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Youth Microcultures as Consumption Domains :

Managing Spatial Vulnerability.

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Université Lumière Lyon 2

École Doctorale : ED 486 Sciences Économique et de Gestion

Youth Microcultures as Consumption Domains: Managing Spatial Vulnerability

Sonja PRENTOVIC

Sciences de gestion

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"For me, this space of radical openness is a margin – a profound edge. Locating oneself there is difficult yet necessary. It is not a 'safe' place. One is always at risk. One needs a community of resistance." (Hooks 1989, 19)

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General Introduction

> *"In* [cités], *urban life is reduced to its simplest form. Shops are rare. The few shopping malls and supermarkets are poorly supplied. Places of entertainment and meetings are non-existent. Often, for a whole suburb, a bar or two compete with the only youth club. The buildings are deteriorated before being completed: broken lifts, destroyed mailboxes, devastated entrances. Transport is insufficient. The suburb is far away, damaged, isolated, and abandoned. Boredom is the first reality."*[1] *(Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 8)*

> *"There is no a self-produced "culture of poverty", as defined by Oscar Lewis, but rather strategies of social integration or adaptation related to the consumer society. […] They have their "feet" in economic insecurity and their "heads" in the cultural universe of the middle classes. Which does not mean they are middle class. They are neither in terms of professional status nor in terms of behaviour. "*[2] *(Avenel 2010, 57)*

These quotations from French urban sociologists' studies portray a material scarcity (a lack of services) and a spatial concentration of low-income populations in *quartiers prioritaires* located in the suburbs. French context reveals constant efforts made by these consumers to find their place within a middle-class consumer society. Globally, low-income consumers experience diverse struggles and challenges to meet their different, in many cases, basic needs and to participate in consumer societies. Consumer research scholarship recognizes low-income consumers' consumption inadequacy as a result of inaccessibility of goods/services or limited choices (Hill 2002a; Martin and Hill 2012). These consumers also have limited social or cultural experiences (Hamilton 2009) and some may be in the extreme situation of social isolation (Hill and Stephens 1997). All this depends on consumers' individual resources, social relations, but also on availability of goods/services that they can physically access. The latter is very important for low-income consumers since they rely on services near to their homes due to limited mobility (e.g. no cars, lower quality of public transport connection) (Fol 2010). This is especially challenging for consumers who live in economically and geographically marginalized spaces (in urban context). How do consumers from deprived neighbourhoods deal with limited services in these neighbourhoods and other consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008)?

[1] Our translation.
[2] Our translation.

Consumer researcher scholars have shown an interest in consumers' practices in marginalized spaces – i.e. spaces of different ideologies to the mainstream consumption, alternative practices and spatial organization, practices specific to certain territories and/or filled with socio-spatial inequalities. An adoption of spatial perspective in relation to any kind of domination or power is helpful for consumer researchers who try to understand spatial (territorial) influences on consumers' collective and individual practices (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Alternative consumers' practices in marginalized spaces are different, above all, depending on whether marginalization is chosen – i.e. individual/collective emancipation from dominant market logic (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012), or externally imposed. The former example is characterized by emancipating spaces or spaces dedicated to those who have certain cultural and economic resources permeating them to undertake collective practices, while the latter refers to segregating spaces and consequently spatially conditioned and reproduced consumer practices (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

Alternative practices of consumers from segregating and economically marginalized spaces result from experienced socio-spatial inequalities and diverse spatial and structural constraints (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Crockett and Wallendorf 2004). In these spaces, low-income populations struggle with disadvantages. Spatial inequalities are multiple and systemic which result in different consumers' experiences of spatial vulnerability they are coping with (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Low-income consumers face limited or no access to certain services due to multiple consumption restrictions (e.g. limited financial resources, limited availability or variety of products and services) (Hill and Stephens 1997; Botti et al. 2008). Regardless of sources and situations of experienced vulnerability, consumers make efforts to establish control over their consumption restrictions (Hill and Sharma 2020) by adopting coping, often very creative and innovative strategies (Hamilton and Catterall 2005). In dealing with vulnerabilities and attempting to alleviate their market and social exclusion (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a; 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) low-income consumers look for a social support of family, friends and other consumers who experience the same constraints (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Hutton 2016), and are dependent on public policy and business actions (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Baker and Mason 2012) or on some structural control (Hill and Sharma 2020). Finally, Saatcioglu and Corus (2016) acknowledge that researchers, interested in spatial and structural constraints that affect

consumers' vulnerability and their individual and collective agency[3], may benefit from critical spatial theory. Indeed, creative consumer resistance in marginalized spaces need not to be only temporary, escapism-related and dedicated to consumers with higher economic and cultural resources, but may exist within places or local structures within marginalized spaces providing ideological support, alternative consumption and creative resistance (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996) to experienced constraints and restrictions. From such spatial perspective, both spatial constraints and consumers' individual or collective, pluralistic, creative agencies come to the fore when they search for more emancipation from these constraints by adopting consumption alternatives.

Research context. Returning to the above quotations about French context of deprived neighbourhoods in the suburban spaces (fr. *quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville*) at the beginning of this introduction we recognize these spaces as those of low-income populations that have faced increasing unemployment (ONPV 2017) and cannot afford to live somewhere else (Avenel 2016). Consumers from these neighbourhoods live in social and material deprivation affecting their daily and consumption practices. First, they have dominantly local or "autochthon" social capital (Cortéséro 2012) so their social support stems from these socially homogenous spaces.

Second, deteriorated social housing buildings and poor quality of public space (Vieillard-Baron 2001) are coupled with the lack of business and shops (Dikeç 2007) in these spaces thus not satisfying the needs of consumers. Many of deprived suburban neighbourhoods are far from or do not have well public transportation connection to various services situated in other urban spaces. In such contexts of lower quality and variety of services for local population, boredom is something that shapes free time of the local population (see quote of Dubet and Lapeyronnie (1992), page 1). There are limited variety of sports facilities and cultural institutions for children and adolescents' leisure practices in these suburban neighbourhoods (ONPV 2019). Consequently, in these spaces of scarce materiality and rising poverty, local population dominantly depends on services offered by local public institutions (e.g. leisure practices are organized by social centres) (Avenel 2016). Despite great government efforts to understand

[3] The concept of *human agency* is very complex and has been discussed in both philosophy and sociology. It has found its application in recent consumer research studies. Without an intention to enter into deep philosophical discussions on agency (i.e. causes, independency, intentionality of actions and other determinants), we adopt general philosophical understanding of *agency* as a capacity of an individual or group of individuals to act (to perform their actions). This action is always situated in the environment that, from sociological perspective, represents any social structures (e.g. social class, ethnicity, gender) so that agency and structures are interrelated. In our research, as we will discuss further in the text, it is space that constrains and/or empowers consumer agency.

how local population access (physically and financially) existing services and facilities, little is known about their needs and consumption practices (Mordret and Maresca 2009).

Younger populations form French suburban deprived neighbourhoods have been in the focus of policy regulations, researchers (especially urban sociologists) and media attention. They have suffered from stigma, stemming from media discourse which often associate them to urban riots, violence, and delinquency (Kokoreff 2003; Wacquant 2008; Avenel 2010). French urban sociologists have studied these young people and their spatial practices and life struggles (Kokoreff 1993; Marlière 2005; Dubet 2008). Despite their stigmatized and homogenous image behind the omnipresent term *jeunes des banlieue* (suburban youth), French sociologists have demonstrated that these adolescents do not represent a special social category since their life trajectories are very heterogenous (Aquatias 1997). Also, in contrast to Chicago school on urban youth delinquency (starting from 1920s) and cultural studies perspectives of subcultures of lower class youth (in 1960s and 1970s), there is no such subculture among French young populations from deprived neighbourhoods (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Dubet 2008). At the same time, the studies of the French sociology of culture and Ministry of culture revealed diverse cultural practices of French people (Donnat 1994) identifying changes among children and adolescents' cultural practices (Octobre 2008). Few research has been done about cultural practices of adolescents from *quartiers prioritaires* from purely creative or consumptive perspective. Their cultural practices are analysed either in relation to the urban culture (Bazin 1995; Faure and Garcia 2005) or as practices of spatial appropriation (Kokoreff 1993; Lepoutre 1997; Marlière 2005).

The experience of spatial constraints and consumption restrictions by young populations from French suburban *quartiers prioritaires* may and do impede their opportunities of social and market inclusion (Avenel 2010; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). In French society access to culture services or cultural institutions and experiences is understood as one of the tools to alleviate social exclusion (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015). In French *quartiers prioritaires,* the lack of access to cultural institutions and limited cultural experiences offered to the local young populations are alleviated by youth-oriented cultural projects created through the collaboration between local socio-educative institutions (e.g. social centres), town halls and diverse artists or cultural coordinators from cultural institutions outside these neighbourhoods and within the scope of the interventions of urban policy (fr. *Politique de la ville*) (Faure and Garcia 2005; Heyraud 2016). Yet, many young people try to spend their free time outside these neighbourhoods to avoid boredom (Kokoreff 1993).

Being aware of diverse structural and spatial constraints and multiple consumption restrictions that young consumers, who live in these French suburban neighbourhoods, are imposed to, we are interested in their microcultures or small group (collective) cultural practices based on the support of local socio-educational institutions. Despite their limited financial resources to assure their desired leisure practices, we understand these adolescents as consumers. Yet, their cultural practices (including consumption) reflect alternative access to cultural and consumption experiences that these low-income consumers lack (Hamilton 2009). Alternative meaning of consumption and alternative access result from limited access to services and intermediary role of services and support offered by local public institutions (Avenel 2016). Consequently, to reach the meaning of microcultures of young consumers from deprived French suburban neighbourhoods, we focus in our research on the intersection of these consumers' collective practices and spatial influences (Arnould, Price, and Moisio 2006).

Research problem. As a result of this brief portrayal of our theoretical grounding and research context, we hereby introduce our research problem as:

What is the meaning of young consumers' microcultures originating from the deprived neighbourhoods in managing spatial vulnerability?

In our research "microcultures" refer to adolescents' shared experiences (Fine 1979) within small-groups' cultural practices done in or supported by local socio-educational institutions. "Spatial vulnerability" (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) relates to adolescents' lack of power to control multiple consumption restrictions, spatial constraints, and, thus, their dependence on local services. Since adolescents' collective cultural practices reflect their challenge of spatial vulnerability, their meanings are shaped by spatial constraining, protecting and empowering dynamics. To reveal these dynamics, we ask the following questions:

Question 1: *How do young consumers that participate in microcultures manage spatial vulnerability through their relationships with local services?*

Question 2: *How do local socio-educational institutions empower the transformative role of youth microcultures?*

Aiming to reach spatial dynamics and consumers' views of the experiences of spatial vulnerability and their collective practices, we opted for an ethnographic study that we conducted in two deprived French suburban neighbourhoods. This methodological approach should enable us to grasp specificities of social spaces (e.g. practices, norms, materiality) and to meet adolescents directly at the places of their collective practices.

We conclude this introduction with the presentation of the structure of our dissertation which is organized in three parts related to theoretical grounding, research methodology and data interpretation.

