both stations sent journalists to Greenbay, and twice the youth and I reenacted the safety audit. The TV segment was aired the night before the presentation to City Hall.

The same afternoon as the presentation to City Hall, CBC radio hosted their 'All in a Day' afternoon show out of the Greenbay Fieldhouse. The youth safety audit project was featured throughout the program. The first and second prizewinners of the 'What I Love about Greenbay' poetry competition read their poems on the radio. Several segments that the outreach producer had previously recorded were aired. Then one of the

youth and I were interviewed. The interview was live, and aired at 5:15pm: prime commuting time. We were asked to describe the project, what we had done at City Hall, and what our next steps were. During our interview we were surrounded by many neighbourhood youth. The local community developer was there as was the Greenbay Community Association president. I felt under a lot of pressure to present the neighbourhood in a positive light, and did not say anything beyond the main themes the youth had all agreed upon: more lighting, less graffiti, better recreational facilities. This heavily scripted experience brought my relationship to the community into a new light, and highlighted the power my research had to potentially stigmatise the neighbourhood. It also allowed me to rethink my issues of accountability to the youth, and their continued existence in this space. Representation of the community became an important theme through this experience. It is further discussed in the analysis section.

Conclusions

A variety of methods were used to engage youth in the project, and maintain the momentum needed to see it through. Most of the methods employed were very simple and flexible, as exemplified by the safety audits. Using simple, inductive methods is what works best for engaging youth. The ongoing evolution and slow pace of this research project allowed for the methods to be multi-faceted. When something did not work, it was let go. When an idea was successful, like the poetry contest, it was pursued. The use of these multiple methods led to complex and in-depth data for this research project. The use of safety audits also created a space for young people's active political and civic engagement in the neighbourhoods. Above all, these multiple methods led to

relationships between myself and these young people as we engaged in a common project together.

A relationship always works two ways. In my case, getting to know these young participants by using multiple methods and spending time with them meant that I was more in tune with their everyday situations. I believe that this allowed me to better hear and understand their perspectives. I was also privy to their personal conversations, either through happenstance or because they had partially accepted me as a fixture. This suggests that my chosen research methods helped both the youth and I feel more comfortable with one another, which allowed them to describe more accurately what they felt and me to hear it.

Chapter 4: Analysis

Introduction

Thus far, the exclusion of young people as active decision makers in mainstream community safety initiatives has suggested that young people's perspectives are not generally considered in questions of public safety. In this chapter the results from the interviews, focus groups and safety audits suggest that young people's first hand experiences and knowledge of their local public spaces is extremely valuable in understanding complexities of public safety.

Beginning with the differences between how diverse youth perceive safety, young people's fear and experience of violence is shown to be highly gendered as female participants exhibit higher levels of fear than males. Next, perceptions of fear and safety are linked to specific places in the neighbourhood; these are consequently used by the youth participants in very different ways. These findings suggest that fear is not only gendered but also situated in specific locations. Next, perceptions of Muslim youth's safety and space are related. Differentiating between Muslim and non-Muslim youth represents my efforts at an intersectional approach, which was otherwise very difficult due to the small sample size. Muslim youth represented over half of the interview respondents and had very distinct understandings of safety and space. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of safety audits, as implemented by youth residents.

Analysis of qualitative data

This section describes the process through which the qualitative data set was analysed.

Taped interviews and group discussions were transcribed immediately after gathering the information. The videos of the safety audits were also transcribed. These text documents were input into Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software. Once in Atlas.ti, I read and coded each transcript, beginning with the documents containing the female youth's voices. The codes changed and evolved as I became more familiar with the data. They evolved again when I coded the male youth's transcripts and new themes emerged. I then returned to the female youth's transcripts in order to re-code them. Several codes were collapsed into larger codes, in order to identify prominent themes. I also used Atlas.ti's network view option, which allowed me to see which codes related to others most often. Through this software option I produced a series of network views, enabling me to see links between themes more clearly. These were subsequently differentiated by place, time, season, ethnicity, age and gender. One of my strategies for analysis was to focus on specific places, and examine them in relation to the other places the youth mentioned. In this way I developed a data set which focused on specific locations within the neighbourhood. This was instrumental in examining the discursive construction of specific places and allowed me to highlight the differences between youth's access to different places, and how youth experience them in dis/similar ways.

Although I included diverse aspects of youths' identities in as many different ways as I could, gender often jumped out as the most significant aspect to examine. In part this was because the sample of interviewed youth was fairly small (24), and the number of ethnicities large (5). Having interviewed only five Asians and two Whites for instance, made it difficult to keep these youth's identities hidden, if their age and gender were also included. One demographic group had a very strong representation: over half of the

interview respondents were Muslim (13). Muslim youth include a diversity of ethnicities. Examining different patterns between genders within this group made sense, as many followers of Islam adhere to very specific rules about how and where males and females should be found. Of course I also made some exceptions. At several junctures I was able to compare younger youth's experiences with older youth's. Ongoing participant observation also allowed me to ascertain some general findings with regard to ethnicity; these however remain underdeveloped.

Analysis of quantitative data

This section describes the process through which the quantitative data was analysed. As every interview respondent had filled out a short survey as part of the interview I also had quantitative data to compile and analyse. For this I employed software called SPSS. First I entered all of my data into an excel spreadsheet. Every field was given a different value from 1-10. This spreadsheet was then uploaded into SPSS, which develops percentages of the data. The results were then put back into an excel sheet, in order to allow for easy viewing and analysis of accumulated data.

Through SPSS I focused on the differences between males' and females' opinions. This was done for the same reasons as in the qualitative data set. Having interviewed 11 males and 13 females, gender was the largest and easiest sample to differentiate. Also, as I had already worked through the qualitative data at this point, I realised that the gender divide would be easiest to back up with the respondents' quotations. The quantitative data also allowed me to back up my qualitative analyses with hard numbers.

Preliminary remarks about the data

The data I collected was much more than just interviews and group discussions. The afternoons and evenings I spent 'hanging out', participating in various activities or preparing for the presentation to City Hall, offered me insights into the youth's lives and experiences which I would never have been able to elicit through interviews and focus groups alone. These experiences provided me with a window into these young peoples' lives: how these youth related amongst themselves, and what issues they saw as taking priority. Living these experiences allowed for multiple analyses as I slept on, chewed over and thought about the interactions I had witnessed, and taken part in.

I kept a journal of my research, which was a valuable tool for digesting thoughts and experiences as they happened. I also used it for venting my frustration when the project took an unexpected turn. This allowed me intellectual and emotional distance from the project. This was necessary because of the relationships I inevitably developed. The journal helped put my actions into perspective, and think about my next steps in a coherent manner. Keeping a journal also meant I could revisit those emotions and experiences, and kept the research process, in all its messiness, alive.

Limitations of the data

The data is limited because of the small sample size. While 37 young people were engaged in total, only 24 participated in an interview or a focus group. Most of the findings described in this section were derived through those means. The data is also limited because 13 of 24 interviewees are Muslim. Whereas Greenbay is a neighbourhood with a diversity of ethnicities, this research has a strong Muslim representation. These

numbers made it nearly impossible to complete a fully intersectional analysis of young people's perceptions of public safety. For instance, only 2 white youth were interviewed. Not only would they be immediately identifiable if their gender and age were revealed, such a small number is simply not representative of a wider demographic. This research does not attempt to make generalisations for all young residents in Greenbay, and only depicts the experiences of those interviewed.

Another reason that these data are limited is due to the contested nature of 'safety' itself. While the safety aspect was practical for promoting the project, and soliciting neighbourhood agencies', and parental and youth involvement, spaces can be examined in a multitude of ways, such as through youth's engagements in social spaces via play, religion, or care-giving. It is important to remember that safety is a construct, and that community safety initiatives tend to rely on a very narrow definition. For instance, this definition does not generally include domestic violence, housing tenure or white collar crime. The experiences of two safety audit participants brought the wider implications of a public safety focus to the fore. In January 2008, Kaila (12) and her family were evacuated from their home due to a carbon monoxide leak from the ageing furnace in their building. The leak has been detected after several residents complained to their doctors about persistent headaches. The landlord immediately installed carbon monoxide detectors in all furnace rooms and units throughout the neighbourhood. Kaila and all of the other residents in this building had been exposed to potentially life threatening fumes. Their experience of deteriorating housing is not generally included in public safety initiatives. Another example of the limitations of a public safety focus was through safety audit participant Didi's experience. Didi (12) was admitted to hospital in March 2008,

with advanced meningitis. This is an infection of the brain caused by a bacteria or virus. When we visited her in May, Didi was almost completely paralysed. Had the infection been caught earlier, it could have been treated with antibiotics, whereas Didi was in hospital until the end of the summer. She now uses a wheelchair to get around. These two examples show how youth are often struggling with a host of other issues. Living in deteriorating, low cost housing is not only a symptom of poverty but can cause ill health, thereby contributing to the causes of poverty. Safety in public spaces is only one aspect of these youth's lives. The two examples above show how structural issues of poverty, class, and everyday issues of diet, and housing conditions are factors which influence these youth's experiences, and overall health.

The collected data is limited by the primary focus on safety; however, safety has proven to be a useful window into how public spaces are used in various ways by youth. The next section looks more closely at how young people define safety. As mentioned in Chapter 2, understandings of safety are highly contingent on individuals' and groups' identities.

Perceived safety in public space

When asked to define safety, responses by males and females were significantly different. Many male participants could not really verbalise what safety meant to them. Those who could largely defined safety as a lack of violence. Male responses to the question *What does safety mean to you?* included:

Anis (12, male): no yelling or anything, not being racist or anything, all my friends know we are just cool, harmony and that.

Drish (12, male): no arguing and stuff

Jared (14, male): nothing is happening bad, knowing you are safe

Shiraj (13, male): less fighting, less drugs, whole idea of guns and stuff

Female respondents' answers were much more nuanced and explicit than the males.

Many female responses related feelings of safety to being with someone, notably with parents or friends. Many females also mentioned feeling safe at home. Their responses to the same question included:

Amy (12, female): with parents

Salwa (12, female): safe around police, family and friends

Sahu (12, female): when you feel protected

Ellie (11, female): being with parents

Jordan (11, female): when you are with someone you trust.

Several of the older girls related feeling safe when at home, and unsafe when outdoors.

Their responses described strategies such as staying home, avoiding certain places, and minding their own business.

Zahirah (12, female): close the door. I don't go places where all the people look scary.

Louana (12, female): safety means something, like you can go home and feel comfortable.

Almas (12, female): try to mind my own business.

The most telling response was from a young woman who had experienced physical and psychological aggression against her person in the research neighbourhood. Her ability to vocalize a clear definition of 'safety' suggests that having experienced violence directly has influenced her perception of what it means to be safe.

Natasha (16, female): Safety is when you can walk home by yourself at night and be 100% sure that nothing will happen to you. And that no one is gonna, no stranger will come and talk to you, or try and do anything on you. And that is pretty much it I think.

The differences between male and female responses to what safety means shows how perceptions of safety are highly contingent on individuals' identity. This identity includes experiences of violence, age, parental rules and religious customs. In the sample below,

eleven males and thirteen females responded to the question of how safe they felt with friends and alone, during the day, and at night.

Table 4: How safe youth feel during the day (N= 24)

With friends		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	N/A
	Male (N=11)	9	2	0	0	0
	Female (N=13)	10	3	0	0	0
Alone						
	Male (N=11)	3	7	1	0	0
	Female (N=13)	1	1	4	5	2

Table 5: How safe youth feel at night (N=24)

With friends		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	N/A
	Male (N=11)	5	4	1	1	0
	Female (N=13)	5	5	1	2	0
Alone						
	Male (N=11)	0	4	5	2	0
	Female (N=13)	0	2	1	6	4

Overall these findings show that females feel less safe than males when they are alone. This corresponds to other research. Both males and females feel much safer with friends. This was also supported by my participant observation; rarely did I see male or female youth in the neighbourhood alone; they could usually be seen in groups of two or three. The chart above also shows that several female respondents checked the not applicable box to the question of how safe they feel when alone. When probed, they responded that their parents do not allow them to be alone. These girls either come from strict Muslim

families or are very young. None of the male respondents were subject to the same circumstances.

Female youth's feelings of insecurity correspond to the higher levels of physical and psychological violence which they experience. Of the twenty-four interviewees, female youth reported more incidents of name calling, and assault than their male counterparts.