In the *first part*, we present our theoretical background that guided our critical spatial understanding of young consumers' cultural practices. This part comprises two chapters. The *first chapter* opens with critical spatial theory that helps our understanding of socio-spatial constraints, inequalities, and consumers practices of resistance in marginalized spaces. A special attention is paid to the concept of consumer vulnerability and consumers' coping strategies in dealing with socio-spatial constraints. In the *second chapter* we present a review of dominantly French sociology scholarship on social factors that shape French urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. *quartiers prioritaires*[4]) as economically marginalized and deprived urban spaces facing rising poverty, urban segregation, social and market exclusion, and spatial stigma. Also, we provide a brief review of the sociological and anthropological literature in relation to the concepts of youth subcultures and microcultures, and to date French sociological research on youth and their cultural practices.

The *second part* of our dissertation comprises three chapters in which we explain our epistemological position and applied methods of data collection and analysis. In the *third chapter* we open with main philosophical assumptions of interpretive paradigm in consumer research and how they resonate with our research. In the *fourth chapter* we present main characteristics of an ethnographic study (i.e. multi-sited ethnography) and its methods of data collection that we apply in our research. Due to the sensitivity of our research context (*quartiers prioritaires* as segregating spaces) and their consumers as well as fieldwork challenges, we provide a more detailed description of our process of data collection and fieldwork evolution. In the *fifth chapter* we clarify our data analysis and interpretation introducing our process of coding and criteria of validity that we relied on during our research.

In the *third part* of our dissertation we present our results and their interpretation in three chapters. The *sixth chapter* opens with constraining dynamics of deprived neighbourhoods demonstrating broader structural (social) and local (spatial) factors that causes spatial vulnerability. In the *seventh chapter* much focus is made on collective aspect of consumers' practices through the portrayal of the youth microcultures as collective coping strategies and their collectively developed resources and established control over spatial vulnerability. This part concludes with the *eight chapter* which emphasizes empowering spatial dynamics on

[4] See Glossary for this and other terms specific to French context of deprived (sub)urban neighbourhoods.

microcultures and general youth cultural practices which result from local institutional support further fostering adolescents' creative resistance and alternative consumption.

In the *ninth chapter* we discuss our results, consider our theoretical contributions and recommendations, and close with a comprehension of the limits of our research and potential future research.

PART ONE: THEORETICAL GROUNDING

Introduction to Part One

Urban spaces characterized by urban segregation, spatial and economic marginalization, and increased social exclusion affect consumers' lives and practices. These consumers face a limited access to services due to the limited economic resources but also to the lack of variety or inexistent services in these urban spaces. Also, diverse spatial constraints are accumulated resulting in spatial vulnerability for low-income and immigrant-origin consumers. Yet, they are very resourceful, and, despite a widespread image of passivity, they apply different individual or collective strategies to manage spatial vulnerability and provide much social and market inclusion.

In *the first chapter* we provide a literature review on critical spatial theory of marginalized spaces to point to spatial constraints and socio-spatial inequalities, and how humans (consumers) are or attempt to be active agents in such spaces. In so doing, we rely on philosophy, sociology, and marketing and consumer research scholarship. Since constraining spatial dynamics (within public, market or segregating spaces) affect consumers' agencies and their vulnerability, here we introduce the concept of consumer vulnerability and its different conceptualizations and approaches as well as strategies that consumers apply to deal with it.

In *the second chapter* we present the French urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. *quartiers prioritaires*) as deprived urban neighbourhoods and provide an insight into their brief history, local populations' socio-economic conditions, and urban segregation and spatial constraints that affect consumers lives and practices relevant for our research. Focusing on suburban young consumers, we present up to date French scholarship which explains their life struggles or cultural practices from dominantly spatial perspectives. However, culturalist and interactionists perspectives (i.e. concepts of subcultures and microcultures) have much to offer in understanding suburban youth.

Chapter 1: Marginalized spaces and consumer vulnerability

Marketing and consumer research scholarship has been interested in how consumers experience service spaces and how affluent consumers spatially escape the impact of the mainstream market dynamics (Kozinets 2002). For low-income, geographically, and economically marginalized or social and market excluded consumers, a consumption is a field of inequalities and it represents their lack of control. Also, social space (e.g. residential, public or marketplace) are spaces where social and spatial inequalities of consumers come to the fore (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

Social scientists acknowledge that a process of globalisation, as well as its diverse social and spatial consequences, have introduced a *spatial turn* in scientific research aiming to reach more *contextual and spatial knowledge* of social phenomena (Warf and Arias 2009). From spatial perspective much focus is given to *human agency*:

> *"space is a social construction relevant to the understanding of the different histories of human subjects and to the production of cultural phenomena." (Warf and Arias 2009, 1)*

In the contemporary globalized but highly unequal world a spatial perspective of social actions is rewarding for scholars "*because* where *things happen is critical to knowing* how *and* why *they happen*" (Warf and Arias 2009, 1).

Contemporary social scientists have advocated for critical spatial approach in order to understand socially, economically or geographically (spatially) marginalized spaces (Lefebvre 1974; Harvey 1988; Soja 1989; 1996) regardless of whether these spaces are marginalized or oppressed due to their demarcation by physical borders (and socio-cultural) leading to socio-spatial inequalities (Lefebvre 1974; Harvey 1988) or spaces of any difference (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). This critical spatial approach privileges an understanding of a *human agency* – *i*.e. in how individuals or consumers appropriate and construct spaces relying on its materiality, symbolism and social relations for their daily practices, and how they creatively resist domination that enables the alternative practices against or within the established social order (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996).

Consumer research scholars have analysed spaces with constraining or emancipating dynamics to consumer agency (practices) (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Crockett and Wallendorf 2004; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a).

Deprived and segregated urban spaces have gained the interest of urban sociologists, critical geographers and consumer researcher scholars. Such urban spaces inhabited by low-income and often by immigrant populations reflect spatial inequalities, multiple deprivation (material and social) and marketplace exclusion (Richardson and Le Grand 2002; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). Consequently, deprived urban spaces may or do cause a *spatial vulnerability* that consumers try to deal with or to challenge (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Systemic and permanent spatial vulnerabilities affect these consumers' lives making them dependent on the external, social or institutional support (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Shultz and Holbrook 2009; Baker and Mason 2012; Baker, Labarge, and Baker 2015; Hill and Sharma 2020). To deal with spatial inequalities and vulnerabilities consumers attempt to undertake control over their consumptive lives by adopting different *strategies* (Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker 2006; Visconti 2016). Finally, despite spatial constraints, inequalities and vulnerabilities consumers show their resourcefulness and creativity in daily lives and consumption practices.

The chapter is organised in two sections. The *first section* opens with an understanding of marginalized spaces through critical spatial theory and its application in marketing and consumer research scholarship which reveals daily and consumptive practices which consequently reflect spatial dynamics on consumer agency. In the *second section* we introduce the concept of consumer vulnerability, as an ethical concern for marketers and policy makers, and coping strategies as consumers' responses to it.

Section 1: Marginalized spaces: spaces of social inequalities, alternatives, and consumer agency

> *"It is to encourage you to think differently about the meanings and significance of space and those related concepts that compose and comprise the inherent spatiality of human life: place, location, locality, landscape, environment, home, city, region, territory, and geography. In encouraging you to think differently, I am not suggesting that you discard your old and familiar ways of thinking about space and spatiality, but rather that you question them in new ways that are aimed at opening up and*

expanding the scope and critical sensibility of your already established spatial or geographical imaginations. Mobilizing this objective is a belief that the spatial dimension of our lives has never been of greater practical and political relevance than it is today." (Soja 1996, 1)

In the above quoted text, Soja (1996), as a human geographer, advocates openly an integration of a human dimension in the critical understanding of space. That is, the space or the environment should be understood through human agency or practices that shape and are shaped by it. In the context of globalisation and global consumer practices researchers may be interested in their local varieties. Also, increasing social, economic, political, and environmental changes and disruptions bring out multiple socio-spatial inequalities that need to be comprised in contemporary research. Marginalized spaces are diverse but usually characterized by domination and oppression, yet filled with alternatives, creative resistance and possibility to emancipate response to dominant social ordering (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Hooks 1989; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997).

In this section we present a literature review on marginalized spaces from critical spatial perspective – spaces of inequalities, yet those of differences and creativity. We provide an insight into marketing and consumer research on consumer agency-spatial dynamics interplay inspired by spatial perspective too.

Subsection 1: Marginalized spaces: meanings and spatial perspectives

In this subsection we aim to present the meaning of marginalized space, the importance of spatial turn that influence marketing and consumer research among other scientific disciplines, and the most important critical spatial theorists that partially guided our literature review in this research.

How to understand space? How space is defined and the research approach to it articulated is important for critical spatial perspective. Yet, an attempt to explain briefly and precisely the term *space* (and parallel term *place*) is challenging and often pointless. In the above quoted text of Soja (1996) the complexity of the concept of space is in relationship to other concepts such as place, territory, region, and many others. In the same vein, the geographer David Harvey (1988, 13) calls for a flexible understanding of space which "*becomes whatever we make of it during the process of analysis rather than prior to it*". A spatial perspective of consumer

behaviour and market dynamics emphasize different terms and meanings ascribed to spatial constructs (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).

How to understand marginalized spaces?

Scholars from different disciplines have used different terms such as marginalized or marginal spaces or places at the margins. However, one element is important - a play between centre-periphery. Marginalized spaces are "*counter-hegemonic spaces that exist apart from 'central' spaces that are seen to represent the social order*" (Hetherington 1997, 21). Whenever spaces are characterized as being at the margins, they are associated with the issue of power (e.g. as in the works of Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault and Edward Soja) since "*power is ontologically embedded in the center-periphery relation*" (Soja 1996, 31). In that centre-periphery relation a certain domination is exercised on marginalized or spaces at the peripheries and their populations:

- Economic domination combined with geographic marginalization where a peripheral position may reflect geographical (spatial) position due to a social process stemming from the differences in social relations of production (social class) and capitalist logic or urban planning (Lefebvre 1968; 1974); or
- Cultural domination- marginalization interplay: marginalized spaces are those where position is at the social periphery because "*they have been placed on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to each other*" (Shields 1991, 3).

Marginalized spaces – as urban spaces in Lefebvre's works - reflect socio-spatial inequalities since modern urban planning and the organisation of everyday life are subjected to (neo)capitalist logic, especially consumption, enabling its existence and establishing social relations of production. In Lefebvre's analysis marginalized spaces are socially produced "*where the dominant relations of production are reproduced*" (Soja 1989, 91–92). Thus, he underlines two important elements of critical spatial analysis of marginalized spaces: (1) domination and (2) appropriation of space. To understand domination, Lefebvre proposes to analyse the oppositional concept of appropriation of space. Dominated space is "*usually closed, sterilized, emptied. Its concept only makes sense by opposing the inseparable concept of*

appropriation"[5] (Lefebvre 1974, 191). The process of appropriation of space by its inhabitants enables researchers to understand human practices:

> *"The appropriation itself involves time and times, a pace and paces, symbols and a practice."*[6] *(Lefebvre 1974, 411)*

Domination over marginalized populations is not explained only through the materiality of the physical space, but through lived space and spatial practices in relation to how space has been conceived (imagined and created) by those who had the power (Lefebvre 1974).