Table 6: Respondents experience of aggression (N = 24)

	Name calling	Physical or sexual assault	Bullying
Male (N = 11)	6	0	2
Female (N = 13)	12	3	2

That three out of thirteen female respondents have been physically or sexually assaulted is deeply disturbing. This figure suggests that women and girls' fear is justified because of their higher experiences of violence. This finding is also consistent with other research (Day, 2006; Pain, 2001, Kern 2007). Research has also shown that in North American cities, women of colour report both higher levels of fear and instances of violence than white women (Kern, 2007; Pain, 2000). This suggests that the intersectional nature of women and girls' bodies matters to their experiences of fear and violence. In this research, only two of the interview respondents in this research were white. Due to this small sample I am unable to conclude whether non-white girls' levels of fear and experience of violence is higher.

This research has shown that girls' levels of fear are higher than boys'. When probed, female respondents were explicit about their fear of men. The majority of female youth I interviewed mentioned their personal experiences of being followed, stared at

and hassled by adult men. On one occasion, I too was whistled at as I made my way through the neighbourhood on foot. In order to emphasise the seriousness and pervasiveness of ongoing sexual harassment of girls in this neighbourhood, I have collated several responses to the interview question: *What makes you feel unsafe?* Note, these female youth were interviewed individually yet all had similar responses:

Salwa, (12, female): Guys walking around.

Almas (12, female): Men staring at us.

Louana (12, female): Just them standing there, and you walk by.

Amy (12, female): Guys following us.

These quotes show that sexual harassment of female youth is a pervasive problem in this particular neighbourhood. This finding is also consistent with other research which suggests that women's fear is primarily fear of men (Pain, 2000; Listerborn, 2002).

However girls' fear of men is also clearly situated in material locations. The response below suggests that this female links her fear both to men, specific activities and specific places in the neighbourhood, notably the townhouses and the basketball courts:

Sharifa (13, female): Nighttime, people walking around, guys staring at me, hiding stuff and they are doing stuff, hanging around the townhouses and the basketball courts.

Disconnecting women and girls' fear of violence from the material location within which they feel fear does not take the power of certain places into consideration. Places gain meaning through their repeated use by specific groups. When places become coded 'male' they are unfriendly to females, who concurrently use them less, leading to the further entrenchment of their gendered meaning. In the next section I link perceptions with safety to specific places in Greenbay.

Linking perceptions of safety to specific public spaces

None of the aforementioned responses on safety explicitly states that perceptions of safety have an impact on participants' use of space. However, feeling unsafe can severely restrict or modify young people's uses of particular places. The repetitive use of space by certain groups can lead to specific spaces becoming gendered or racialised. By examining the uses of certain neighbourhood spaces through a safety lens, I suggest that youth's use and perception of space plays an important role in the formation of these places. In this section young people's use of three particular places in the Greenbay neighbourhood are discussed: Greenbay Park, Greenbay Shopping Centre and Greenbay Recreation Centre. These local places came up frequently in the interviews and are important sites in the everyday lives of the youth respondents.

The Greenbay Park/ Fieldhouse and Basketball courts

Greenbay Park is a City of Ottawa park in the centre of the Greenbay neighbourhood. It provides pedestrian access to both primary schools, and many residents cross this open expanse in order to reach the Mall, and the transit options located there. A children's playground, soccer field, and baseball diamonds are also located here. The key features examined here are the Fieldhouse and the basketball courts, which are part of the Park, yet viewed as distinct locations by the youth. The Fieldhouse (also called 'the Shack') is located on the northern edge of the Greenbay Park, alongside Greenbay's main road. Directly adjoining it are the basketball courts which are used as a skating rink in the winter.

Map 2: Greenbay Park

(Google Map, 2008)

The Park is located in the geographic centre of the neighbourhood. Designed as a place for recreational programming, it reflects the modernist vision of large utopic green spaces. Yet Greenbay Park was one of the places where youth were least likely to feel safe in the neighbourhood. The table below shows this:

Table 7: How safe youth feel in Greenbay Park (N=24)

Park-daytime		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	N/A
	Male (N=11)	1	4	3	0	3
	Female (N=13)	1	7	3	0	2
Park-nighttime						
	Male (N=11)	0	2	4	2	3
	Female (N=13)	0	1	2	5	5

These numbers suggest that Greenbay Park is one of the places where both male and female youth feel unsafe in Greenbay. The high number of 'not applicable' responses in the chart above highlights that many of the youth I interviewed do not go to these areas, either as a personal safety strategy or because they are not permitted to do so. No youth feel 'very safe' in the Greenbay Park at night. Only two respondents stated that they felt 'very safe' in this area during the day. This seems unfortunate insofar as the hopes that the original designers had for this 'model community'. Meant to represent the hub of the neighbourhood, and provide space for residents' recreation, the Park has become a dead zone at night, in which none of the youth I interviewed felt safe enough to linger.

Although noting that they do not necessarily feel safe in the Park, more than half of the eleven male youth stated in an interview that Greenbay Park was one of the places they go to most often in the neighbourhood. They described it as a distinctly positive feature of the neighbourhood, and related how they often played Manhunt and soccer there. Only one of the older male youth stated that the Park was a place he never visited. Male youth's perceptions of the basketball court were also mostly positive. Three male

participants stated that the basketball court is one of the places they go most often, in order to play sports. The quotation below recognises the gendered nature of this place:

Mazin (12 male): Everyone is there. All the boys. No one goes to the Rec Centre in the summer.

For this young male, the recreational options are clear. He can go to the basketball court or Recreation Centre. He stipulates that it is the male youth to whom he is referring. Yet, not all males access the basketball court equally. Two older males I interviewed never use this place. One was explicit that he did not go to the basketball courts because there are “too many people doing stupid things.”

Female youth's perceptions of the Park were negative. They told stories about being followed and whistled at while there. Four out of thirteen interviewees stated that the Park was a place they avoided, or never went to. The female youth I interviewed also found the basketball court and the Fieldhouse were intimidating places. Their references to the aggressive behaviour they experience there and the ways in which they associate this place with older, aggressive males makes it clear that this is not a place where they feel comfortable. In the following excerpt from a group discussion, two girls intertwine the Fieldhouse with highly visible, aggressive male bodies:

Natasha (16 female): Who here has seen the pedofiler at the court? He is always there, dealing drugs and stuff. He is always there, not always. You know where the Shack is around there. They park their cars there and they stand around, all these guys.

Najla (staff): What does he look like?

Natasha: I think he is Arab.

Didi (12 female): With his friends, sitting on cars and stuff.

The image this quotation conjures, of men sitting on cars, visibly using and dealing drugs, is one of power. Their power relies on residents minding their own business, and accepting them as the dominant group in that place. This power of course, is contingent

on a certain time of day. These spaces are continually under negotiation, as different groups occupy them at different times. There is one time of day when I witnessed several female youth in the Park; they were picking up their younger siblings after school. The repetition of this activity represents another grid in the axes of power; the gendered responsibilities of childcare.

The Greenbay Park is a highly contentious location. Maintained and managed by the City of Ottawa, it is the location that was the focus of the majority of the safety audit recommendations, and where the least amount of physical change occurred. Whereas Trontin complied with all the youth safety audit recommendations, the City of Ottawa had not completed any at the time of writing. This, despite a presentation to City Hall, and ongoing efforts by myself and the community developer to make progress through the local administrator. Residents' sense of powerlessness is captured by this female youth:

Natasha (16 female): ... in the summertime, they don't turn the lights on the basketball court anymore. You can't play basketball at night anymore. And you think that is good because there are no more people coming, but it is bad because there is stuff happening and the police can't see what is happening. And there is stuff happening behind the court, and you can't see anything there. Sometimes there are older guys smoking weed and stuff, and if they turned them on, they wouldn't be there, and people, the police could see them. But the lights are off, so what are you going to do?

She sees the lights at the basketball court being turned off as a sign that those in power do not care about the realities on the ground. Having lived the experience, she knows that if the lights are on the people using the space will be more visible, making it more difficult for them to be engage in illegal activities.

In conclusion, most male participants use Greenbay Park as a place to play sports and be with their friends. They do not relate to these places as potentially intimidating,

and do not have stories of being objectified in the same way as their female counterparts. In contrast, none of the female participants identified positively with the Park; their stories related to lack of lighting there and being harassed by older males. For the female respondents, not accessing the Park can be directly related to the fact that they do not feel safe there. Some of the male respondents, while stating that they do not feel safe, still use the Park as a place to play.

The Greenbay Shopping Centre

The Greenbay Shopping Centre, referred to by youth as 'the Mall', spans the southern length of the Greenbay neighbourhood. It was built in 1973 and totals 728,047 square feet. Over one hundred and fifty stores and services are located there. Directly adjoining the Mall is an OC Transpo bus station. Located just off of Ottawa's main highway, the Mall demarcates the southern boundary of their neighbourhood.

The Mall was the location most often referred to by the interview respondents. It came up as a central reference point; as a place where both male and female youth go most often, and as a positive attribute of the neighbourhood. In answer to my question, What do you like about Greenbay? Fifteen out of the twenty-four youth I interviewed replied: 'the Mall'. Seven females, and five males replied that the Mall was one of the places they frequented most in the neighbourhood. The following chart demonstrates that the majority of young people I interviewed feel safe in the Mall. This is possibly why they see it as a positive attribute to their neighbourhood.

Table 8: Feeling un/safe in the Mall (N=24)

Mall daytime		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	N/A
	Male (N=11)	6	3	2	0	0
	Female (N=13)	7	4	2	0	0
Mall nighttime						
	Male (N=11)	5	4	2	0	0
	Female (N=13)	2	8	3	0	0

These findings show that the Mall is seen by most young people as a safe zone, a place they can go and be with their friends, or alone (for some). This coincides with the findings of the United Neighbours survey, in which only 9 out of 393 young people surveyed felt unsafe in the Greenbay Mall (United Neighbours, 2008). The Mall plays a central role in both male and females' experience of their neighbourhood as a destination. Yet not everyone was positive about the Mall. Some youth expressed negative feelings about it.

Kaila (12 female): I used to go to the Mall, and just walk around. It is so boring now. I have money, but I don't need anything.

For this young female, the Mall has lost its appeal, at least temporarily. She has obviously been allowed to explore the Mall freely in the past. Stating that she has money, but does not need anything, is possibly a defense mechanism.

In order to compare how young people's identities affected their use of the Mall I compared differences between males and females' parental rules. Whereas many of the female youth were subject to parentally enforced rules in relation to the Mall, none of the males were. Six of the thirteen girls I interviewed cited explicit rules about accessing the Mall. These females were either Muslim or very young, highlighting the fact that some

Muslim girls have rules which do not necessarily correspond to their level of maturity and responsibility.

Zahirah (13 female): I wasn't even allowed to go to the mall by myself until this year. Now I am allowed to go by myself, as long as it is not at night.

For this Muslim female, being allowed to go to the Mall by herself is a major achievement. Yet she is still made aware that her access is restricted to certain times of day. Male youth's lack of rules with regard to the Mall is consistent with my overall findings: as I have already mentioned, female participants in this study were subject to more rules, and more complex rules, than their male counterparts. This had the effect of constricting their access to all public spaces.

Male and female responses were also different in terms of their individual coping strategies at the Mall. Two male youth's strategies focused on 'minding my own business' and ignoring others.

Drish (13 male): When Ritchie kids walk in, I usually just say I am going to go.

Rafi (11 male): When I walk around the Mall with friends, I usually just ignore the others there.

These boys are clear that the best way to avoid trouble to is avoid certain people, in this case youth from other neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood rivalry is a real concern for them, especially in a supposedly 'neutral' zone like the Mall. Female youth had very different coping strategies to avoid trouble. These were all in relation to being followed. The quote below illustrates this:

Ellie (11 female): If you are alone and someone is trying to follow you, everyone can see. It is easier to yell there.

This quotation shows that the females tend to have very different safety concerns in the Mall than do the males. Whereas the boys are wary of meeting boys from other

neighbourhoods, the females are more concerned with how to get away from potentially aggressive strangers. This finding coincides with many of the females' comments about how being around people helps them feel safe.