The power relations and domination towards marginalized spaces result in the diverse forms of human practices and resistance (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Hetherington 1997). Spaces that are dominated produce the ideas of resistance or transgression to any form of power through daily and consumptive practices, and the appropriation of space: to capitalism that affects lives in urban spaces (Lefebvre 1974), to a mainstream consumption practices and markets (Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012) or to the mundane reality of marginalized spaces (Hetherington 1997). Scholars interested in human agency or practices within these spaces of domination and whose populations are at the periphery (of social, cultural, and market systems) try to critically approach the understanding of space focusing on human dimension (Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Approaching marginalized spaces through critical human geography or sociology of space brings out the relation of these spaces to the issues such as "*social change, modernism and postmodernism, consumption, power, inequality and political and cultural resistance*" (Hetherington 1997, vii).

Spatial turn in social science and humanities

> *"We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology." (Soja 1989, 6).*

An interest in space and its influence on human lives and vice versa is not something new neither for scholars nor for practitioners. One such example is embodied in the spatial approach to urban social issues (e.g. social class, gender, race, poverty, immigrant population) of sociologist and geographers from Chicago school in 1920s who tried to understand social issues from the field (space itself) (Warf and Arias 2009; Coulon 2012).

[5] Our translation.
[6] Our translation.

What is different in the social science and humanities is a position of spatial analysis in academic research that promises a contextual and pluralistic understanding of space and their inhabitants (Warf and Arias 2009). Such a position of spatial analysis calls for, what Soja (1989) emphasizes in the above quoted text, a need for researchers/practitioners to understand social forces hidden within the organisation of space and the human practices within it. The reason for such understanding of space may be found in the process of globalisation and neocapitalism that have brought out much social inequalities, especially in urban contexts and its marginalized spaces that are exposed to segregation, discrimination, poverty, and other societal ills. (Lefebvre 1968; 1974; Harvey 1988).

Critical spatial analysis of social lives from philosophical (Henri Lefebvre on production of social space) or geographical perspective (David Harvey on territorial injustice) owes much to a Marxist philosophy and its focus on materiality of social lives (Lefebvre 1974; Soja 1989). Indeed, Henri Lefebvre was the first to rely on Marxian philosophy of materiality as the principal element of production of human thought and action, as well as, on the active role of individuals in its production (Soja 1989)[7]. However, reaching critical understanding of space needs special focus on lived space of inhabitants in order to avoid reproduction of reductionist vision of space (e.g. as scientific and policy visions of space) (Lefebvre 1974). Lefebvre's approach to marginalized space and domination is strongly oriented towards social class or collective struggles (Lefebvre 1974). His position towards space has been flexible enabling him to introduce more open critical spatial analysis:

> *"Lefebvre chose his Marxism as a modernist, always 'taking sides' with the periphery and the peripheralized; but he practiced his Marxism as a postmodernist, departing from the tight constrains of the either/or to explore, as a consciously political strategy, the combinatorial openness of the both/and also…" (Soja 1996, 32)*

Based on Lefebvre's work, critical spatial scholars from 1980s have "*embrace[d] various aspects of human subjectivity, everyday life, and the multiple dimensions of identity that are central to any coherent understanding of social life*" (Warf and Arias 2009, 4). That is, there has been a shift in research focus from a more collective (class struggles) towards more individual and resistant agency. In the same vein Edward Soja (1989, 1996) advocates an open, flexible, pluralistic vision of social spaces.

[7] Lefebvre (1974) acknowledged the importance of a philosophical (mental) approach to understanding of space. However, a philosophy of space, the way it existed needed a relationship with lived space to be consonant with Marxist philosophy (Cova 2014).

Marginalized spaces: socially produced and spaces of emancipation

Two scholars that have shaped the discussion on power, marginalized spaces and human practices are: French philosopher and social theorist Henri Lefebvre with "Production of Space' and human geographer Edward Soja with "Thirdspace"[8]. Their thoughts about space and human agency or practices have started influencing consumer research scholars, especially in the past decade. Indeed, consumers live, have their experiences, and navigate diverse spaces where interactions between spatial dynamics and their practices take place. Also, the spatial contexts and their influences may be discerned through consumers' practices. Spatial approach developed by Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja says much about this – i.e. what human agency or practices reflect about the space and vice versa.

Henri Lefebvre (1974) in his book 'Production of Space' (fr."*La Production de l'espace*") acknowledged the importance of purely scientific (mental) capacities of space, and embraced a more human, logical, practical approach to social life embedded in a given space. He goes beyond the mental (logical) and physical (materialist) perspective of space, understanding social space as a social product that is useful as a tool of reflection and action, along with production and control or domination which inhibits those who live in it (Lefebvre 1974). Social space - a space of inhabitants (expressed through the use value of space), social relations and symbolic meanings, and daily practices - contrasts and intertwines with the abstract space – a space that can be measured and shaped by those in power positions such as corporations or town planners (expressed through exchange value).

To critically understand space Lefebvre (1974) has proposed *triplicity of social space*: (1) spatial practice (perceived space), (2) representations of spaces (conceived space), and (3) space of representations (lived space). Spatial practice refers to

> *"production and reproduction, specified places and spatial ensembles specific to each social formation, which ensures continuity in a relative cohesion" involving "a certain competence and a certain performance."*[9] *(Lefebvre 1974, 42)*

That is, spatial practice is helpful in deciphering the space. This spatial practice reflects perceived space which comprises everyday reality and urban reality in relation to places of

[8]We are aware of the need to relate Edwards Soja's theoretical discussions on *Thirdspace* to Michel Foucault's concept of *heterotopias* and resistance. However, we intentionally present the main ideas of that concept in the next part of this subsection relating it to resistance and utopias.

[9] Our translation.

work, family life and leisure (e.g. everyday life of social housing in the suburban neighbourhoods in France) (Lefebvre 1974).

Further, representations of space are spaces conceived by scientists, urban planners, architects, etc. reflecting relations of productions and representing the knowledge, codes or simply dominant space (Lefebvre 1974). These representations are those that reflect the knowledge and competences (abstract space), but always in relation to objects and people which may lead to incoherence (Lefebvre 1974).

Finally, the space of representations is what Lefebvre (1974) defined as lived space revealing the underground aspect of social life and art expressed "*through various images and symbols*"[10] representing the space of inhabitants or users but also of artists, philosophers, etc. (Lefebvre 1974, 49). This is a dominated space used "*to modify or to appropriate the imagination*"[11] combining physical space and symbolic usage of its objects (Lefebvre 1974, 49). Further, it is lived, usually not coherent or not in cohesion, highly imaginary and filled with symbols that represent a space that is lived in, which is the emotional centre for inhabitants, and is the space of daily performance representing a concrete, subjective space (Lefebvre 1974). While representations of space tend to homogenize space and delete differences, the space of representations, aims to avoid it (Lefebvre 1974). In sum, social space is a concept that creates an understanding of individual and collective social actions in a given space, but also in reaching broader knowledge about the society (Lefebvre 1974).

The ideas of Lefebvre have been enriched, extended through the work of critical human geographer Edward Soja (1989, 1996). Both scholars acknowledge transdisciplinarity – the importance of simultaneous historical, sociological and spatial perspectives – in the broader understanding of social space (Soja 1996). Also, in his book 'Thirdspace' Soja (1996) relies on Lefebvre's triplicity of space – perceived, conceived and lived, naming them: Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. Where does he differ from Lefebvre's social space? According to Soja (1996) Lefebvre:

- relies largely on 'Other' spaces (dominated and at the periphery) but in his discussion he is more open and flexible in understanding social space;
- is primarily concerned with urban spaces through discussions on centre-periphery issue, and as a critic of everyday life due to planned urbanisation for the sake of capitalism,

[10] Our translation.
[11] Our translation.

social relations of production, critics of consumer society, and a need and a struggle for the right to the city of lower social classes.

In contrast to such position of Lefebvre, Soja's concept of Thridspace has introduced "an-Other" perspective of the understanding of space through the interplay of real (material) and imagined spaces, enabling "*creative recombination and extension*" (Soja 1996, 5) of materiality (real world expressed through Firstspace) and representations of space (imagined space through Secondspace) gathered in real-and-imagined places (Soja 1996).

Firstspace corresponds to Lefebvre's spatial practice (perceived space) reflecting

> *"material and materialized "physical" spatiality that is directly comprehended in empirically measurable configurations: in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities, sites and situations; in patterns of distribution, designs, and the differentiation of a multitude of materialized phenomena across spaces and places; in the concrete and mappable geographies of our lifeworlds, ranging from the emotional and behavioural space "bubbles" which invisibly surround our bodies to the complex spatial organization of social practices that shape our "action spaces" in households, buildings, neighborhoods, villages, cities, regions, nations, states, the world economy, and global geopolitics." (Soja 1996, 74–75)*

Soja (1996) indicates the explanation of the Firstspace in two ways: either through description of physical appearance or through spatial analysis related to "*exogenous social, psychological, and biophysical processes*" (Soja 1996, 75).

Secondspace is seen as a reaction to Firstspace's objectivity, but their boundaries are overlapping (Soja 1996). "*In its purest form, Secondspace is entirely ideational, made up projections into the empirical world from conceived or imagined geographies"* (Soja 1996, 78–79), but it is still related to the material reality which is understood indirectly through thoughts.