Coming to any definite conclusions with such a small sample is difficult. The main finding regarding the Mall is that most participants felt it was a positive aspect of their neighbourhood, as a location they could frequent with minimal supervision. This coincided with both male and females' perceptions of the Mall as a safe place. Females are subject to more rules at the Mall and are more aware of their potential vulnerability with regard to strangers.

Greenbay Recreation Centre

The Recreation Centre was built primarily to attract tenants to what was then a distant suburb of Ottawa. Built in 1964, it was expropriated and relocated in 1998 due to the building of the OC Tanspo transit station. The new centre cost a total of six million dollars and includes an indoor pool, gymnasium, weight/exercise room, a party room, and a youth drop-in centre. This facility is a rarity in that it is privately owned and operated, and offers free recreational programming to all the Greenbay residents. It does not make a profit, yet it continues to exist largely because tenants have signed an agreement as part of their lease stating that they and their families will have access to these recreational facilities (Rick Smith, 2007). The Recreation Centre has many different spaces within it, each catering to different subgroups of the population. The multi-purpose rooms are used for ESL classes and tutoring, the weight room is for adults only, and the party room is often rented out for tenant festivities and local agencies. The main spaces accessed by the

youth are the gymnasium, the pool, the youth centre (called the youth centre), the hallways and the locker rooms. Each of these places has rules for appropriate behaviour, for instance, no running in the hallway. These rules are interpreted and enforced differently, depending on staff.

As in the other locations explored in this research, females consistently feel less safe than male respondents. The quantitative data collected does not fully reflect numbers which tell of females' higher levels of fear, however if taken in conjunction with interviews this remains an important finding.

Table 9: How safe youth feel in Greenbay Recreation Centre (N=24)

Rec Centre - daytime		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	N/A
	Male (N=11)	5	6	0	0	0
	Female (N=13)	8	4	1	0	0
Rec Centre - nighttime						
	Male (N=11)	6	3	2	0	0
	Female (N=13)	5	4	0	2	2

Safety was not the only concern for accessing the Greenbay Recreation Centre as it was in the Park. Instead there were a host of other factors which played into whether or not young people took advantage of the free recreational programming. These are staff, age of respondent, programming and ethnicity. These are discussed in more detail in this section.

Staff

When I was in the outreach phase of this research project a strong female Muslim was employed as the youth coordinator in the Greenbay Recreation Centre. Being a devout Muslim, she was an important role model, sympathetic to the cultural struggles faced by many of the youth accessing the centre. Due to a management decision, the responsibilities of her position changed, and she was replaced. This turnover, coupled with a shift in programming, caused the numbers of youth accessing the centre to drop dramatically. This was at a time when female participation in the youth centre had been at an all time high. This example shows that the staff responsible for a space can directly affect those who use it. This corresponds to other elements of the research: of the females I interviewed who accessed the youth centre frequently, all were overwhelmingly in favour of its rules. Six female youth were also explicit that the youth centre staff contributed directly to their feelings of safety and belonging. In the following quotation the youth centre coordinator speaks about how much work goes into keeping a space 'safe' for youth. This comment needs to be understood in light of the fact that the youth centre had been without a coordinator for several months before her position was filled, and that there were practically no rules upon her arrival:

Najla (staff): "When I first starting working here, sometimes, like, shady characters would just walk into the room and try to use the computers. And you would just have to be like 'Excuse me, this room is only for kids under 18'. You really have to work on it, as keeping it a safe space."

Not only did the coordinator need to keep strangers out of the youth centre, she also closely monitored participants' behaviour. Most of the males I interviewed thought there were too many rules in the youth centre. One boy cited an example of how he had greeted the coordinator with "Hi Babes" and was subsequently 'kicked out'. The reality of

creating and maintaining a shared space in which all participants feel valued is a daily struggle. This is especially true if some youth are not subject to similar rules at home.

Age

Many of the youth accessing the youth centre and Recreation Centre were there on a daily basis. While this facilitated building relationships with them, I questioned the fact that I saw the same young people over and over again. When prompted, the youth had a variety of explanations as to why they, or their friends did not come. Some of the reasons were age related:

Natasha (16 female): Senior kids stop coming here. They think they are cool. Older girls used to come here a couple of years ago, now they just have their own life, but we all live here, why not bring your friends here and just chill here?

Drish (13, male): Too loud for homework, too many little kids.

Age was an important factor for differentiating use of space within the youth centre. Not only was programming gender specific, it was also age-specific, for instance: 'Junior girls night'. Over the course of this research, even I witnessed a turnover: the teenagers I had engaged no longer showed up every day, while children who had just turned eight arrived as soon as the Centre was opened.

Ethnicity

When pressed about differences between ethnic groups accessing the centre in different ways, youth respondents remained silent. My own observations showed me that very few Asian youth could be found there. Only once did I see two older Asian youth come and play basketball. This in a community where 395 families speak Chinese and Mandarin

compared to 2580 English, and 960 Arabic (Statistics Canada, 2006). Explanations for this might include that Asian families living in Greenbay have no or fewer children, and that any children might be carefully monitored, or busy with homework and extra-curricular activities. Another explanation is that these youth do not feel comfortable or welcome in the Recreation Centre. Two Asian girls I interviewed thought the Recreation Centre was “very scary”; however these girls were both younger, and only accessed the pool accompanied by their parents.

Other examples of why other young people might not access the Centre were broached in terms specific to parental concerns:

Sahu (13, female): Their parents don't allow them to, do not know what is happening inside here. And I know a lot of kids whose parents don't like the idea of boys and girls doing the same kind of thing together

Salwa (13, female): Yeah, my Mom does not want me to go here anymore, she calls it my house. I used to come here everyday at 4pm sharp. Now my Mom says I spend too much time here.

These two Muslim girls are probably commenting on their own experiences: it is their parents who do not think they should be spending so much time in a place where there is so little parental control. Yet having access to a space, away from parents, is integral to growing up and learning independence. It is especially important considering that many of these youth come from large families, and share rooms with siblings at home.

There are three main findings pertaining to youth's perceptions and uses of public space highlighted by examining the Recreation Centre. First, staff can have a direct influence on who accesses a certain space, depending on their personality and willingness to implement rules. Second, female youth who regularly accessed the Centre were positive about the rules, probably because they felt protected by them. This was not the

case for male youth, who argued that they were too strict. The third finding is not as conclusive, as it reflects an unspoken status quo among the youth as to who accesses the Centre or perhaps more clearly: who does not. Through these findings, we can see that youth's experiences of Greenbay Recreation Centre are highly differentiated by their age, gender and ethnicity. This chapter has suggested that perceptions of fear and safety are linked to both social and physical characteristics. The next section looks specifically at responses from Muslim youth. More than half of the respondents were Muslim, and their responses reflected very similar ideas and beliefs in relation to gendered fear and use of space.

Muslim responses as distinct?

More than half of the interview respondents self-identified as belonging to the Muslim faith. This included young people from a range of ethnicities. I decided to focus on this subset of youth participants because of the numbers of interviewees but also because Greenbay has high numbers of newcomer Muslim families living there. Expressions of Muslim faith vary widely. In strict Muslim culture, most women participate in a home-based culture, whereas the men take on roles in the public sphere (Mohamed, 2005). This section discusses the spatial implications of the social control exerted by the Muslim religious and cultural communities in Greenbay. These are closely linked to very clear understandings of gender roles and concurrent notions of public safety. Recognising diversity among Muslims is as important as recognizing diversity among young people and shows that these findings cannot be generalized across all Muslims or predominantly Muslim neighbourhoods.

In Greenbay, young female Muslims are subject to many more rules than their male counterparts: where and when they go, who they go with, and what they wear. Many of the Muslim girls I interviewed wear the hijab, and dress modestly, covering their bodies from ankle to wrist. Yet others, also Muslims, do not. Wearing the hijab was described to me as a 'personal choice', but it seemed that the girls wearing the hijab also came from households with the strictest rules. These rules and expectations directly affect these young females' perceptions of safety. An example of this is when, in one of the initial outreach meetings, a group of teenage Muslim females stated that what they wanted to change most was to cover the windows of the Greenbay Recreation Centre gym because this would allow them to play basketball without their hijabs. Not being seen by men or boys when without their hijabs is an understanding of safety which reflects the high regard these young Muslim females have for their cultural heritage. It also reveals how recognising diverse cultural demands on shared space might affect design or use of that space in unexpected ways.

In my research, I found that female Muslims from the strictest families always had to be accompanied by a male member of the household when outside of the family home. The following quotation shows how exasperated this makes one girl feel:

Sharifa (13, female): They will not even let me walk up to the country club [...] Can't go out anywhere without my brother he has to walk with me, or my uncle or my dad, a man. I can't walk with my friends around the neighbourhood and I can't go to the mall without someone with me.

The experience of not being allowed out without a male relative is frustrating to this female youth. She later calls it "suffocating" and says that she has to disobey the rules because otherwise she would have to kill herself. The reality, of course is much more fluid. For example, I experienced first hand, female youth plotting with their chaperoning

younger brothers in order to have time alone with their friends. One girl confided to me that when her father is away, she has a lot more freedom, as her mother is not as strict.

The need to protect Muslim females' honour, is impressed upon these young women from early on by their families, neighbours and traditions. One succinct quotation with regard to this is:

Sharifa (13, female): If a guy had it with a girl, the guy can just leave, so the guys can do a lot of stuff, guys are more stronger, but the girls' life is ruined.

This young woman is convinced that her position in her Muslim community relies upon her sexual purity. If it is sullied then she is no longer seen as an optimal mate for marriage. The importance of this outlook was also apparent when the assault victim at Carleton University (mentioned in Chapter 1) publically stated that the media had falsely construed that she had been raped (Boesveld, 2007). This was confirmed by the nurse examiner who stated: "This misconception, and by it being so widely publicized, could potentially ruin her future in a much more devastating way than anybody else who is not of that faith" (Christine Baker, as quoted by Boesveld, 2007).

In her work with British Muslims, Claire Dwyer found that "local patriarchal gender relations were reinforced by young men." This was seen as a "means by which their own adolescent masculine ethnic and religious identity could be maintained" (Dwyer, 2000: 479). The young men doing the enforcing are the brothers and neighbours of the young women in question. Dwyer's analysis shows how young Muslim women are pressured by their male siblings and neighbours to maintain the family's honour, through appropriate dress and behaviour, or "appropriate feminities" (Dwyer, 2000: 481). The following two quotes from male respondents in relation to their sisters' safety and outdoor activities support Dwyer's findings; the young males in the neighbourhood help reinforce

and reproduce the patriarchal system; thereby also constructing their own identities.

Mazin (12, male): Cause I am a guy, so no one will want anything from me. If I was a girl I would not feel safe, but I am a guy.

Masruq (12, male): I go outside a lot more than her. Cause I am a guy, I can keep myself safe.

These young Muslim males are reiterating their families' script: that young women cannot keep themselves safe, and need to be fearful when outdoors, whereas they, as males are able to be safe outside. This also suggests that it is legitimate to hassle girls who are alone. These quotations suggest that some young Muslim girls are subject to a strict hierarchy of power wherein their bodies are spatially contained for the promotion of their own safety. Their brothers are complicit in this re-production of values by emphasizing their sister's inability to look out for themselves. Robina Mohamed explains how in Muslim families:

Young women present greater danger to collective identity because of their sexualised bodies and relative lack of socialisation in 'community' norms due to their age. Young women are the target of community policing strategies to ensure that they preform collective identity as required (Mohamed, 2005: 380).

Strict Muslim culture recognises the sexuality of these young female bodies, and uses this as the argument for their necessary containment. Mohamed explains that these young women are 'legitimately' spatially constrained by their families because "women's (hetero)sexual purity is key to marriage and the Muslim family and these in turn are significant for the production of community identity, bringing a focus on women's bodies" (Mohamed, 2005: 382).

This section has suggested that social control regarding young Muslims' access to everyday places in the Greenbay is highly gendered. This gendering relates directly to females' higher levels of fear. This fear can be directly linked to the importance of their

sexual purity. By examining the subset of Muslim youth respondents, a further important differential in the question of fear and safety is highlighted; that of religion. Maintaining the values and customs of the Muslim community requires adherence to certain practices. In the case of local public spaces, it is the spatial containment of young females which helps to reproduce some of these values. The next section explores whether and how young people's engagement through youth safety audits can affect their perceptions of safety and everyday spaces.

Youth residents as safety auditors?

As a researcher, one of the most rewarding outcomes was engaging young people in the youth safety audits. Although extremely time consuming, this venture felt meaningful because the youth participants were critically engaged in the examination of their neighbourhood spaces. Broadcasting our findings across the City of Ottawa through the presentation to city council and the radio program showed the young people involved as activists that their voices were valued and being taken seriously. Many of the safety audit recommendations were implemented, and the experience of presenting the findings showed how a small group of organized youth can make a difference. However there were two observations which made me wonder whether safety audits are effective tools for use by neighbourhood residents, whether youth or adults. The first is that these young people required a lot of mobilization to meet and get organized. Once the WISE facilitator had completed her contract, following up on incomplete recommendations was not done. This raises the question of whether safety audits can be successfully implemented without someone who has skills, resources and time to do so. The second

observation is that many youth, specifically male youth, were clearly uncomfortable with presenting information on the highly visible drug dealing as one of their concerns. This raises questions of another kind of fear: fear of being seen as a 'snitch' or fear of recrimination. Again, this is a potential drawback for any resident involved, not only a young person.

Safety audits were designed to be used by local users of space in a collective manner. Their strength is that they rely on residents to see through the suggested changes, thereby engaging them in a process of affecting change. However this same strength can also be a considerable weakness if residents do not have the skills, resources and time to follow through on recommendations. Engaging young people in Greenbay was complicated by the reality that these youth did not have the capacity to organise themselves. Neither their parents nor Recreation Centre staff became involved in the process of pursuing adults responsible for implementing recommendations. While the actual 'doing' of the safety audits was a welcome activity for the youth participants, writing the report and following up with recommendations was primarily done by myself and the WISE coordinator. The young people we engaged in Greenbay have many different competing demands on their time and the leadership required to pursue the implementation of recommendations independently is a learned skill. In its regular safety audits, WISE staff generally help residents pursue the recommendations. This suggests that the skills and know-how required are part of larger questions of class and education differences.

The second observation which made me question whether young residents were best placed to conduct safety audits had to do with participants' concerns regarding the

sensitive nature of their findings. Two main concerns were highlighted. First, because Greenbay already had a 'bad name', young people did not want to further stigmatise their neighbourhood. Second, these young residents might have been afraid to air their concerns because they feared recrimination. Male youth were consistently uncomfortable with discussing the highly visible drug dealing in Greenbay. In the end, they conceded to a short segment of the presentation to Ottawa City Council focused on 'the Drug Place', preferring to highlight less stigmatising issues such as offensive graffiti and lack of lighting. Later, when the media descended upon us, none of the male youth spoke publicly about their concerns about 'the Drug Place'. And after one girl was interviewed I overheard one of the boys say: "*Ayah snitched. She told them about 'the Drug Place'.*"

Cahill writes:

The strategy of silence is performed to protect oneself. But it is also the case that drug dealers, who are repeatedly invoked as threatening spectres on the students' neighbourhood landscape, benefit from silent witnesses. Silence is double-edged. In minding their own business, teenagers are conforming to an implicit rule of the drug culture, which demands complicity (Cahill, 2000:265).

Cahill's comments that youth remain silent in order to protect themselves helps put these youth's actions into perspective. Not only are they protecting their community, they are also very aware of living in this place everyday, and protecting themselves. If youth are seen to be snitches, they might potentially fear recrimination. Cahill's comments help put this dilemma into perspective:

Violating the rule of minding your own business might mean not only endangering the self, it may also be understood as taking responsibility for putting someone, someone who is more like you than the police, in jail. At the same time, this understanding acts as a limitation, it helps to perpetuate living in a landscape of potential violence (Cahill, 2000: 265).

Cahill is speaking about youth in a New York City neighbourhood, where Black residents

are socially and economically marginalised, and do not necessarily benefit from the rules or protection of the police. While her comment is context-specific, the idea of turning in 'someone who is more like you' than 'them' is a powerful idea. Yet I was aware of at least two female youth speaking to the media about 'the Drug Place' publicly. Perhaps the female youth are more willing to speak out because they suffer more or perhaps because they are not as afraid of recrimination. When WISE staff encounter residents who are afraid to speak out they emphasise residents' strength in numbers. Housing providers, police departments and city councilors generally do not act unless there are many complaints.

My own experience of publicly speaking about the neighbourhood came to a head during the radio interview held in the Greenbay Fieldhouse. I participated in a twenty-minute interview together with one of the youth. It was during this interview that I felt an immense pressure not to say anything bad about Greenbay. For one, all the youth participants were in the same room as me. Other people present included the local community developer, the community association president, and several adult residents. The show was also being broadcast live onto the directly adjoining skating rink. It was truly a moment of accountability. Later, when CBC provided me with a copy of the recorded interview, I noticed how I had only spoken of the neighbourhoods' positive features. I could have mentioned how females suffer constant sexual harassment, and that drug dealing is a highly visible occurrence along the pedestrian path. Instead I talked about the neighbourhood pride the youth had exhibited, what great representatives they were and how much I had learned from them and the process. Reflecting upon this process has brought me to the conclusion that I had become a quasi-insider through the

relationships I had developed with young people and other members of the Greenbay neighbourhood. Purely as a researcher I could have been more direct. However, I recognised that I had a certain amount of responsibility to the neighbourhood. Using the radio to broadcast negative aspects, and thereby further distance this neighbourhood from the mainstream would not be appropriate. Instead, these more delicate findings are better discussed in more select places, with appropriate stakeholders.

This experience raises other questions regarding the usefulness of safety audits. While residents' use of safety audits is potentially an empowering experience, as insiders they potentially face recrimination for speaking out and trying to make changes. Another question relates to the ability of safety audits to represent diverse voices as well as see the recommendations of those diverse groups implemented. Through my experience of leading youth safety audits I found that diverse youth could speak out and their concerns came through in the final report. However, the females' concerns for lack of recreational opportunities and safety in Greenbay Park were not met. The City of Ottawa has a limited budget for its summer programming. In this case the needs of the louder and more insistent male voices were attended to.

Conclusions

The results of the analysis show that differences between male and female respondents are significant for perceptions of safety. Females feel more comfortable when they are with people that they know and trust. They see rules and activity as positive features. These same females have been made aware of their inability to keep themselves safe, either through having suffered direct violence, ongoing sexual harassment, or messaging

from their families. Differences between females were also remarkable. Younger females' number and complexity of rules were similar to those from the strictest Muslim families. Older girls had fewer rules but were as aware as the younger ones of their need for constant vigilance. Male respondents' perceptions of safety were more muted than females. Fewer restrictions and expectations meant more spatial freedom. And although the majority still felt unsafe in Greenbay Park, more than half noted that this is a place they go most often in the neighbourhood. Thus, not feeling safe was but a minor consideration in their use of that particular space.

Having analysed the results of the interviews, focus groups and safety audits, this research suggests that there is a strong link between youth's identities and their perceptions and uses of public spaces. The individuals themselves may not explicitly recognize this link. However, it is central to the formation of their identities as well as to the formation of the places which they frequent. Perceptions of safety were not however the only reason why young people chose to frequent a particular location. As seen through spaces such as the Mall and the Recreation Centre, there are multiple considerations for young people's use of public space.

The final section of this chapter examined whether residents are best positioned to engage in safety audits. The amount of time required to follow up with the safety audit suggests that strong leadership is key for recommendations to be implemented. The young people in Greenbay, like many residents who are unfamiliar with political activism or have multiple competing demands on their time were not able to do so themselves. Young males' reluctance to publicly speak out about some of the more serious problems in Greenbay also highlighted the struggle which some insiders face when confronting

existing spatial hierarchies. However, safety audits remain an excellent tool for engaging residents to take action for their own wellbeing. Working together with other concerned residents is important for overcoming fear and affecting change.

Drawing upon the challenges of inclusive community safety initiatives and the links between youth's identities and perceptions of safety and space, the final chapter presents the key findings and addresses why recognizing a diversity of voices is important when attempting to make spaces safer for all.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

Chapter 1 outlined three central questions which this research addresses. One: Are there significant differences among young people with regard to perceptions of safety, other than gender? Two: Do young people fear certain places more than others? And three: Can young people's inclusion in the decision making and implementation of a local community safety initiative affect both material and discursive change in their everyday spaces? The answers to these questions are discussed in this Chapter, drawing upon the analysis and results presented in the previous discussion.

As raised in the analysis Chapter, insights drawn from this research cannot be used to generalize about all young people in the City of Ottawa; instead, the findings presented below highlight the usefulness of conclusions obtained through interviews, focus groups and safety audits with young people from one particular neighbourhood. This final Chapter seeks to highlight the specificity of this research, as well as identify areas for further research. Finally this Chapter concludes with the question of feminist scholars' roles in shifting existing spatial hierarchies and the importance of working in close collaboration with underrepresented groups such as young Muslim females.

Discussion of key findings

The analysis of the interviews, focus group discussions and youth safety audits illustrate three key points regarding the links between young people, safety and public space. In answer to the first research question, whether there are significant factors other than gender, I have to conclude that gender is by far the most important factor in determining young people's perceptions of safety.

Female participants had far higher levels of fear than their male counterparts. This conclusion is based on combined qualitative and quantitative results and is supported by other research. Due to the limitations imposed by such a small data sample I was unable to undertake a fully intersectional analysis of youth's perceptions of public safety. High numbers of Muslim participants allowed me to examine their experiences, as a distinct sub-set of youth. There were significant differences between Muslim and non-Muslim youth's perceptions, however the most critical difference was between genders. In this research, females' heightened fear was perhaps augmented because of the high numbers of Muslim participants. Many Muslim girls have much stricter and more complex rules about their outdoor access than their brothers or non-Muslim friends. These rules are accompanied by a deep fear of sexual violence and the possible repercussions stemming from them. While some of the girls find these rules overly oppressive and unfair, their brothers are generally supportive of these rules, although in some cases I did witness brothers helping their sisters circumvent them. While Muslim girls' levels of fear were higher than non-Muslims, female participants' fear was significantly higher than their male peers. This supports other research that identifies gender as the most important identifier in determining perceptions of safety.

This gendered fear was examined in a variety of locations throughout the neighbourhood. Females were especially concerned for their own safety when accessing the generally unsupervised and badly lit Greenbay Park. This place was very frightening for most females and typically avoided by them. In females' access to the other two places examined, the Shopping Centre and the Recreation Centre, perceptions of safety did not play as important a role; these are places which are supervised and tend to have a

variety of users. While males stated that they did not necessarily feel safe in Greenbay Park, many of them still access this place frequently. This finding suggests that concerns for personal safety are not as important for males. It might also suggest that the males I interviewed are maintaining a certain level of bravado in keeping with their masculinised identities. Situational crime prevention strategies work with the understanding that fear can be designed out of a given place; however it needs to be recognized that in relation to Greenbay Park, fear is specific to females. This gendered and situated nature of fear needs to be recognized in order to devise strategies through which young females can access this space equally. Making females' safety a priority will not be achieved through situational measures alone. This would require a deep shift in priorities and need to include support from multiple sectors.

The third key finding is that young people's gender, age, and religious affiliation influenced the extent of their participation in the youth safety audits. While the youth centre coordinator had required signed parental consent forms from the females, there was no such requirement for the males and many more males than females participated in the actual 'doing' of the safety audits. In the lead up to the presentation to City Hall, self-selected youth participated in weekly meetings. Again, more males were engaged. However, in this portion of the action research component, the number of Arabic participants was disproportionately low, in comparison to their participation in the safety audits. It is difficult to state broadly what the significance of this is, as many factors come into play, such as participant's ability or willingness to attend weekly meetings versus doing a short walk-about. Young people have many competing demands on their time and this was a significant commitment. Youth's opinions on presenting the safety audit

findings also differed by gender; male participants were unwilling to discuss highly visible drug dealing, whereas females were eager to share their knowledge on this subject. One conclusion which can be drawn is that the young people I engaged in the Greenbay neighbourhood acted as leaders and representatives for their neighbourhood. The embodied differences among these youth pale in comparison with what they accomplished. By becoming involved in the safety audits and subsequent follow up activities they participated in a range of experiences which developed their skills and experience as leaders in the community in a hands-on manner. Their active engagement also led to some concrete changes.