> *"In so empowering the mind, explanation becomes more reflexive, subjective, introspective, philosophical, and individualized." (Soja 1996, 78–79)*

In relation to Lefebvre's lived space Soja (1996) proposes *Thirdspace* through which he introduces more directly expressed resistant and emancipating practices. His conceptualisation of Thirdspace embraces Foucault's (1986) perspective of "spaces of otherness" through discussions on real and imagined spaces (i.e. contexts and representational discourses). These two elements enable the understanding of Thirdspace as

> *"… additionally guided by some form of potentially emancipatory praxis the translation of knowledge into action in a conscious – and consciously spatial- effort to improve the world in some significant way." (Soja 1996, 22)*

That praxis of Thirdspace (real-and-imagined places) corresponds to

> *"the search for practical solutions to the problems of race, class, gender, and other, often closely associated, forms of human inequality and oppression, especially those that are arising from, or being aggravated by, the dramatic changes that have become associated with global economic and political restructuring and the related postmodernization of urban life and society." (Soja 1996, 22)*

Soja draws his explanation of Thirdspace form Lefebvre's thoughts which he sees as:

> *"a knowable and unknowable, real and imagined lifeworld of experiences, emotions, events, and political choices that is existentially shaped by the generative and problematic interplay between centres and peripheries, the abstract and concrete, the impassioned spaces of the conceptual and the lived, marked out materially and metaphorically in spatial praxis, the transformation of (spatial) knowledge into (spatial) action in a field of unevenly developed (spatial) power." (Soja 1996, 31)*

Lived space or Thirdspace is characterized by politics, ideology, representing 'symbolic' and dominated spaces (those of the peripheries or the margins) that relate to the issues such as capitalism or racism embedded in the social relations of production, domination, or subjection and at the same time are "*the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation*" (Soja 1996, 68). Indeed, domination and oppression are intertwined with resistance and emancipatory practices:

> *"Combining the real and the imagined, things and thought on equal terms, or at least not privileging me over the other a priori, these lived spaces of representation are thus the terrain for the generation of "counterspaces" spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning. With its foregrounding of relations of dominance, subordination, and resistance; its subliminal mystery and limited knowability; its radical openness and teeming imagery, this third space of Lefebvre closely approximates what I am defining as Thirdspace." (Soja 1996, 67–68).*

Soja is best known for his concept of *Thirdspace* , in an attempt to recognize with which he aimed at grasping "*what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings*" (Soja 1996, 2), and thus calling for a different, radical and flexible understanding of space and human lives. Indeed, he advocates more flexible and open vision enabling various alternatives to appear in dealing with theory and practice of space and social lives (Soja 1996):

> *"It is a space where issues of race, class, and gender can be addressed simultaneously without privileging one over the other; where one can be Marxist and post-Marxist, materialist and idealist, structuralist and humanist, disciplined and transdisciplinary at the same time." (Soja 1996, 5)*

Marginalized spaces: spaces of alternatives and utopian visions

Soja's conceptualization of space relies much on Michel Foucault in portraying Thirdspace (lived space). A *place* has an important role in Foucault's works, especially through the issues of power and knowledge (Soja 1996). Foucault has shown an interest in marginalized spaces – spaces where power is brought into play. He was concerned with spatiality of social lives or *lived spaces* that are, similarly to Lefebvre, socially produced and composed of different sites and relations between these (Soja 1989). In contrast to Lefebvre, Foucault has shown no tendency to conceptualize space but to analyse social livers through spatial analysis – he called *heterotopology* – that focuses on sites and relations among them or situatedness of sites (Soja 1996). Thus, lived spaces are not empty but filled with a set of relations among sites (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). A contemporary way to understand space would be through recognized relations among sites or "in-sitedness" (Soja 1996). Foucault advocates that there are many different places that reflect these relations (those used for transport, relaxation or even for rest), but he is interested in those that reflect his vision of space:

> *"…in certain ones that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect. These spaces, as it were, which are linked with all the others, which however contradict all the other sites, are of two main types." (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 24)*

Due to exerted power and marginal position such spaces (or places as he called them) are places of otherness and alternative ordering (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). According to Foucault, such spaces of otherness are expressed through two main types: utopias and *heterotopias*. The first type of spaces are utopias understood as no real places or sites with "*a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society"* presenting an ideal or revered vision of society (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 24).

The second type of spaces, and the most important ones for Foucault's spatial analysis, are *heterotopias* ("spaces of otherness") understood *as real places* (e.g. cemeteries, churches, hammams, museums, libraries, etc.) (Soja 1989). These are specific to any form of shared life of certain group of individuals and to any power exerted to certain place and peoples' lives and represent specific spaces which, in terms of their functions, differ or contrast other spaces (Soja 1989). Heterotopias are spaces of differences or otherness in that they are:

> *"… something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their*

> *location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias." (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 24)*

Foucault (1986) has recognized some principles that shape the understanding of heterotopias: heterotopias exist in every culture and society, but under various forms and "*perhaps no one absolutely universal form of heterotopia would be found*" (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 24); they may have different functions in different societies depending on the culture; they represent a juxtaposition of different, sometimes incompatible, spaces in one real place; heterotopias and particularly *heterochronies* (related to a certain slice of time) reflect eternal time (e.g. museums or libraries) or transitory and temporary aspect (e.g. such are festivals, vacation villages); the accesses to heterotopias are different and make them more or less isolated and usually their sites are not "*freely accessible like a public place*" (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 26); and the function of heterotopias can be understood through their relations with other spaces: either "*to create a space of illusion*" or

> *"… to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged, as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation…" (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 27)*

Foucault (1986) was concerned explicitly by spaces of otherness enabling critical understanding of social space through emancipation as presented in Soja's Thirdspace (Soja 1996). Lived spaces as dominated and marginalized spaces are spaces of struggles, especially political struggles (for Lefebvre) and spaces of resistance (for Foucault). British sociologist Kevin Hetherington (1997), relying on these two approaches to marginalized spaces, have nuanced the understanding of lived space and resistance.

First, Lefebvre's lived spaces or spaces of representations lack an understanding as spaces of alternative modes of ordering with its rules and symbols giving them certain power. Lefebvre was much concerned with the practices of the inhabitants in relation to places that are embedded in the everyday life reality and "*in resistance to mundane and alienating features of everyday existence"* which means that autonomy is not complete but stems from contradictions of production of social space related to contemporary capitalist relation in urban spaces (Hetherington 1997, 23). What Lefebvre missed to emphasize is a relationship between freedom and order in lived space, and not only freedom and resistance (Hetherington 1997). That is, marginalized are not anomies, but spaces with alternative ordering to be understood through spatial practice. No matter if the space is understood as a space of freedom or a space of

domination/control (or both in the same time), there is always an alternative social ordering that is to challenge the existing social logic (Hetherington 1997).

Second, the latter vision of freedom and domination in marginalized spaces leads to Hetherington's (1997) adoption of Foucault's concept of heterotopias (relational spaces) that he understands as spaces of alternative ordering or of an organization of social space in a different way than the other spaces. This is a part of marginal position of spaces characterizing these spaces as "other", "different", of alternative structure "*established in relation to another through the practices in which it is inscribed*" (Hetherington 1997, 32).

Scholars adopting pluralistic visions of space (as Edward Soja), may find this modernist view of space *dépassé*, but Hetherington (1997) has been interested in an alternative social ordering based on the idea of a good society. Here is a crucial difference or the improvement of Foucault's vision on separation utopias – heterotopias. Hetherington's (1997) vision of utopias is different than the one of Foucault: he aligns himself with Louis Marin's (1973) vision of utopias[12] not as unreal, imaginary spaces of perfect society (as in Foucault's spaces of otherness), but as a spatial play "*that is involved in imagining and trying to create these perfect worlds in the spaces that make up the modern world*" (Hetherington 1997, viii).

Louis Marin (1973) proposes that an approach to spaces of otherness and utopias is neither imaginary (as no place) nor only a good place (Hetherington 1997). Heterotopias (spaces of otherness) exist in-between spaces (relational spaces according to Foucault), but more specifically between no place and good place (spatial play according to Marin) (Hetherington 1997). Marin's (1973) key concept of understanding utopia is "the neutral" that designs the interplay between *eu-topia* (place of the good life; not existing in the present moment) and *ou-topia* (no space; existing in social critique). Utopian discourse is closely related to the critical approach to ideology[13] and a need for social change (Marin 1973). Marin's vision of utopia stems from the differences of its meanings being expressed within *heterotopias* where the utopian ideas are realized through differences and alternative ordering in order to reach different vision of freedom (Hetherington 1997).

[12] Our aim here is not to go deep in discussions of Louis Marin on the utopia, but to underline his main logic about the utopia that Hetherington (1997) emphasized as related to marginalized spaces (*heterotopias*).

[13] Behind the utopia as imagination there is an ideology that it is "*the representation of imaginary relationship individuals of a given society have about real conditions of their existence*" (Marin 1973, 18). An ideology is a birthplace of resistance to any subordinations individuals may experience (Marin 1973).

Marginalized or "of otherness" spaces reflect an alternative social ordering that is "*in contrast to the taken-for-granted mundane idea of social order that exists within society*" (Hetherington 1997, 40). Hetherington (1997) has created a relationship between Foucault's heterotopias as spaces of otherness and alternative ordering, and Louis Marin's (1973) discourse of utopia. Indeed, if "otherness" alludes to different practices and different meanings (as in Foucault), than the alternative social ordering as expressed through heterotopias "*is a mode of ordering based upon some idea of social improvement"* (Hetherington 1997, 51–52).

To portray heterotopias beyond mere "otherness" advocates an understanding of these spaces as alternative organizations of society aiming at social change which, in that case, demands deployment of Marin's "neutral" concept – utopian ideas realised in spaces of different organisations (Hetherington 1997).

Here we presented a brief insight into the critical spatial theory that through the analysis of human agency and spatial conditions portrays much about material and social space. That is, spaces of domination and power relation are not totally passive. Indeed, human daily practices and creative resistance to dominant social or market logics are the testimonies of how individuals may attempt to reach their emancipation from any external, social, or structural constraints. Table 1 (page 24) summarizes the main concepts and specificities of the leading scholars adopting the spatial analysis of social life.

Table 1: Leading authors, concepts, and their research orientations in spatial analysis of social life

Authors	Discipline	Term	Context	Conceptualization	Meaning (and/or definitions)	Related concepts	Contribution	Spatial analysis
Henri Lefebvre	Philosophy urban sociology (social theory)	Space	Marginalized spaces; center-periphery relation in urban spaces	*Production of space*	Production of space understood through the triplicity of space (perceived, conceived and lived space)		1)Introduction of human dimension in spatial analysis; 2) Domination understood through human appropriation of space and practices;	Focus on "other" (urban) spaces, social class and struggles; Political implications;
Michel Foucault	Philosophy (social theory)	Place	Marginalized spaces; power and knowledge	(no focus on conceptualisation)	*Heterotopias:* radically different or oppositional (real) places to other places; provide an alternative order to the dominant ideology/order	Utopias (no real places)	Through its opposition to dominant logic these spaces enable resistance or emancipation	Focus on the relation of these places to others (relatedness)
Edward Soja	Geography	Space	Marginalized spaces; power and domination	*Thirdspace*	Thirdspace (lived space): understood through real-imagined places interplay, pluralistic identities through which social inequalities are expressed and any power is exerted, and struggles exist but enough room for emancipation is left.	Lefebvre's triplicity of space; Foucault's heterotopias	Thirdspace (lived space) as spaces of resistance and emancipation (real and imagined experiences/places)	Focus on "an-other" spaces with the vision of pluralistic individual identities (gender, race, class, etc.) and various alternatives; Resistant, emancipating agencies
Kevin Hetherington	Sociology	Space	Marginalized space	x		Lefebvre's triplicity of space; Foucault's heterotopias; Louis Marin's utopias as spatial play	1) To Lefebvre: always some alternative order; 2) To Foucault: heterotopias comprise and enact utopias in aiming at social improvement	Focus on alternative ordering and utopian visions

Subsection 2: Marginalized spaces and consumer agency

Consumer agency or practices and space, usually marketplace, are inextricable concepts in marketing and consumer research. Space or place or territory (terminology is diverse from one author to another) have had their importance in marketing and consumer research so far (Maclaran and Brown 2005; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; O'Guinn, Tanner, and Maeng 2015; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Various spaces have been in the focus of these scholars. To name but a few, permanent such as households, shopping malls, communities and neighbourhood, cities (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018) and public spaces (Visconti et al. 2010) or *temporary* such as transient consumption communities (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hill 1991; Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002).