I believe that the youth safety audit component of this study helped youth participants and I better conceptualise what public safety means to young people, and how contentious this issue can be. The experience of trying to affect change was extremely frustrating as progress on various issues stalled. However, the relationships which were built between myself and the youth, as well as among the youth themselves were meaningful in that they happened in a pro-active context. Being involved led to learning how to carry out a safety audit, write a report, present findings and following up with decision makers. The local community developer has since used the youth safety audit report to inform other neighbourhood activities, such as painting a mural on an underpass which was full of offensive graffiti. Several of the young people involved in the safety audits have since contributed to other locally based initiatives, such as an Arabic-speakers needs assessment, a youth forum and a new neighbourhood community development process.

Mainstream organizations which are mandated to serve marginalised residents are

often under-resourced, especially when one considers the amount of time required to build meaningful relationships with young people. By engaging young people in Greenbay through the action research component of this study, my work supported the outreach and engagement efforts of the local community health and resource centre. Young people and especially those from low-income newcomer families can profit from their exposure to extra-curricular activities. Their involvement in youth safety audits built on their existing skills and experience and strengthened their foundation as engaged leaders in their neighbourhood. As a volunteer, I was only able to pursue so many avenues with the youth. For instance, after our presentation at City Hall, a member of the councilor's office gave us a tour of the building complete with cookies and juice. Other opportunities were not followed up with, such as when representatives from the local radio station invited us to do a tour of the station or youth expressed an interest in attending a Carleton University basketball game. These are opportunities which many of these youth will most likely not experience through their schools or with their families.

This discussion relates to the third question posed in Chapter 1, which asked whether young people's inclusion in the decision making and implementation of a local community safety initiative affects both material and discursive change in their everyday spaces. Based on my observations, the youth safety audits were able to affect some situational changes almost immediately. Other concrete changes have been stalled indefinitely. More importantly, involving diverse youth in safety audits helped create a more inclusive decision making space on issues of public safety, in which the value of young people's opinions and voices is recognised and acted upon. The experience of watching ten youth, of which all but one was from an ethnic minority group, presenting

in front of an all-white group of city councilors was significant. This activity represented the demographic shift which is currently happening across Canadian cities and signaled the importance of the changes which are yet to come. Therefore, I would like to conclude that youth safety audits in Greenbay did affect both material and discursive change in their everyday spaces.

Specificity of research

The findings discussed in this chapter can be linked back to the specific neighbourhood and youth I engaged with. How would my findings differ if I had chosen a white middle class neighbourhood in which to conduct the research? In Greenbay I saw how the particularities of place make a difference. In this case it was because of the high concentration of newcomer Muslim families, a group wherein issues of class, and access to resources differ from middle class 'white' Canadians. The gendered values which help maintain this particular religion are partially embodied through the spatial control of females. This has spilled over into the public spaces in Greenbay, one example being the ongoing harassment of many young females. This might not be the case in another neighbourhood. However, I think that spaces generally reflect the interests of dominant groups, and are therefore gendered and racialised, as well as able-bodied, heterosexual and adult. This finding recognises that power has an important spatial component. Dissipating that power cannot necessarily be done through spatial controls but needs to be approached through a variety of means.

The specificity of the research is further highlighted by recognizing that the particular methodologies chosen led to particular findings. For instance, choosing to do

youth safety audits excluded young people who are not allowed to be out after dark or who do not regularly frequent the Greenbay Recreation Centre, which is where most of the recruitment took place. It was not until I solicited non-involved youth that I recognized this bias. Most of the young people who had not been previously involved were interviewed in the hallways outside their apartments. These young people either did not feel comfortable bringing me into their homes, or were simply used to chatting outside their front doors. This suggests that not only are young people excluded from many public spaces, they also have very little power over their home spaces. Several of them also refused to participate in an interview. This made me deeply question some of the basic assumptions this research is founded on. The lesson here is that importance of recognising a diversity of young people's experiences also means recognising those who cannot or will not participate and devising other means through which to potentially elicit or represent their voices.

Areas for further research

I would like to highlight the value of longitudinal research as opposed to the cross-sectional study I undertook. While my research assessed young people in one point in time, a longitudinal study could determine whether and how these youth's perceptions of safety affect their later employment, civic engagement and other relationships. A longitudinal study would allow me to connect the youth's perceptions of fear and safety to other spheres of space: Who has gone to university? Found employment? Traveled the world? My immediate findings relate only to youth's perceptions of fear and safety in their everyday spaces. But there is a conceptual link between access to material and

discursive spaces. For instance, the girls from the strictest households were not allowed to participate in the youth safety audits. These same girls also did not participate in the presentation to City Council, nor were they present in the session when the City of Ottawa officials asked youth about their local recreational and social needs. Meanwhile, their male counterparts participated very loudly, and with great enthusiasm, in the audits, presentation and the official focus group. Longitudinal research might help determine whether these girls manage to shift their spatial patterns once they come of age, or are married; to participate more fully in Canadian society. Determining causality between use of public space and other spaces is very difficult. Ideally, such a longitudinal study would also have an action-research component through which participants could actively and routinely speak out on issues close to their hearts.

Longitudinal research is complicated by the fact that many of these youth's families are transient. Just as the young people I had engaged in my previous stint in the neighbourhood had all moved away, I surmise that most of these youth's families will leave the area, as their income and status changes. The small sample size would also continue being an issue in longitudinal research. Perhaps my leaning towards longitudinal research is a recognition of the relationships I have developed with these young people over the past year, and an unwillingness to leave them. On the other hand, I have also felt burdened by the ongoing requests for my volunteer time, above and beyond what I had initially planned to contribute.

Conclusions

The results of this research suggest that local decision makers need to take young people's opinions into account, and that they make an extra effort to listen to and make space for young females. Understanding young people's diverse experiences is important because it enables community leaders to be creative and proactive when they take on issues of public safety. Public safety is a highly contentious and emotionally charged subject which can strengthen divisive categories among community members if not handled appropriately. Such an approach is unhelpful when trying to tackle the persistent discrimination and marginalisation at the root of many of these issues. As Kobayashi suggests:

The challenge to anti-racist feminists today is to gain more skill, both analytically and socially, at disruptive discourse. To do so, we need to ask not only (...) who we are and how we might engage in transformative social action, but how we might influence the process through which racial and gendered imaginations are stimulated (Kobayashi, 2005: 37).

Feminist scholars need to learn how to disrupt the ways in which specific hierarchies are produced. Influencing the imaginations of my research participants to think about their local spaces is one way through which I was able to engage in 'disruptive discourse'.

Through this research I have had multiple opportunities to do so; engaging with the youth themselves on a regular basis was probably the most potent. As already noted, the radio interview was a powerful opportunity to get the message of differential access to spaces across. However it was strategically not a good time to air all of the concerns raised by young people. Since then, I have spoken to several key stakeholders about the young females' stories of ongoing harassment in the neighbourhood. They tend to nod and acknowledge my concern. Kobayashi states that "if we are to influence that meaning we

need to tell the geographic counter-stories that will do much more than explain the world, but will engage sufficient imagination to change it” (Kobayashi, 2005:38). So far, Greenbay young females’ counter story has not had any resonance, for (white, male and female) community leaders and officials.

In attempting to transform the social and physical circumstances which influence young women in Greenbay, counter-stories might not be sufficient. Robina Niaz writes that “the solution to gender justice for Muslim women must come from within their communities. It must come from an Islamic framework. That is when it stands a better chance of being successful” (Niaz, 2006: 20). Putting the responsibility of Muslim females’ equality into the hands of the Muslim community means that my future role is one of working in partnership, with the women who want to change their perceptions of fear and access public space more freely. This realisation does not dilute the value of my work done to this point, but shows me that I am at the very beginning of a journey.

In concluding I would like to highlight one example of female Muslim leadership in Greenbay which directly impacted young people’s everyday lives. The strong leadership qualities demonstrated by the female youth centre coordinator were exceptional. She lived the importance of her faith through her daily activities and adherence to religious customs. She was able to set and maintain strict rules which allowed for creation of a safe recreational space for both male and female youth. She was highly aware of the gendered issues manifest through multiple spaces, and worked hard to engage youth's imaginations in questioning them. Yet she also railed at girls walking by themselves through the neighbourhood. One scholar writes that “Muslim women are constantly negotiating multiple boundaries that are aligned with Muslim collective

identity, including binaries between Islam/west, good/bad, sexed/pure, docile/wild and victim/ agent” (Mohammad, 2005: 392). What follows is a constant process of negotiation, as these women engage in their everyday processes of self-determination. The example of female Muslim youth, is no doubt an extreme one, yet similar processes are at work for all youth, as they engage in the ongoing production of meanings of their bodies and everyday spaces.

Appendix A: Youth for a Safer Ottawa

Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments (WISE) has launched a city-wide 12 month pilot project called "Youth for a Safer Ottawa". This project is funded by The Ontario Trillium Foundation.

The purpose of this project will be to empower youth to become active volunteers and leaders in their communities. Youth will learn to identify safety concerns and be part of the solution in their own communities. By giving youth the tools, we look forward to raising awareness of safety issues and the process to correct them (i.e. poor lighting, lack of signage, maintenance, accessibility, behaviour, possible assault sites, etc.)

It is a common trend that youth are captured in the media when they have demonstrated disruptive and unsafe behaviours. This unfortunately can have the effect of generalizing all youth as possible "trouble makers". Through our work in communities across the city, we have found that there are many youth who are enthusiastic, vibrant contributors to the communities.

We are very excited about launching this project. Please feel free to email Alison Platt at alisonplatt@wiseottawa.ca or call (613) 230-6700 to discuss the project in further detail, become a volunteer, or to set up a date and time for a youth safety audit in your community.

Appendix B: Map of Safety Audits

Appendix C: Youth participation chart

Number of youth who	Total	# of males/females	# of ethnicities	# of ages	# of religions
participated in an interview	24	13 female 11 male	11 Arabic 6 Black 5 Asian 2 White	11: 3 12: 14 13: 4 14: 1 15: 0 16: 1 17: 1	Muslim: 13 Catholic: 4 Christian: 2 No religion: 5
participated in a safety audit	21	7 female 14 male	12 Arabic 6 Black 3 White	11: 1 12: 13 13: 3 14: 3 16: 1	
presented in front of city hall	10	4 females 6 males	5 Arabic 4 Black 1 White	12: 5 13: 2 14: 3	
participated in a safety audit and an interview	8	4 males 4 females	3 Arabic 3 Black 2 White	11: 1 12: 5 13: 1 14: 0 15: 0 16: 1	Muslim: 3 Catholic: 3 Christian: 2 No religion: 0
presented at city hall, and participated in a safety audit	7	3 females 4 males	4 Arabic 3 Black 1 White		
engaged in total	37	17 females 20 males	5 Asian 3 White 9 Black 5 Indian 15 Arab		Muslim: 21 Christian: 10 no religion: 6

Appendix D: Summary of fieldwork

Participant observation	ongoing
Initial outreach for safety audits	6 evenings
Conducting safety audits	3 evenings
Writing up recommendations	2 afternoons
Implementing recommendations	4 afternoons
Presentation to Greenbay Advisory Committee	1 hour
Preparation for City Hall presentation	6 evenings
Presentation to City Hall	1 morning
Media events	3 afternoons
Follow up after event	2 evenings

Appendix E: Abridged Youth Safety Audit Final Report

**Youth Community Safety Audit Report
Greenbay**

Women's Initiatives For Safer Environments

211 Bronson Avenue - Room 205

Ottawa, Ontario K1R 6H5

Tel: 613-230-6700

Fax: 613-230-6249

E-mail: info@wiseottawa.ca

www.wiseottawa.ca

Introduction and Premise for the Audit

In March 2007, funding was granted to the Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments for the Youth for a Safer Ottawa Project.

When our organization was in the process of writing the grant proposal, many communities and youth friendly organizations were asked to be community partners.

As word spread about our project, we were approached by a Carleton University student that was writing her thesis about neighbourhood safety in the Greenbay area. She asked if we could team up to do a safety audit in the Greenbay Recreation Centre area of Greenbay Crescent and Greenbay Park. The staff at the Greenbay Recreation Centre were approached about this idea and they were all very supportive and confident the youth would be interested.

We met with the youth for an introduction session and several safety concerns came up revolving around lighting issues, strange people and behaviour in the neighbourhood, maintenance concerns, and the desire for further recreational equipment and activities in the community.