While in consumer and marketing research scholarship a space has been defined through its physical or material characteristics (rather separated from consumers actions), critical spatial analysis (Warf and Arias 2009) has opened new pathways towards the understanding and explanation of various market dynamics and consumer agency (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Chatzidakis, McEachern, and Warnaby 2018). From this analysis, consumers are active participants in the construction of social phenomena through production and reproduction of social relations and marketplace dynamics too (Lefebvre 1974; Soja 1996; Warf and Arias 2009; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). From the power perspective, some spaces are characterized by consumer agency showing resistance to or emancipation from social or marketplace logic domination.

We acknowledge the scope and richness of various understandings of space and/or place in marketing and consumer research. However, a pivotal issue in our research on consumer agency are marginalized urban spaces as dominated or spaces of alternatives (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996) elsewhere understood by geographers as a territory – a concept related to the issues of power, control and domination (O'Guinn, Tanner, and Maeng 2015; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). In that sense, territoriality refers to "*achieving and exerting control over a particular segment of space*" (Proshansky, Ittleson, and Rivlin (1970) in O'Guinn, Tanner, and Maeng (2015, 197). In such spaces consumers actively construct,

appropriate spaces and in return are affected by their dynamics. In this subsection we limit our literature review on such spaces in consumer research[14].

Consumer agency, consumer practices?

Applied terminology of consumer behaviour in relation to analysis of everyday life is ambiguous: "*action, activity, practice, behaviour, usage, ways of doing are sometimes used as synonymous, sometimes distinguished but without real consensus on these distinctions"*[15] (Cova 2014, 207). Often, one might find the terms of consumer agency and/or consumer practices in marketing scholarship bringing out a spatial perspective of consumers behaviours. Some clarifications are needed in order to justify our adoption and parallel use of terms consumer agency and consumer practices in our research.

First, both consumer agency and practices are often used interchangeably or to explain similar aspects of consumption from the perspective of social and cultural theories (Sassatelli 2007; Cova 2014). Important to underline is sociologists' aim to challenge an individual perspective of consumption and instrumental and rational vision of consumer behaviours advocating that "*consumption practices are social phenomena, and as such they display internal forms of order and are organized according to a variety of logics*" (Sassatelli 2007, 53). Indeed, such understanding reveals a flexible, open, and socially embedded character of consumer practices that does not correspond to a purely structural and leaner economic vision (Sassatelli 2007)[16].

Second, the term consumer practice is usually applied to reflect not only its consumptive but also productive aspect that enables understanding of consumption as a space for creativity, self-satisfaction and even social change (Sassatelli 2007). Theory of practice has been broadly explained and discussed by various sociologists and philosophers focusing on different aspects: Pierre Bourdieu's cultural practices (strongly related to the concept of habitus and capital where social class influence behaviours and tastes), Michel de Certeau's daily lives tactics and bricolage of appropriation of various objects in realizing their individual creativity (Cova 2014), Henry Lefebvre's approach to practices in relation to power and social class struggles read through spatial practices (Lefebvre 1974; Cova 2014), and Michel Foucault's approach to

[14] We respect the importance of various marketing and consumer research studies concerned with various types of spaces and consumer agency. However, due to the limited space in the dissertation and our desire to focus on marginalized spaces, we aim to provide a direct review of relevant literature from the field in relation to Lefebvre, Foucault and Soja (social construction of space) and spatial vulnerabilities, consumer resistance or escapism.

[15] Our translation.

[16] Consumer research scholarships from *Consumer Culture Theory* (CCT) and *Transformative Consumer Research* (TCR) streams have adopted such social and cultural approach to consumer practices or agency.

consumer practices as consumers interaction with objects in social context/place (Sassatelli 2007). Thus, consumptive practices have become important to understand social agency and individual's freedom (Cova 2014). While the concept of cultural practices has been dominated by the vision of Bourdieu (habitus and social class), which emphasized a structuralist approach and the forces that produce them, Foucault's interest has been oriented towards individuals and the outcomes of their practices (even under the oppression and domination) (Cova 2014).

Third, the issue of marginalized space imposes certain difference or otherness in consumer practices of groups or populations of consumers from these spaces. In relation to this belief, Sassatelli (2007) calls for the consideration of freedom/oppression dichotomy in analysing consumption because of its embeddedness in everyday social practices, revealing neither totally autonomous nor heteronomous consumers and leading to the understanding of consumption as a political issue or enactment of power. That is, consumption expresses differences (i.e. in relation to consumer taste differences), reflects representations (i.e. a consumer appropriation of images and products for self-representation) and normality (i.e. norms are usually imposed by dominant social and cultural forces within a given cultural context shaping consumption practices). When these three forces converge, marginality of consumer practices may be strengthened (Sassatelli 2007).

Finally, in our dissertation, consumer agency (or youth cultural practices) when used elsewhere in the text in relation to social space, reflects (1) our inspiration by Lefebvre's appropriation of space within young consumers' practices and enables an understanding of material and physical space affecting consumers' lives and consumption practices – i.e. material deprivation and the lack of services; and (2) emphasizes youth creative resistance or emancipatory character of interplay space and youth agency in light of Soja's and Foucaults' emancipating role of spatial context of consumers practices.

Territories, segregating and emancipating spaces?

Marketing and consumer research scholars have been interested in the place of consumers' consumption experiences and published works are diverse. While they have usually been interested in the influence of built or material dimension of these places on consumer experiences and relations with these places, sometimes they examine larger marketplace system/ideologies (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).

Critical spatial theorists have inspired marketing and consumer research scholars either to analyse consumers agencies in different spaces or to define dynamics of different spaces and their influence on consumer practices (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Conceptual papers of Castilhos and colleagues (2017, 2018), relying on Lefebvre's (1974) production of space, provide helpful guidance for consumer research on marginalized spaces such as segregating and emancipating spaces and different influences such spaces may exert on consumers – i.e. protecting, emancipating or constraining. In line with critical spatial scholarship, presented in the previous subsection, and conceptual papers of Castilhos and colleagues (2017, 2018), the consumer research literature review on marginalized spaces presented in this subsection relies on the following elements:

1 Territories as segregating and emancipating space are of our interest. These spaces are similar since both and consumers practices within them are based on consensus and some cohesion, but also different since segregating spaces are shaped by subjugation where social or marketplace ideologies/powers reproduce certain consumer practices and emancipating spaces are characterized by participation in organization of space and practices (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).
2 Focus on these types of spaces brings out different dynamics that can be analysed through protecting, empowering and constraining lenses in order to understand interplay of space (territory) and consumer practices (e.g. while certain spaces enable emancipation of consumers providing them with some power, others are filled with constraints that force consumers to adaptation) (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).
3 Simultaneously with spatial/territoriality approach, materiality of places and meanings consumers ascribe to them reflect a wider market system or ideologies (Maclaran and Brown 2005; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).

Protecting dynamics of emancipating spaces: consumer communities, escapism, and resistance

Emancipating spaces in consumer research are those that are created by communities of consumers in order to challenge dominant marketplace logic or hegemony defending their marginalized position in the marketplace (Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Such spaces usually have a temporary character

related to certain events (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002), contrasting other spaces (public, marketplace and segregating spaces) (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018), aimed at realizing social critiques and providing a liberation or alternative vision of freedom according to spatially expressed ideology and ethos members of a community share (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997). Emancipating spaces signify consumers' alienation due to the domination stemming from social order or marketplace logic that they try to escape and/or provide its temporary critics (Cova 2014).

The main dynamics organizing emancipating spaces are consensus and participation (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). The consensus here is established to lead members of the communities towards resistance and challenge of the established social reproduction (Hetherington 1997; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). In contrast to other spaces (especially marketplace and segregating spaces), participation is the other leading dynamic due to the voluntary participation of consumers (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). In the case of both dynamics, emancipating spaces are based on certain ethos or ideologies shared among consumers. These transformative consumers' experiences have temporary and voluntarist character.

Following a similar logic, any territory related to a group of inhabitants (consumers) that are marginalized or vulnerable or are members of countercultures may protect them "*by defining or sharpening spatial boundaries, increasing internal homogeneity, and delineating a space for the performance of certain practices*" (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017, 8). Thus, a protective aspect of the territory enables consumers to engage in practices leading them to disruption of existing social reproduction (Belk and Costa 1998) or creation of alternative spatial practices (Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012). Emancipating spaces have thus a character of Foucault's heterotopias of criticality and resistance (Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012).

Emancipating spaces are characterized by consumer resistance that may be related to creative, productive practices and/or more to self-realization and escapism. However, such elements may overlap, and these aspects differ slightly between them.

Resistance and individual production related spaces. Consumer resistance, understood from a spatial perspective, may be expressed through consumers' productive practices and their appropriation of space, places, experiences, etc. such as: "*production of physical place, virtual space of exchange, urban space, public versus private, production of experiences …*" or whenever the focus is on the "*role and place of consumer within the consumption*" (Cova 2014, 215). In relation to emancipating spaces, consumer productive practices stem from their aim to

challenge dominant social and/or marketplace norms. In Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw (2012) Exarcheia, an Athenian neighbourhood, is an urban space where utopian ideas on ethical and ecological consumption come into practice and of which inhabitants have created an alternative space to challenge neo-liberal marketplace politics. Social practices are reflected through space where consumers tend to foster anti-consumerism (against the dominant logic and worldwide brands like Starbucks) but more so solidarity, an eagerness for autonomy, sharing and caring, etc. Consumers act to care for others, their community, but also for the planet (the issue of reducing buying) (Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012). Finally, such emancipating spaces are spaces that reveal political issues (Cova 2014) – challenging neoliberal capitalism (and its influence on consumer culture) which reflects

> *"playing out of an impotent consumer culture and a condition of post-politics with activism reduced to a series of alternative purchase decisions or naïve political viewpoints and moralistic dismissals of consumers." (Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012, 511)*

Resistance and escapism: enactment of utopian ethos. In contrast to the above mentioned emancipating space of Exarcheia and strongly expressed consumer oppositional character to dominant neocapitalist logic of markets, there are other emancipating spaces that tend to defend their leading ideologies and to challenge dominant marketplace norms through the enactement of utopian ethos within spatial practices and temporary escapism.

Temporary escapism through fantasy and myth enactment and high involvement of consumers may represent their search for transformative experiences – an identity work through play, and for freedom and independence (Belk and Costa 1998). Consumers of this consumption enclave ("Mountain Man") are gathered around communal vision of sharing authentic-like and myth related experiences. Such emancipating spaces are protecting following such communal vision, but also through costume and other accessories creation to enable the entrance to the enclave. Participants of other emancipating spaces (communities), such as Burning Man festivals (Kozinets 2002) may not define themselves as consumers undertaking or establishing nonmonetary exchanges, gift giving, fostering the ideas of sharing and caring, and also enabling art to be the tool for the transformative consumer practices – less spectator and more participant. This type of emancipating space reflects the upper social class, art oriented and educated aiming to challenge well established consumer orthodoxy and consumers as passive receivers (Kozinets 2002). However, both such communities only offer a temporary retreat - escapism based on utopian ethos, and transformation of consumers through temporary, spatial experience with high participation of consumers.