There were also concerns surrounding the forest or wooded area beside the Greenbay Recreation Centre and signage on the townhouses on Greenbay Crescent.

A total of three audits were completed. Two were led by the Carleton University student, and one was a collaboration with Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments. (WISE) All three audits were videotaped. In total, 23 youth participated.

Safety Issue: Lighting

Priority	Concern	Location	Recommendation	Referred to:	Action
HIGH	Burnt out street light	Entrance to 125-129 Greenbay Crescent	Replace street light bulb	City of Ottawa	Bulb has been replaced (checked beginning of Nov)
HIGH	No lighting at bus shelter	Bus shelter outside of Greenbay Rec Centre	Install appropriate lighting so residents feel safe when waiting for the bus at night	City of Ottawa	
HIGH	No lighting in basketball court at night No recreational programming can occur here in the Fall as it is dark as early as 6:30pm in September and October	Basketball court in Greenbay Park	Install adequate lighting that can be used on a timer to be turned off around 9:00 or 10:00pm or turn on existing lights until these hours are reached Timer can be adjusted according to season as it gets darker earlier in Winter	City of Ottawa	
HIGH	Lack of general lighting in Greenbay Park Difficult and dangerous to walk	Greenbay Park	Install lighting in Greenbay Park to make it safer for residents to travel through and to allow for more recreational	City of Ottawa Steelborough Health and Community	Alex Cullen will look into lighting for this park

	through park at night Recreational programming does not occur as much as it could in Fall because of this Encourages and promotes illegal activity such as drug use		programming to occur for youth This would also discourage people from using this park as a space for illegal activity	Services	
HIGH	No lighting in play structure area of the park	Play structure in Greenbay Park	Install lighting around play structure area to allow parents to have a place to play with their children after dark, especially in Winter as it becomes dark so early (6pm).	City of Ottawa	Alex Cullen will look into lighting for this park

Safety Issue: Signage

Priority	Concern	Location	Recommendation	Referred to:	Action
HIGH	Addresses of town houses are not clearly labelled, especially at back entrances	Town houses on Greenbay Crescent, mostly on gully side	Ensure all town homes are adequately labelled with their address number on the front and back of the buildings	Trontin	

	We had a difficult time even in the audit to note locations of safety concerns due to this				
--	--	--	--	--	--

Safety Issue: Maintenance

Priority	Concern	Location	Recommendation	Referred to:	Action
HIGH	Broken light	The back of 135 Greenbay Crescent	Fix or replace this light fixture	Trontin	Light has been fixed (checked mid Nov)
HIGH	Broken door handle of back entrance to town house	122 Greenbay Crescent	Replace this door handle	Trontin	
HIGH	Flickering light	122 Greenbay Crescent	Fix or replace this light bulb	Trontin	Light has been fixed (checked early Nov)
HIGH	Broken gates leading to backyards of town houses on Greenbay Crescent Too many to name all of the addresses	All down Greenbay Crescent	Fix or replace these broken gates	Trontin	

HIGH	Broken back door	85 Greenbay Crescent	Fix or replace this door	Trontin	
HIGH	Broken side door	121 Greenbay Crescent	Fix or replace this door	Trontin	
MED	Excess garbage on garbage day Garbage is not always picked up at the usual day and time which causes it to pile up and smell, as well as attract dangerous animals	Greenbay Crescent	Ensure garbage is picked up regularly and routinely on the same day	City of Ottawa	
MED	More garbage dumpsters have been requested by youth	In neighbourhood but especially around 125 and 154 Greenbay Crescent and 176 Greenbay Crescent	Attempt to gain access to more dumpsters to give residents a place to safely dispose of excess garbage	City of Ottawa	

Safety Issue: Behaviour

Priority	Concern	Location	Recommendation	Referred to:	Action
HIGH	The word "RAPE" is spray painted onto water pipe in the	Forest/wooded area behind Greenbay Recreation Centre	Youth, Carleton University student, and WISE staff will attempt to remove this	City of Ottawa Trontin	This graffiti is sprayed on a rough surface and we were unsuccessful

	forest/wooded area		graffiti with graffiti wipes from City of Ottawa If this does not work, perhaps the pipe could be painted over quickly		in removing this graffiti
HIGH	Homeless people that the youth fear have taken residence in the forest behind the Greenbay Recreation Centre and this causes the youth to be too scared to go near this area	Forest/wooded area behind Greenbay Recreation Centre	Find a way to discourage people from using this area as a place to loiter, engage in illegal activity, or live.	Ottawa Police Trontin City of Ottawa	Alex Cullen to look into who owns this property and who is responsible in maintaining it
HIGH	Older youth and adults engaging in illegal activity, especially drug use and dealing On all of our safety audit walkabouts these behaviours	Portable stairs and picnic tables near Greenbay Public School	Increase lighting in this area and increase police presence	City of Ottawa Ottawa Police Ottawa Carleton School Board (Greenbay Public School Principal) Trontin	Greenbay Public School Principal will work on adding more lighting to this area Trontin security will monitor this area more closely

	were seen				
	There is fear younger youth will become involved in these behaviours				

HIGH	Chair on roof of the shack building in Greenbay Park	Greenbay Fieldhouse	Remove the chair from the roof of the fieldhouse	City of Ottawa	Chair was removed – checked Jan 2008
HIGH	Residents are afraid to call the Ottawa Police when there is a crime in progress for fear of being targeted by the people they are reporting Many are new Canadians and do not know what number to call or do not know they can remain anonymous	Residents of Greenbay Crescent	Have a campaign surrounding the right and responsibility to call 9-1-1 when there is a crime in progress and gear it towards new Canadians	Ottawa Police Steelborough Health and Community Services	

HIGH	Fighting in Greenbay Crescent area There is a lot of talk about the problem of fighting in this	Greenbay Crescent general area	Increase Police Presence in this neighbourhood Run a campaign about fighting in general or about how being a	Ottawa Police Steelborough Health and Community Services	
------	--	--------------------------------	---	---	--

	neighbourhood There are several videos posted on You Tube of these fights		bystander still gives you responsibilities, etc.		
MED	Graffiti scribbled on park benches	Greenbay Park benches beside play structure	Remove this graffiti or replace park benches	City of Ottawa Graffiti Removal Program City of Ottawa Parks and Recreation	Graffiti was removed by local youth that attend the Greenbay Rec Centre

Safety Issue: Entrapment Site

Priorit y	Concern	Location	Recommendati on	Referred to:	Action
HIGH	Forest/Wooded area is not lit up at night and many people loiter in this area at night including homeless people	Behind and to the left of the Greenbay Recreation Centre	Install lighting down pathway Increase police awareness/pres ence in this area	City of Ottawa Ottawa Police	Alex Cullen to look into who owns this property so we can decide who could assist us with these concerns

Safety Issue: Recreation

HIGH	Basketball court lines need to be repainted in the Spring	Greenbay Park	Repaint the basketball court lines after Winter	City of Ottawa	This will be done in the Spring
HIGH	Basketball rims are missing nets	Greenbay Park	Replace missing basketball nets – youth would love to try metal chain nets	City of Ottawa	No nets can be replaced, new bylaw
HIGH	Basketball rims	Greenbay	Fix or replace	City of	This will be

	need to be repaired or replaced as they are beginning to bend and become deformed	Park	basketball rims	Ottawa	done in the Spring
HIGH	Fence missing on one side of the basketball court at park facing the road Balls bounce into the road and occasionally hit people on the sidewalk	Greenbay Park	Ensure fence is installed around the basketball court to ensure youth can play basketball safely without worrying about road safety and young children walking on the sidewalk	City of Ottawa	
HIGH	Lack of recreational programming and staffing in the area	Greenbay Park	Increase recreational programming in Greenbay Park and perhaps use the Fieldhouse in programming	City of Ottawa Steelborrow Health and Community Services	
HIGH	Uncovered windows in the gym cause girls to be unable to participate in activities	Greenbay Recreation Centre – Boys and Girls Club “Basement” Club	Cover windows of the gym so that the girls are free to use the gym without their hijabs on	Greenbay Recreation Centre Boys and Girls Club “Basement”	

Appendix F: Consent Form for participation in research project

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Youth's Perceptions and Uses of their local Public Places

I have been invited to participate in the project "Youth Perceptions and Uses of their local Public Places" as an active participant and as an interview respondent. I acknowledge the invitation by the Principal Investigator, Leonore Evans MA Candidate, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University, to do so.

I consent to being involved in a series of safety audits. These will be led by Leonore Evans, who is volunteering with the Women's Initiative for a Safer Environment.

The safety audits will include walking around the neighbourhood with friends, filming and commenting on aspects make us feel unsafe. The video will only be watched by the researcher. I expect the researcher to do a debriefing with the entire group, if any difficult memories come up, as well as provide support to distressed individuals. If at any time I no longer want to participate I will withdraw myself from the safety audit.

I also consent to participating in a follow up interview or focus group. I do not anticipate a need for subsequent interviews with the researcher. Should, however, such a need arise, I will be contacted. Additional information will be provided and permission requested.

I consent to an interview that will be conducted using a template designed for this purpose. It is not a questionnaire in the strict sense of the word, rather an interview guide. I understand that the guide has been approved by the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee. A copy of the guide was made available beforehand, upon my request. I consent to the interview being taped. I may decline to answer any question and may withdraw my participation in the study at any time without consequences. Should I decide to withdraw from the interview, I may decide at that time whether or not the researcher will receive my permission to use the information provided to that point. The notes resulting from the interview will be retained by Leonore Evans for the purpose of research in this study. I give my consent to use the data collected for any further research Leonore is interested in pursuing. The paper resulting from this specific study will be completed in 2008. I understand that I will not be identified directly in that paper. I am unaware of any risks that will arise as a result of participating in this study.

Leonore Evans has identified herself as Principal Investigator for this study and has provided me with her coordinates as follows:

Leonore Evans
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, On. K1S 5B6
Tel: 613-520-2600 x 1837
E-mail: levans2@connect.carleton.ca

Leonore's supervisor's coordinates are:

Fran Klodawsky

613-520-2600 x 8689

fran_klodawsky@carleton.ca

I understand that this project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee. I am aware that I can address any concerns about the project to the committee at:

Carleton University Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research Services

511A Tory Building

1125 Colonel By Drive

Ottawa, On., K1S 5B6

ethics@carleton.ca

Tel: 613-520-2517

I consider myself informed and agree to participate:

Name:

Date:

Researcher Name:

Date:

Appendix G: Interview Schedule

Research Instrument: Youth Survey Youth's Perceptions and Uses of their local Public Places

Preamble: Thank you for participating. Main focus of the project is to explore youth's perceptions and uses of public space. Have completed three safety audits in the neighbourhood, now I have moved into the interview phase. Do you have any questions for me?

Name

How old are you?

Are you male or female?

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

What is your religion?

What is your country of origin?

Under what circumstances did your family come to Canada?

What languages do you speak at home?

Do you work -with/out pay?

What else is important about yourself?

How do you define safety? Feeling safe?
Personal/ pedestrian/ environmental

1. How safe do you feel in the following places **during the day**? The options for answers are: Very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, very unsafe

	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	Not applicable
At home					
At school					
On the bus					
At the Recreation Centre					
Fieldhouse Park					

Greenbay Shopping Centre					
The Coliseum					
Walking					
With your friends					
Alone					

2. How safe do you feel in the following places **after dark**? The options for answers are: Very safe, Somewhat safe, Somewhat unsafe, and very unsafe.

	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	Not applicable
At home					
At school					
On the bus					
At the Recreation Centre					
Fieldhouse Park					
Greenbay Shopping Centre					
The Coliseum					
Walking					
With your friends					
Alone					

3. In the past two years, has any of the following happened to you? Please answer yes or no.

	Yes	No
Name calling		
Property damage		
Theft		
Physical or sexual assault		
Bullying		
Other (if applicable)		

Is there anything else you want to say to me about these matters?

Qualitative Questions for youth

- Tell me about the neighbourhood of Greenbay.
 - How long have you lived here?
 - How would you define the boundaries of the neighbourhood?
 - Do you have a lot of family living here?
 - What do you like about Greenbay?
 - What do you dislike about Greenbay?

Is safety a concern for you? (probe on previous section re Fieldhouse etc)

- What makes you feel unsafe in Greenbay?
- What makes you feel safe in Greenbay?
- What do you do to be safe?