In contrast to protecting dynamics of territories, emancipatory dynamic is enacted through stakeholders reliance on specificity of territory (market space) for creating new marketplace structures, as in Maclaran and Brown's (2005) creation of utopian meaning of space and associated consumption as consumer resistance (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Appropriation of space is here understood through utopic spatial play (Marin 1973) which may enable changes within marketplaces and not a mere ideal place (utopia). Similar to Belk and Costa (1998) and Kozinet's (2002) communities, Maclaran and Brown (2005) have recognized resistance through utopian meaning created through spatial practices of consumers aiming to escape commercialisation. However, the authors' study distinguishes from the previous two research since there is no creation of alternative consumer communities. This utopian ethos based on emancipating spaces has reflected a less oppositional character (Roux, Guillard, and Blanchet 2018) and appropriation of places (their materiality) and alternative organization for resistance (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Roux, Guillard, and Blanchet 2018). All these examples reflect the alienation of consumers who faced the hegemony of the marketplace (Lefebvre 1974).

A contrasting example, to the above mentioned one, is how consumers tactically appropriate public spaces during bulky items collection days, challenging marketplace exchanges and dominant consumer society logic through "*parasite heterotopias*" where *para* means "*both aside (from the norm) and against*" (Roux, Guillard, and Blanchet 2018, 4).

Finally, emancipating spaces help in understanding consumer resistance and/or temporary escapism according to alternative norms, ideology and/or organization (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012), with more or less temporary, transformative and challenging character of consumer practices. Consumer and marketing researchers should focus their analyses on new types of playful consumer resistance embedded in consumers' everyday lives rather than focusing on extraordinary events (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

Constraining dynamics of segregating spaces

Segregating spaces are one of four spaces of importance in urban spatiality and marketing research (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Such spaces relying on the logic of security, control, privacy and preservation of identity are usually defined "*by one or multiple actors for the benefit of a cohesive group*" (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018, 6). Authors underline the existence of segregating spaces with marketization logic (e.g. private clubs) or for the benefits of

inhabitants and their private interests (e.g. homes, gated communities, neighbourhoods, but also ghettos). These spaces are distinguishable in that they do not ultimately reflect market logic, but rather membership based on social affiliation (as in homes, private clubs.) (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Further, due to their cohesive character, segregating spaces are rather homogenous since they usually reflect social class, cultural background and lifestyle (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

There are chosen consumer communities where consumers undertake leisure practices according to community's values and norms they share as for example, within subcultures of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). In contrast to these or rich gated communities, certain territories reflect their constraining character that affect consumers in that they spatially reproduce consumers' social/marketplace positions and their practices (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). For example, living in segregated neighbourhoods of black communities may mean that the products provisioning equality are not fulfilled restricting consumer choices and bringing out an ideology of helping local business (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004). Another example is the one of low-income residents of a trailer park due to their segregated or stigmatized position expressed through the boundaries of their space which rely on field-specific capital and moral behaviour to the negotiation of their social status (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a). In consumer and marketing research

> *"the focus of territories' constraining function has been on vulnerable and dominated consumer groups, including African American consumers living in racially segregated neighbourhoods, poor, rural migrants occupying squatters on the outskirts of global cities, and low-income, working-class residents of a trailer-park neighbourhood." (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017, 9–10)*

Despite the lack of research in consumer and marketing scholarship on segregating spaces they play an important role since these spaces

> *"favor consensus by enclosing communal consumption practices, actively performing distinctions between market actors (e.g. insiders vs. outsiders), as well as foster the creation and reproduction of consumption practices and types of subjects." (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018, 7)*

Despite a widespread interest of consumer researchers in emancipating spaces in relation to consumption and escapism, the need for more critical spatial analysis of spaces of consumers social and marketplace exclusion remains (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). Also, spatial inequalities that affect consumers lives may inspire consumer researchers to understand creative, resistant and emancipating consumer agency in dealing with spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Thus, Saatcioglu and Corus (2016) have advocated to go beyond

leisure and purely consumption contexts in understanding emancipation and to provide more focus on public spaces, neighbourhoods, or communities. According to the authors, one of the examples of such research of emancipating spaces are community toy libraries enabling alternative access to toys and the construction of different social meaning of consumer practices and proposed service (Ozanne and Ozanne 2011).

In sum, critical spatial analysis of consumers' lives and practices within different spaces, as presented in this section, has helped consumer research scholars to understand spatial dynamics and their influence on consumer practices. Despite an increasing interest in temporary (events or consumer communities) and purely consumption or alternative consumption emancipating contexts (Table 2, page 34) there is a recognized need to understand creative or emancipating consumer strategies or spaces within deprived neighbourhoods (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Indeed, segregating spaces of vulnerable populations call for a more critical spatial analysis in understanding spatial influence – constraining and/or empowering – on consumers practices (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Also, a critical spatial approach to consumers' practices, in such contexts, acknowledges their creative resistance and the transformative character of their practices.

Table 2: Summary on spatial analysis of emancipating/segregating spaces and related consumer practices

	Type of space	Main dynamic		Spatial influence		Context/practices
Spaces/territory	**Emancipating spaces**	Consensus	Participation	Protecting	Resistance through temporary escapism (from the market)	Temporary consumer community (USA): renewed communal trading event through the myth of Mountain Men (Belk and Costa 1998); Temporary consumer community (USA): Burning Man festival (Kozinets 2002);
					Resistance through production and alternative organisation/services	Urban neighbourhood (Greece): space of alternative consumer practices (green and ethical) in contrast to the dominant capitalist logic (Chatzidakis et al. 2012); Community toy libraries (New Zealand): access to toys and alternative consumption practices (Ozanne and Ozanne 2011)
				Empowering	Empowered consumers at the marketplace through enactment of utopian visions	Festival shopping mall (Ireland): the experience of utopian marketplace (Maclaran and Brown 2005)
	Segregating spaces		Subjugation	Constraining	Consumption restrictions and spatial stigma influence consumer practices	Ghetto (USA): provisioning restrictions and black consumers practices (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004); poor neighbourhoods (USA): spatial stigma influences consumers' reliance on moral values and social capital stemming from living context (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a)

Section 2: Consumer vulnerability and consumer coping strategies

> *"No social group is inherently vulnerable. However, all groups face vulnerabilities that are largely the outcome of economic, social and cultural barriers that restrict opportunities for and impede the social integration and participation of the members of the group." (UN 2003)*

Consumers living in marginalized spaces due to their constraining dynamics and oppressive character may more often experience multiple vulnerabilities in the society and in the marketplace than others. Also, market space is a place where consumers may or should be able to express their identities, desires or simply fulfil their needs. Yet, some, if not many, are not capable to do so. Consumer experiences range from pleasure and hedonic consumption (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982) to stress and feeling of exclusion (Hamilton 2009). Diverse social and economic inequalities persist in the market spaces affecting consumers' access to goods and services. Consumers who experience temporary or systemic inequalities and the lack of control over their social and marketplace situations are exposed to vulnerabilities. Marketers have a moral obligation to protect consumers (Shultz and Holbrook 2009) and policy makers should enable an emancipation and more market inclusion of certain groups of consumers (Hamilton 2009; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b).

Marketing and consumer research demonstrate that in spite of experienced vulnerabilities consumers manifest their strategies in reaching a positive adaptation (Hutton 2016). Consumers' coping strategies have been described and explained within different contexts and situations underlining that consumers are capable of demonstrating agency and creativity in dealing with vulnerabilities (Hamilton and Catterall 2005).

In this section, we present the concept of consumer vulnerability in relation to its ethical concerns and different approaches to its conceptualisation developed so far in the academic literature. In line with our research context we pay more focus on consumers' access to services and goods affected by environmental disruptions (e.g. lack of services and their variety). We finish this section with a discussion on consumers' coping strategies in dealing with vulnerabilities and attempting to reach positive adaptation to social and market situations.

Subsection 1: The concept of consumer vulnerability

Scholars from different disciplines (e.g. ethnical thinkers, sociologists, geographers, economists, and marketing and consumer researchers) have shown an interest in the concept of (human) vulnerability during the last three decades. Increased theoretical concerns have followed practical urgencies and moral obligations, if at all, of managers and policy makers to understand, predict, control, and resolve the situations of people's and environmental vulnerability. Examples are numerous portraying adverse situations such as socioeconomic crises and environmental changes (e.g. growing poverty and social inequalities, war and political conflicts, natural hazards). In such situations certain individuals and populations are more exposed or have already experienced vulnerability due to diverse harms, risks or having no control over the life and consumption situations. Also, vulnerability is usually related to the concepts of fragility or precarity and contrasts those of resistance or resilience (Thomas 2010) that appear in rich literature on vulnerability in different disciplines (including marketing and consumer research scholarship).

Contemporary shifts in consumer research acknowledge the importance of considering diverse groups of consumers, especially of underrepresented, and environmental structural factors that affect unequal social and market position of certain consumers (e.g. disabled, homeless, impoverished). By combining micro (personal experiences) with macro (systemic and structural adversaries) factors of consumer vulnerability and by studying consumer groups that experience vulnerabilities, marketing and consumer research scholars have shifted a research focus "*to represent those outside the market's profitable mainstream*" (Hamilton, Dunnett, and Piacentini 2015, 1).

The scholars' urges to understand consumer vulnerability reside in social (policy makers) and marketers' moral imperatives to protect the consumers in the way that either vulnerability would be eliminated or temporary limited (Shultz and Holbrook 2009) or that a regain of control over their lives and consumption situations would be established in order to enable social change (Baker and Mason 2012). While vulnerability refers to diverse situations and consumer experiences in a society and on the market, it is closely, or at least very often, related to poverty and social exclusion (of certain individuals or groups) shaping the inequalities between rich and poor (Roy 2008; Thomas 2010).

Ethical and social concerns of marketing scholars and the concept of consumer vulnerability

Diverse socio-economic and political crises at global and national levels and scholars' raising awareness of certain consumers (e.g. elderly, disabled, immigrants) incapable of fully participating in consumer society due to their individual characteristics or adverse external factors, have brought up a socially conscious researchers aiming at reaching consumers' well-being (Mick 2006). Marketing and consumer research scholars gathered around these ideas within *Transformative Consumer Research (TCR)* have been guided by more practical issues coupled with diverse and enriching theoretical insights and methodology[17]. This stream of consumer research is not the only one interested in consumer welfare (Box 1, page 39). Also, other socio-cultural contexts are shaped by and shape marketing and consumer research scholarship focusing on consumers' well-being revealing their specificities in research topics influenced by social, cultural, economic, and legal aspects of these markets. French marketing and consumer research scholarship focusing on consumer well-being (fr. *Bien-être du consommateur – BEC*) is one of these examples (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015)[18].

Research issues and the goal of marketing and consumer research scholars within TCR are diverse. These scholars are dominantly guided by the ideas of reaching consumer well-being and social justice through their research (social change when possible), providing theoretical contributions and the search for new ways of communicating/disseminating research outcomes beyond merely academia (Mick et al. 2012). French socio-cultural context offers a different societal enterprise by fostering social justice and solidarity actions through policy interventions (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015). Yet, these authors indicate that the increasing social differences in the French society bring out the relevance of the issue of inequalities in marketing and consumer research:

> *"When the welfare state is no longer able to fully ensure social cohesion in the republican system, the research could question the role and the functioning of the market in order to bring more well-being by weaving links between citizens (see new forms of collaboration, citizen participation in local economic*

[17] Besides diverse socio-economic and political changes worldwide, the evolution of marketing practices over time led towards these more socially conscious research interests.