3. Is safety a concern for your parents?

- What kinds of rules do they have for you?
- Do these rules differ for your siblings?
- Do these rules differ for your friends?
- How do you feel about these rules/concerns?
- Do you ever get around these rules?

4. Are there places you do not go in Greenbay?

-tell me about them

-who else is there?

-are there certain times you **would** go to these places?

5. Which places do you go to most in Greenbay?

Details:

- When do you go there?

- What do you do when you are there?

People:

- Who else is there?

- Do staff contribute to your sense of safety/belonging?

- Do security staff contribute to your sense of safety?

Meaning:

- What do these places mean to you/ what are they for?

- Would you be sad if you could not go to this place?

- Are there other places equally attractive?

If you participated in the safety audit -why did you, was it a useful process and what have you learned from it?

That is the end of my questions. Do you have any questions for me?

May I contact you for a further conversation if needed?

Can you suggest someone else for me to interview?

Appendix H: Advertisement for local art and poetry competition

Art&Poetry Competition!

Theme:

What I love about Greenbay

Prizes:

1st prize: \$25 gift certificate at Greenbay
Mall

2nd prize: 2 movie passes at Coliseum

3rd prize: to be announced

Rules and How to:

- no minimum or maximum age limit!
- on a A4 page
- drop off at Rec Centre Reception
- deadline: January 30, 2008
- name and age on back of submission

All entries will be bound into a book as part
of a presentation to city councilors on Feb 7.

Bibliography

Alderson, Priscilla. (2000) Young children's rights : exploring beliefs, principles and practice. J. Kingsley Publishers London and Philadelphia.

Andrew, Caroline. (2000) 'Resisting Boundaries? Using Safety Audits for Women.' in Miranne, Kristine and Alma Young (eds.)(2000) Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries and Visions of Urban Life. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, New York and Oxford.

Andrew, Caroline and Margaret Shaw. (2005) 'Engendering Crime Prevention: International Developments and the Canadian Experience.' in *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*; 47, 2; pg. 293-316.

Back, Les and Michael Keith. (1999) 'Rights and Wrongs': Youth, Community and Narratives of Racial Violence.' in Cohen Phil (ed.) New Ethnicities, Old Racisms. Zed Books, London and New York.

Back, Les and Michael Keith. (2004) 'Impurity and the Emancipatory City: young people, community safety and racial danger' in Lees, Loretta (2004) The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities. Sage Publications. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.

Bashevkin, Silvia. (2006) Tales of Two Cities: Women and Municipal Restructuring in London and Toronto. UBC Press, Vancouver and Toronto.

Bender, Eric. (1963) 'Greenbay Plan Gets Green Light.' *Ottawa Journal*. Wednesday, August 14

Bloul, Rachel. (1997) 'Victims or Offenders?; 'Other' Women in French Sexual Politics'. In Davis, Kathy (ed.) Embodied Practices. Sage Publications. London.

Boesveld, Sarah (2007) 'Assault victim 'distracted' over false claim; Media repeatedly reported, incorrectly, that Carleton student was raped.' *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sept. 27.

Bondi, L. et al. (2002) Subjectivities, Knowledges, and Feminist Geographies; The Subjects and Ethics of Social Research. Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland.

Booth, Marilyn. (2002) 'Arab Adolescents Facing the Future: Enduring Ideals and Pressures to Change.' In Brown, Bradford; Reed Larson and T.S. Saraswathi (eds.) The World's Youth; Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK.

Breitbart, Myrna. (1998) 'Dana's Mystical Tunnel': Young People's Designs for Survival and Change in the City.' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.)(1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.

Britannia Women's Institute. Tweedsmuir History Scrapbooks, Ottawa City Archives, Vol

3.

Brown, Heather. (2007) 'Campus wide personal safety audit gets underway'. Carleton NOW. Oct 16.

Buchanan, William. (1972) Survey of Housing in Brankin. BA Thesis. University of Carleton.

Butler, Ruth. (1998) 'Rehabilitating the Images of Disabled Youths' in Skelton, Tracey and Gill Valentine (eds.) Cool Places. Routledge, London and New York.

Cahill, Caitlin. (2000) 'Street Literacy: Urban Teenagers' Strategies for Negotiating their Neighbourhood', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3:3, 251 - 277

Cahill, Caitlin. (2007) 'Doing Research **with** Young People: Participatory Research and the Rituals of Collective Work', *Children's Geographies*, 5:3, 297 – 312

Cargo, Margaret, Garry Grams, Judith Ottoson, Patricia Ward and Laurence Green. (2003) 'Empowerment as Fostering Positive Youth Development' in *American Journal of Health Behaviour*, 27 (Supplement) pp.66-79.

CBC. (2008) Conservatives vow to toughen youth justice act. September 22. Accessed Nov 12, 2008. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canadavotes/story/2008/09/22/harper-elxn.html>

City of Ottawa. Statistics. 2001 Census Data Retrieved October 29, 2007 from: http://ottawa.ca/city_services/statistics/census/ott/lico_ot_en.shtml

Cowichewan Women Against Violence Society. () Women and Community Safety: a resource book on planning safer communities.

Collins, Robynn. (2008) Steelborrow Community Health Centre staff. Personal Communication. November 3, 2008.

Crang, Mike. (2002) 'Filed work: making sense of group interviews' in Moss, P. (ed.) (2002) Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods. Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford.

Crawford, Adam. (1998) Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices. Addison Wesley Longman Limited. UK.

Crime Prevention Ottawa. (2007) Strategic Plan. Accessed Feb 26, 2007 from http://ottawa.ca/city_hall/crime_prevention/strategic_plan/strategic_plan_2007

Crime Prevention Ottawa. (2008) Victimisation Fact Sheets. Accessed Nov. 12, 2008 <http://www.crimepreventionottawa.ca/uploads/Publications/CPO%20Victimization%20fa>

ct%20sheets-English.pdf

Davies, Gail and Claire Dwyer. (2007) 'Qualitative Methods: are you enchanted or are you alienated?' In *Progress in Human Geography*. 31 (2), pp.257-266

Davis, Kathy. (1997) 'Embody-ing Theory; Beyond Modernist and Postmodernist Readings of the Body' in Davis, Kathy (ed.) Embodied Practices. Sage Publications. London.

Day, Kristen. (2000) 'The Ethic of Care and Women's Experiences of Public Space' in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20, pp.103-123.

Day, Kristen. (2006) 'Being feared: masculinity and race in public space' in *Environment and Planning A*, 38, pp569-586.

Dwyer, Claire. (1999) 'Veiled Meanings: young British Muslim women and the negotiation of differences' in *Gender Place and Culture*. 6, 1, pp5-26.

Dwyer, Claire. (2000) 'Negotiating Diasporic Identities: Young British South Asian Muslim Women' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23.4 pp475-486.

Egan, Kelly. (2007) Carleton crime stats ugly, and hidden. *The Ottawa Citizen*, Oct 17.

Elliot, Bruce. (1991) The City Beyond: A History of Brankin, Birthplace of Canada's Capital 1792-1990. City of Brankin, Brankin.

Evans, Ruth. (2006) 'Negotiating social identities: The influence of gender, age and ethnicity on young people's 'street careers' in Tanzania', *Children's Geographies*, 4:1, 109 – 128

Fenster, Tovi. (2005) 'Gender and the City: The Different Formations of Belonging' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

Fitzgerald, Marian and Chris Hale. (2006) 'Ethnic minorities and community safety'. in Squires, Peter (ed.) (2006) Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice. The Policy Press. Bristol.

Fraser, Nancy and Nancy Naples. (2004) 'To Interpret the World and to Change It: An Interview with Nancy Fraser.' in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 29, no. 4

Friedman, May. (2000) Tangled Identities. MA Thesis. University of Carleton

Gallagher, Claire. (2004) 'Our Town'; Children as Advocates for Change in the City.' in *Childhood*, Vol 11(2):251–262.

- Gautier, Madeline and Diane Pacom. (2001) Spotlight on Canadian Youth Research. Les Presses de l'Universite de Laval, Quebec.
- Geoff, Kristen. (2005) 'Trontinopolis.' *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 21.
- Hamnet, C. (2003) Unequal City: London in the Global Arena. Routledge, London.
- Hancock, Lynn. (2006) 'Community safety and social exclusion'. in Squires, Peter (ed.) (2006) Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice. The Policy Press. Bristol.
- Hancock, Lynn. (2001) Community, Crime and Disorder. Palgrave. Basingstoke.
- Hastings, Ross. (2007) 'Crime prevention through Social Development: A Cautionary Tale of Criminal Policy Change.' in *Perception*, Vol 28, Nos 3&4 pp16-18
- Herbert, Steve and Elizabeth Brown. (2006) 'Conceptions of Space and Crime in the Punitive Neoliberal City.' in *Antipode* pp755-777.
- Hollands, Robert. (2003) 'Towards a "Cultural" Political Economy of Canadian Youth.' in Clement, Wallace and Leah Vosko (eds.) Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation. McGill -Queens University Press. Montreal and Kingston.
- Hopkins, Peter and Rachel Pain. (2007) 'Geographies of Age: thinking relationally.' in *Area* 39.3, 287-294
- Hopkins Peter. 2007a 'Young people, masculinities, religion and race: new social geographies.' *Progress in Human Geography* 31 pp. 163-77
- Hubbard, Phil. (2005) 'Women Outdoors: Destabilising the Public/Private Dichotomy' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.
- Institute for the Prevention of Crime. (2008) Making Cities Safer; Canadian Strategies and Practices. University of Ottawa, Canada.
- Institute for the Prevention of Crime. (2008) Making Cities Safer: International Strategies and practices. University of Ottawa, Canada
- Katz, Cindi. (1998) 'Disintegrating Developments: Global Economic Restructuring and the Eroding of Ecologies of Youth.' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.)(1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.
- Kesby, Mike. (2007) 'Methodological Insights on and from Children's Geographies', *Children's Geographies*, 5:3, 193 - 205

Klodawsky, Fran with Tim Aubry and Susan Farrell. (2006) 'Care and the Lives of Homeless Youth in Neoliberal Times.' in *Gender, Place and Culture* Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 419-436.

Kobayashi, Audrey. (2002) Negotiating the personal and the political in critical qualitative research' in Moss, P. (ed.)(2002) Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods. Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford.

Kobayashi, Audrey. (2005) 'Anti-racist Feminism in Geography: An Agenda for Social Action' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

Kramer, Jane. (2006) 'The Veil in Europe' in Feminism and Multiculturalism. Cambridge Scholars Press, Newcastle, UK.

Krenichyn, Kira. (1999) 'Messages about adolescent identity; Coded and Contested Spaces in a New York City high school' in Teather, Elizabeth (ed.) embodied geographies: spaces, bodies and rites of passage. Routledge, London and New York.

Langevang, Thilde. (2007) 'Movements in Time and Space: Using Multiple Methods in Research with Young People in Accra, Ghana', *Children's Geographies*, 5:3, 267 - 282

Laucius, Joanne. (2008) 'University puts \$1.6M into security; A year after sex assault in lab, safety measures put into effect' *The Ottawa Citizen*. Aug, 20.

Lees, Loretta. (2003) 'The Ambivalence of Diversity and the Politics of Urban Renaissance: The Case of youth in Downtown Portland, Maine'. In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27,3, pp 613-634

Leonard, Lucie with Giselle Rosario, Carolyn Scott and Jessica Bressan. (2005) 'Building Safer Communities: Lessons Learned From Canada's National Strategy' in *Canadian Crime Prevention Journal*, April, pp.233-250.

Lewis, Kate. (2007) '17-year old stabbed to death in random attack; Ottawa student always tried to make everyone happy.' *The Ottawa Citizen*, April 30.

Listerborn, Carina. (2002) 'Understanding the Geography of Women's Fear: Towards a Reconceptualisation of Fear and Space' in Bondi, Liz (ed.) Subjectivities, Knowledges, and Feminist Geographies; The Subjects and Ethics of Social Research. Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, Boston.

Longhurst, Robyn. (2001) Bodies; Exploring Fluid Boundaries. Routledge, London and New York.

Longhurst, Robyn (2005) 'Situating Bodies' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to

Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

Longhurst, Robyn. (2008) Maternities; Gender, Bodies and Space. Routledge, New York.

Lucas, Tim. (1998) 'Youth Gangs and Moral Panics in Santa Cruz, California.' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.)(1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.