[18] Here we have no intention to enter discussions on differences between these two very rich academic researches guided by the idea to reach the concept of consumer well-being. Yet, concerning our French research context we find it important to emphasize certain French socio-cultural specificities that these authors well underline and that we have experienced during our fieldwork.

redeployment, new places for exchanging good practices and sharing knowledge, etc.)."[19] *(Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015, 116)*

Marketing and consumer research scholars focused on social change and thus more social justice sensitive issues should attempt to

> *"improve individual and societal well-being by foregrounding the experiences of marginal groups and, through research, attempting to address the problems that are most pervasive for members of these group." (Ozanne and Fischer 2012, 90)*

This is in line with marketing researchers' intention to apply transformative research to understanding marketplace dynamics where consumption may be related to "*risk, vulnerability and social conflict*" (Baker and Mason 2012, 543). Therefore, the application of transformative approach to consumer research helps researchers understand the vulnerability of populations such as adolescents or disabled people in marketplaces (Pechmann et al. 2005; Pavia and Mason 2014). Marketing and consumer research have faced the need for fostering ethical approaches (Sirgy 2008) to develop strategies towards and to understand marginalized or socially and market excluded individuals because of their life situations and consumption experiences. Indeed, scholars' urges to understand and explain consumer vulnerability of certain populations are based on social inequalities they experience and question social justice within a society and a marketplace (Sirgy 2008).

Consumer practices and experiences are embedded in sociocultural contexts and related to certain situations that influence their lives and consumption opportunities. Whenever the goal of a consumer research is to increase its meaningfulness and impact then *"[t]he life world of consumers must be kept in clear focus*" and context may be helpful in extending theoretical insights (Mick et al. 2012, 7). Studying consumer vulnerability, marketing scholars are very much concerned with contexts that can be outlined on the basis of diverse criteria such as geographical, age and life stages, individual experiences (e.g. illness) and many other (Hamilton, Dunnett, and Piacentini 2015). They remind that despite understanding a context through theoretical lenses (Arnould, Price, and Moisio 2006) they provide academic communities with new insights (Askegaard and Linnet 2011).

Analysing closely TCR scholarship commitments and guidelines as well as published articles about consumer vulnerability, one might notice highly ethical and social intentions. For these purposes consumer research scholars have relied on diverse philosophical (ethical) and sociological theoretical insights in vulnerability and its relation to the additional concepts (e.g.

[19] Our translation.

dependence, need, autonomy, discrimination). First, ethical thinkers provide an inspiration though their discussions on emphasizing non-discriminating vision of human vulnerability understood as ontological to all human beings (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014).

Box 1: Social marketing versus Transformative Consumer Research

Among various social concerns of marketing scholars and practitioners, the concept of consumer vulnerability takes an important place along with other issues (e.g. gender, age, stigmatization, etc.) and it may be approached from *two perspectives*: 1) social marketing, and 2) transformative consumer research. These two perspectives are characterized by marketers' or researchers' engagement in and concerns with existing social problems influencing consumer practices and/or decreasing well-being. The characteristics of both are as follows:

(1) Social marketing, from its origin in the article of Kotler and Zaltman (1971), it has been developed so far and understood as "*the commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part*" (Andreasen 1994, 110). In the core of social marketing is the recognition of the need for consumer behaviour changes in order to support social good. The ethical dimension of these marketers' actions toward enabling the social good using these technologies is under scrutiny by wondering whether they really enable "good" ends (Andreasen 1994).

(2) Transformative Consumer Research (TCR) involves "*investigations that are framed by a fundamental problem or opportunity, and that strive to respect, uphold, and improve life in relation to the myriad conditions, demands, potentialities, and effects of consumption*" (Mick 2006). This research directly explores consumers attempting to "*improve well-being while maximizing social justice and the fair allocation of opportunities and resources*"(Mick et al. 2012, 7). TCR stream of research is oriented towards problem-solving aiming to develop practical wisdom for consumer and societal welfare. Adopting this practical orientation, TCR addresses the consumers, but also the policy makers, non-for-profit and consumer organizations, industry representatives and the media (Mick et al. 2012, page 18).

These two perspectives of research about consumer vulnerability can be distinguished from each other in the following:

- *Research focus*: to change consumer behaviour for individual and social welfare (social marketing) or to understand complex consumer behaviour to help in problem solving and well-being improvement (TCR perspective);
- *Research approach*: from commercial marketing perspective (social marketing) or from consumers themselves and their behaviour study (TCR perspective);
- *Societal aim*: public will for social change (social marketing) or improvement of individual or collective well-being (TCR perspective).

Consequently, TCR goes beyond the analysis and proposal of marketing techniques. Rather it places consumers in its research focus which transforms the research goals (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015).

Accepting that certain situations and intersubjective relations cause or exacerbate vulnerabilities, philosophers call attention to moral obligations towards those experiencing inequalities or vulnerabilities (Goodin 1985; Fineman 2008). Second, sociologists are directly guided by social problems (e.g. discrimination, stigmatisation, unemployment, poverty, social exclusion) and specific contexts focusing on the problem-solving, so that vulnerability is a practical or political concept helping policy interventions – a policy instrument (Thomas 2010)[20]. Embracing ethical and social perspectives marketing and consumer research scholars have attempted to grasp the complexity of consumer vulnerability and relevant moral obligations of marketers and policy makers.

The definition of consumer vulnerability and ethical foundations

The concept of consumer vulnerability is not novel in marketing and consumer research scholarship that comprises different approaches, conceptualisations, and typologies. However, several elements are important to underline in order to understand its usage in consumer research and its conceptualisation.

First, the concept of consumer vulnerability has been developed aiming to provide "innovative" conceptualization of consumers that experience any harm, exploitation or unequal participation in the consumer culture. This innovative approach relies on its opposition to the concept of disadvantaged consumers defined as:

> *"who are particularly handicapped in achieving adequate value for their consumer dollar in the urban marketplace because of their severely restricted incomes, their minority racial status, their old age, and/or their difficulties with the language." (Andreasen 1975, 6)*

The concept of disadvantaged consumers focuses on the individual characteristics of certain populations and on environmental, market structures that Gorge (2014) emphasizes in her research. Contemporary marketing and consumer research scholars relied on the concept of consumer vulnerability to avoid blaming or "stigmatizing" individuals' and group characteristics for their social and market position which (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005):

> *"[v]ulnerability is not the same thing as disadvantage because vulnerability occurs when barriers prohibit control and prevent freedom of choice, whereas disadvantage is ascribed to different consumer groups." (p 7)*

[20] We acknowledge that ethical considerations of human vulnerability may be public policy oriented as well as that sociologists provide an important theoretical insight into the concept of vulnerability. Also, both disciplines provide theoretical discussions on additional and vulnerability-related concepts such as dependency, care, inequalities, autonomy, discrimination, that we do not specifically develop in this research.

Second, making a decision about which term to use to depict the phenomenon is not a trivial endeavour. This is what is emphasized by Hamilton, Dunnett and Piacentini (2015). They reveal that simply shifting from "vulnerable consumer" towards "consumer vulnerability" changes researcher's focus from consumers' responsibilities and "being vulnerable" as a permanent characteristic towards the understanding of consumer vulnerability as socially constructed phenomenon through diverse interactions.

Third, the way marketing and consumer research scholars' approach and explain consumer vulnerability is equally important for academia, society and marketers and policy makers. Baker and Mason (2012) indicate this in the following way:

> *"How people construct an understanding of vulnerability is important because the conceptualization of vulnerability affects how and to whom social and economic resources are distributed. Conceptualizations of vulnerability also impact how society and individuals perceive consumer identities and respective positions or participation in the marketplace." (p. 543)*

Finally, ethical discussions on human vulnerability have been (in)directly inspiring for marketing and consumer research scholarship. Feminist ethnical thinkers (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014) call for a consideration of the following elements when analysing human vulnerability:

1 The concept of human vulnerability when discussing on whether the concept is applicable to all human beings or to those who are concerned as not ordinarily vulnerable (i.e. a distinction between ontological and relational vulnerability)[21];

2 Moral and political obligations towards human vulnerability by underlining the reason for their existence and explaining their nature (i.e. the reason stemming from vulnerability itself or from other related concepts such as harm, need, dependency, care, autonomy); and

3 Unwarranted paternalism through dangerous use of coercive discourse of vulnerable people and their protection by social institutions (i.e. which may provoke pathogenic vulnerability).

Ethical thinkers recognize that human vulnerability stems from three sources: (1) inherent (ontological), (2) situational (relational or context-specific), and (3) pathogenic character (type of situational) of vulnerability (Mackenzie 2014). Inherent vulnerability underlines ontological

[21] Philosophic literature is very rich on this issue comprising scholars that adopted the approach that vulnerability is *ontologically* human characteristic (as Martha Nussbaum) or the approach that vulnerability is dominantly *situational* or *relational* stemming from any harm or inequalities individuals experienced (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014). While the former is considered as too broad, the latter is criticized as being stigmatizing, discriminatory and establishing paternalistic policies and relating often to "*victimhood, deprivation, dependency, or pathology*" (Fineman 2008, 8).

human condition related to our body, needs, affections, social nature and dependence on other individuals. Some forms of these vulnerabilities are constant, while others vary in terms of age, gender, health, and disability (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014). When social justice is established (through diverse social structures) the inherent vulnerability might be alleviated so that "*the burden do[es] not fall disproportionately on the disadvantaged*" (Mackenzie 2014, 39).

Situational vulnerability indicates human vulnerability that is context-specific and caused by "*the personal, social, political, economic, or environmental situations of individuals or social groups*" (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014, 6). It may be enduring, but also short-term or intermittent. Inherent and situational vulnerabilities are interconnected (e.g. situational vulnerability can foster inherent vulnerability) and recall supporting vulnerable people underlining specific moral and political obligations (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014).

Finally, pathogenic vulnerability is complex and may arise from "*prejudice and abuse in interpersonal relationships and from social domination, oppression, or political violence*" (Mackenzie 2014, 39). Paradoxically it may occur when an intention to improve or alleviate vulnerability fails by intensifying existing and producing new forms of vulnerabilities (Mackenzie 2014). This source of vulnerability may be realized at the private, state level or as stemming from social policy failures.

Human vulnerability implies moral obligations and the need to provide social justice. Moral obligations may stem from the concept of human vulnerability itself calling for the state responsibilities towards people experiencing vulnerability and dependency (Fineman 2008). Alternatively, anyone who does the harm to individuals or groups is morally responsible towards them (Goodin 1985). Finally, while Goodin (1985) calls for the protection of vulnerable, Fineman (2008) advocates for the socially just society to encourage individuals' autonomy and their resistance.