Maira, Sunaima and Elisabeth Soep. (2005) 'Introduction' in Maira, Sunaina and Elisabeth Soep (eds.) Youthscapes. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Martin, Dianne. (2002) 'Demonising Youth, Marketing Fear: The New Politics of Crime.' in Hermer, Joe and Janet Mosher (2002) Disorderly People; Law and the Politics of Exclusion in Ontario. Fernwood Publishing, Halifax

Massey, Doreen. (1998) 'The Spatial Construction of Youth Cultures.' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.)(1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.

Massey, Doreen. (2005) For Space. Sage Publications, London.

Matthews, Hugh and Melanie Limb. (1999) 'Defining an agenda for the geography of children: review and prospect.' *Progress in Human Geography* **23** 1, pp. 61-90.

McCall, Leslie. (2005) 'The Complexity of Intersectionality' in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. vol. 30, no. 3.

McNay, Lois. (2008) Against Recognition. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

Messias DeAnne, Elizabeth Fore, Kerry McLoughlin and Deborah Parra-Medina. (2005) 'Adult Roles in Community-Based Youth Empowerment Programs; Implications for Best Practices' in *Family Community Health*, Vol 28, No 4, pp320-337.

Mitchell, Don. (2003) The Right to the City; Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. The Guilford Press, New York and London.

Mohammad, Robina. (2005) 'British Pakistani Muslim Women: Marking the Body, Marking the Nation' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

Moss, P. (ed.)(2002) Feminist Geography in Practice; Research and Methods. Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford.

Moss, P. (2005) 'A Bodily Notion of Research: Power, Difference and Specificity in Feminist Methodology' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

National Crime Prevention Council Canada. (1997) Preventing Crime by Investing in Families and Communities; Promoting Positive Outcomes in Youth Twelve to Eighteen Years Old.

National Youth Agency. (2008) Youth Action and Engagement; young people led projects. Accessed Dec 12, 2008.

<http://www.nya.org.uk/files/124267/FileName/YAEypledprojects08.pdf>

Naples, Nancy. (2003) Feminism and Method; Ethnography, Discourse Analysis and Activist Research. Routledge, New York and London.

Nayak, Anoop. (2003) 'Through children's eyes: childhood, place and the fear of crime.' *Geoforum* 34, pp.303-315.

Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. (2005) 'Introduction' in Nelson and Seager (eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Oxford, UK.

Neocleus, Mark. (2000) 'Against Security.' in *Radical Philosophy*, 100 pp.

Neugebauer-Visano, Robynne. (1995) 'Kids, Cops, and Colour: The Social Organisation of Police-Minority Youth Relations.' in O'Bireck, Gary (ed.) Not a Kid Anymore. Nelson Canada, Scarborough

Niaz, Robina. (2006) 'Western Feminists' Perceptions of Muslim Women: Do They Help or Harm Immigrant Women?' In Warren, Joyce (ed.) Feminism and Multiculturalism: How Do They/We Work Together? Cambridge Scholars Press, Newcastle, UK.

Ottawa Journal. (1964) Trontin. Full page advertisement.

Ottawa Neighbourhood Study. (2008) Accessed Dec. 12, 2008.

<http://www.neighbourhoodstudy.ca/welcome/index.shtml>

Pain, Rachel. (1999) 'Women's Experiences of Violence over the Life-Course' in Teather, Elizabeth (ed.) embodied geographies; spaces, bodies and rites of passage. Routledge, London and New York.

Pain, Rachel. (2000) 'Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review'. In *Progress in Human Geography* 24, 3 pp.365-387.

Pain, Rachel. (2000) 'Social geographies of women's fear of crime' In *Royal Geographic Society* 22, pp. 231-244.

Pain, Rachel and Tim Townshend. (2002) 'A safer city centre for all? Senses of 'community safety.' in Newcastle upon Tyne'. In *Geoforum* 33, pp.105-119.

Pain, Rachel. (2001) 'Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City.' in *Urban Studies*, Vol 38, Nos 5-6 pp. 899-913.

Parnaby, Patrick. (2006) 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: Discourses of Risk, Social Control, and a Neo-Liberal Context.' in *Canadian Crime Prevention Journal*, January, pp1-29.

Parson, Helen Edna. (1967) Brankin Township since 1951. BA Thesis. University of Carleton

Public Health Canada (2008) Centre of Excellence for Youth Engagement: What is Youth Engagement? http://www.engagementcentre.ca/files/Whatis_WEB_e.pdf

Powers, Jane and Jennifer Tiffany. (2006) 'Engaging Youth in Participatory Research and Evaluation.' in *Public Health Management*, November(Supplement) pp79-87.

Province of Alberta. (2008) Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods Program: http://www.solgps.alberta.ca/safe_communities/enforcement/pages/scan.aspx

Rajiva Mythili. (2005) 'Bridging the Generation Gap: Exploring Differences between Immigrant Parents and their Canadian-Born Children in Canadian Issues.'; *Immigration and the Intersections of Diversity* Association for Canadian Studies, pp25-29.

Rayne, Pedro. (2006) Youth Violence Prevention Through Asset-Based Community Development. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, New York.

Rose, Gillian. (1997) 'Situating knowledges:positionality, reflexivities and other tactics' in *Progress in Human Geography*. 21, 3, pp. 305-320.

Ruddick, Susan. (1996) 'Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, class, and gender as interlocking systems.' in *Urban Geography*, pp133-151.

Sandercock, Leonie. (2003) Cosmopolis II; Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century. Continuum, New York and London.

Sassen, Saskia. (2005) 'The Many Scales of the Global: Implications for Theory and for Politics.' in Applebaum and Robinson (eds.) critical globalisation studies. Routledge, pp155-166.

Schaefer-McDaniel. (2007) "'They Be Doing Illegal Things": Early Adolescents Talk About Their Inner-City Neighbourhoods.' in *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 22, 413.

Schneider, Richard and Ted Kitchen. (2007) Crime Prevention and the Built Environment. Routledge, Oxon.

Schneider, Stephen. (2007)Refocusing Crime Prevention: Collective Action and the

Quest for Community. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

Shasiah, Sara. (2006) 'Identity, Identification, and Racialisation: Immigrant Youth in the Canadian Context' CERIS Working Paper Series No 49. Toronto

Sirianni, Carmen and Lewis Friedland. (2001) Civic Innovation in America; Community Empowerment, Public Policy and the Movement for Civic Renewal. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.

Schissel, Bernard. (1997) Blaming Children; Youth Crime, Moral Panics and the Politics of Hate. Fernwood Publishing, Halifax.

Seymour, Andrew. (2007) 'Carleton attacker 'thought this thing through'; Criminal profiler says campus assault likely wasn't suspect's first, last'. The Ottawa Citizen. September 5.

Smith, Neil. (2002) 'New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as a Global Urban Strategy' in *Antipode*.

Smith, Neil. (1993) Homeless/global: scaling places in Bird, J et al. (eds.) Mapping the Futures. Routledge

Smith, Rick. (2007) Trontin Staff. Personal Communication. October 11, 2007.

Social Planning Council. (2005) The Working Poor of Ottawa. Downloaded Feb 26, 2008 from:
<http://www.spcottawa.on.ca/PDFs/Publications/Final%20Working%20Poor%20Report%20Eng.pdf>

Social Planning Council. (2006) The Neighbourhoods in Which We Live. Understanding Exclusion and Inclusion at the Neighbourhood Level in Ottawa.

Soep, Elisabeth. (2005) 'Making Hard-Core Masculinity: Teenage Boys Playing House.' in Maira, Sunaina and Elisabeth Soep (eds.) Youthscapes. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Statistics Canada. (2006) Census Tract data for the City of Ottawa and Greenbay census tract.

Statistics Canada (2001) Census Tract data for Greenbay.

Statistics Canada (1998) Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile.

Statistics Canada (1994) Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics: Children and Youth as Victims of Violent Crime, Vol. 25, No 1.

- Stephen, Dawn. (2006) 'Community Safety and young people: 21st-century homo sacer and the politics of injustice'. in Squires, Peter (ed.) (2006) Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice. The Policy Press. Bristol.
- Swyngedouw, E. (1997) 'Neither Global nor local: 'glocalisation' and the politics of scale.' in K.R. Cox (ed.) Spaces of Globalisation. Guildford Press.
- Teather, Elizabeth. (ed.) (1999) 'Introduction' in Teather, Elizabeth (ed.) embodied geographies; spaces, bodies and rites of passage. Routledge, London and New York.
- Teelucksingh, Cheryl. (2006) 'Toward Claiming Space. Theorising racialised spaces in Candian Cities' in Teelucksingh, Cheryl (ed.) (2006) Claiming Space; Racialisation in Canadian Cities. Wilfred Laurier University Press
- Thomson, Fionagh. (2007) 'Are Methodologies **for** Children keeping **them** in their Place?', *Children's Geographies*, 5:3, 207 - 218
- Toronto Public School Board. (2008) The Road to Health; Final Report on School Safety. Scool Community Safety Advisory Panel.
- Trontin Full Page Advertisement. (1964) 'Unique concept introduced in Greenbay: Comfortable, convenient and carefree .Country Club living.' *Ottawa Journal*. Saturday, October 3.
- Trontin Full Page Advertisement. (1964a) 'A new concept in community planning.' *Ottawa Journal*. Saturday, October 3.
- Tyyska, Vappu. (2001) Long and Winding Road: Adolescents and Youth in Canada Today. Canadian Scholar's Press Inc. Toronto.
- United Way. (2004) 'Poverty by Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty 1981-2001.' Downloaded May 23, 2008 from:
<http://www.uwgt.org/whoWeHelp/reports/pdf/PovertybyPostalCodeFinal.pdf>
- United Neighbours. (2008) 'A Report to the Steelborrow Community on the State of Crime and Safety'. Steelborrow Community Health Centre.
- Valentine, Gill, Tracey Skelton and Deborah Chambers. (1998) 'Cool Places: An Introduction to Youth and Youth Cultures' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.) (1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.
- Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton. (eds.) (1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.
- Valentine, Gill. (2002) 'People Like Us: Negotiating Sameness and Difference in the

Research Process' in Moss, P. (ed.) (2002) Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods. Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford.

Valentine Gill. (2004) Public space and the culture of childhood. Ashgate, Aldershot

Valentine, Gill. (2007) 'Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography.' in *The Professional Geographer*, 59 (1) pp.10-21

vanBlerk, Lorraine and Nicola Ansell. (2007) 'Participatory Feedback and Dissemination with and for Children: Reflections from Research with Young Migrants in Southern Africa' in *Children's Geographies*. 5: 3, 313-324.

Walks, Alan and Larry Bourne. (2006) 'Ghettos in Canada's cities? Racial segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas.' in *The Canadian Geographer* 50, no3, pp273-297.

Watt, Paul and Kevin Stenson. (1998) 'It's a Bit Dodgy Around There': Safety, Danger, Ethnicity and Young People's Use of Public Space' in Valentine, Gill and Tracey Skelton (eds.) (1998) Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London and New York.

Weller S. (2006) 'Situating (young) teenagers in geographies of children and youth.' in *Children's Geographies* 4 97-108

Wilcox, Paula. (2006) 'Community safety, the family and domestic violence'. in Squires, Peter (ed.) (2006) Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice. The Policy Press. Bristol.

Wilson, David. (2005) Inventing Black on Black Violence: Discourse, Space and Representation. Syracuse University Press

Wilson, Elizabeth. (1991) The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Whitzman, Carolyn. (2002) 'Feminist Activism for Safer Social Space in High Park, Toronto: How Women got Lost in the Woods.' in *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*; Winter 2002; 11, 2; pg. 299-321.

Whitzman, Carolyn. (2008) The Handbook of Community Safety, Gender and Violence Prevention. Earthscan Publishing. London.

Women's Action Centre Against Violence. (1996) Women's Safety Audit Implementation Guide.

Women's Action Centre Against Violence. (1996) Women's Safety Audit Guide.

Woollett, Anne and Harriette Marshall. (1997) 'Reading the Body; Young Women's Accounts of their Bodies in Relation to Autonomy and Independence' in Davis, Kathy (ed.) Embodied Practices. Sage Publications. London.

Young, Iris Marion. (1990) Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

Zaman, Sadia. (ed.) (1999) At My Mother's Feet: Stories of Muslim Women. Quarry Women's Books. Quebec.