Similarly, marketing and consumer research scholars advocate a protection of consumers harmed by societal forces or marketers' practices (Shultz and Holbrook 2009) and their resilience by calling for more business and policy interventions (Ozanne, Hill, and Wright 1998; Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg 2007; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). In marketing and consumer research scholarship, the conceptualization of consumers who experience vulnerabilities has evolved over time. From the very first discussion, these scholars were concerned by the inherent vulnerability and harm that is done to consumers by marketers' practices. Marketing scholars recognized very early that certain populations, due to their

characteristics (in the light of Adreasen's (1975) disadvantaged consumers), are more susceptible to different harms and incapacity to reach their well-being (Smith and Cooper-Martin 1997). Brenkert (1998) has made an improvement in going beyond the susceptibility to harm, due to group's characteristics. He recognizes the *relational* (stemming from harm) and *relative* (no equal level of vulnerability among all consumers) character of vulnerability of

> *"those individuals who are particularly susceptible to harm to their interests because the qualitatively different experiences and conditions that characterize them (and on account of which they may be harmed) derive from factors (largely) beyond their control." (Brenkert 1998, 13)*

Despite different conceptualisations of consumer vulnerability, mostly used definition in consumer research, and the one that has been enriched over time, is proposed by Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) referring to:

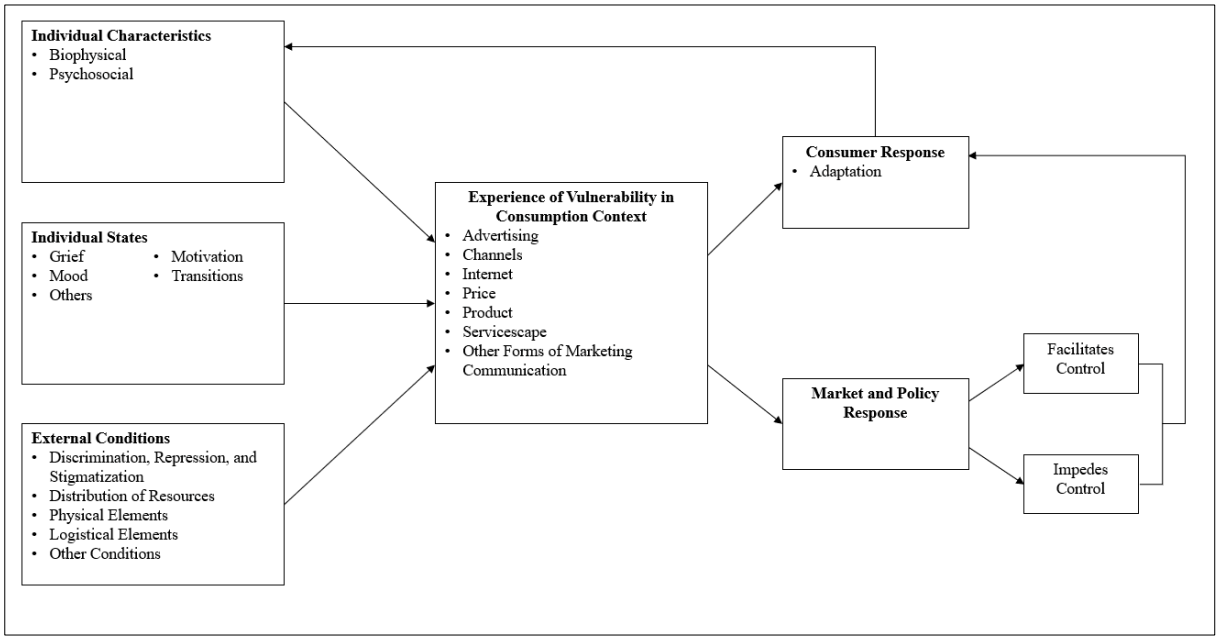
> *"a state of powerlessness that arises from an imbalance in marketplace interactions or from the consumption of marketing messages and products. It occurs when control is not in an individual's hands, creating a dependence on external factors (e.g., marketers) to create fairness in the marketplace. The actual vulnerability arises from the interaction of individual states, individual characteristics, and external conditions within a context where consumption goals may be hindered and the experience affects personal and social perceptions of self." (p. 134)*

The Figure 1 (page 44) is taken from Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) demonstrating a complexity of factors that influence consumer individual and temporary (state) experience of vulnerability: individual characteristics – biophysical (e.g. age, gender, disability, race or ethnicity) and psychosocial (e.g. self-concept, socio-economic status, acculturation, social isolation) – and individual states such as motivations and changes in personal or family lives[22]. Also, external conditions beyond the control of consumers affect greatly the experience of vulnerability such as societal problems, unequal distribution of resources, socio-political context, and many others. Consequently, a set of factors constitutes consumer vulnerability in different ways for different consumers and situations grasping its individual perspective and temporary experience (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). This conceptualization of consumer vulnerability emphasizes (1) a consumer experience of vulnerability manifested through the lack of personal control, (2) a consumer response to vulnerability by developing strategies to cope with it (e.g. searching for social support, behavioural strategies against

[22]Very early TCR scholars have recognized the populations of consumers that experiences or potentially may be much exposed to harm than other consumers. Among these are *vulnerable consumers like elderly and young* (children and adolescents) (Andreasen, Goldberg, and Sirgy 2012) or *at-risk populations* (e.g. impoverished, immigrants, children, disabled) of which one example are adolescents (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Pechmann et al. 2005).

stigmatization and reaching consumer resilience), and (3) consumer's vulnerability influences on individuals' identity and self-concept. This means that when a person lacks control over situation, s/he experience vulnerability in which s/he develops coping mechanisms to deal with the state of vulnerability by developing consumer resilience. Whether and how vulnerability will be alleviated or not depends on consumer responses (strategies) and marketers and policy makers actions towards diverse situations in which consumers experience vulnerabilities.

Figure 1: The concept of consumer vulnerability proposed by Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005)



Source: Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg (2005, 135)

Approaches to research of consumer vulnerability

There are two main approaches to consumer vulnerability within consumer research scholarship. One refers to temporary and state vulnerability, while the other reveals more systemic and persistent vulnerabilities for certain groups of consumers. In this subsection we briefly portray these approaches providing some examples.

Subjective, experiential and state approach to consumer vulnerability

Marketing and consumer research scholars that adopt a state, temporary or situational approach to consumer vulnerability acknowledge that consumer vulnerability is not a permanent state but

that consumers cope with it differently and find the way to control in some way life and consumption situations.

Individual experiences and meanings. The concept of Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005), presented above, indicates that consumer vulnerability is an experience of consumer's lack of control over a particular situation. Marketing scholars that adopt this approach are highly interested in "*how a particular individual subjectively experiences a particular situation as disempowering*" and threatening to his/her self-concept (Baker, Labarge, and Baker 2015, 19). These consumers tend to understand consumer vulnerabilities not as a status but as a condition that can be changed and, thus, vulnerability may likely be temporary or short-term. For example, Baker (2006) portrays how consumers with visual impairments deploy diverse strategies in order to overcome the lack of control they may have when doing shopping. Low literate consumers manage social stigma and experience differently and control consumption situations by deploying diverse coping strategies (Adkins and Ozanne 2005). Immigrant consumers experience more vulnerabilities due to the process of acculturation. Yet, they attempt to develop consumer adaptation to diverse behaviours while social stigmatization and discrimination towards these consumers may exacerbate their lives and consumption practices (Peñaloza 1995). Sometimes health problems, domestic violence or abuse and lack of significant social support may expose women to becoming homeless and thus experience vulnerabilities (Hill 1991).

Marketing scholars focus on individual experiences of vulnerabilities studying situations and meanings consumers ascribed to these, and strategies they adopt so that marketers and policy makers may understand them and undertake just actions to alleviate consumer vulnerabilities or to empower them. The implications – alleviate consumer vulnerabilities – should be enabled by marketers and policy makers actions. In contrast to these more temporary experiences of consumer vulnerability, some consumers – those with chronical diseases or disabilities – will experience permanent individual consumer vulnerabilities and when situation cannot be resolved their caretakers will develop secondary vulnerability too (Pavia and Mason 2014).

Shared or collectively experienced vulnerability. Consumer vulnerability is not only individual but shared experience where the lack of control over one's situation is embedded in a social context and shared with other members of the community (Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg 2007). In the communities ravaged by a tornado people experienced loss of human lives and material possessions and vulnerability through their threatened health and safety (Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg 2007). In such contexts, consumers individually and collectively act to

overcome shared vulnerability even though the outcomes depend on their individual, collective or business responses and policy. The implications of this approach are seen at individual and collective level where values, behaviours and even policies may be changed for the consumers' resilience (Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg 2007; Baker 2009). Baker, Labarge, and Baker (2015) recognize shared vulnerabilities among the low-income residents of trailer park communities, where they manifest diverse home consumption practices by applying various resources (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a).

Experienced vulnerabilities due to disabling environments: limited resources and access to goods and services. Marketing and consumer research scholars are also interested in how consumers experience certain social problems, environmental conditions or business practices that cause consumer vulnerabilities for some groups of consumers (Baker, Labarge, and Baker 2015). Indeed, consumer vulnerability (a state of powerlessness) of homeless people is exacerbated by a diverse structural problem (e.g. unemployment, lack of access to goods and services) and prevailing social stigma (Hill and Stamey 1990). Despite these environmental disruptions, the homeless as consumers, alternatively participate in the consumer society and access material possessions by scavenging and creating social bonds. Diverse health, family and economic situations combined together affect and exacerbate consumers vulnerabilities rendering them dependent on any external (social) or institutional support (Hill 1991; Hill and Stephens 1997). External conditions affect greatly consumers, especially those living in poor neighbourhoods with diverse structural, social and security issues. Focusing on such consumers, Hill (2001) recognizes, on the basis of his previous ethnographic investigations in poor communities, elements or aspects of the cycle of poverty these consumers experience: sliding into poverty and feeling helpless is something beyond poor consumers' control; awareness of the lowest point in their lives that they have reached as consumers (and deviant label or stigma); these consumers attempt to fight against stigma and to re-establish their self-esteem and to reach new values and practices; community is always of great support for these consumers in various ways (from material to emotional); and finally

> *"even with a full power of an impoverished community's resources supporting them, the opportunity for the poor to sustain themselves materially in the long run remains in question." (Hill 2001, 387)*

Consumer vulnerabilities may stem from the restricted consumption choices and inequalities in provisioning due to their residential areas. In the case of segregated black neighbourhoods consumers are forced to find the strategies in accessing diverse and lower-priced products (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004). This constraining spatial dynamic (restricted consumption

choices) coupled with the issues of racial ideologies make shopping practices for consumers of African-origin quite diverse but oriented towards white people areas due to lower prices these poor communities need. These consumers inequalities in accessing affordable products are caused by urban location revealing structural vulnerability of black populations from poor neighbourhoods (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005).

When consumers do not possess enough economic and cultural resources to enable themselves needed, if not vital, services, they experience more vulnerabilities than others. One such example are impoverished women in rural Appalachian area that due to the lack of economic resources and the organization of health services in the area struggled to access health care and be rightly treated in order to meet their needs (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999).

Finally, an extreme example of disrupted environment – deprived, poor, violent neighbourhoods – that affects consumer vulnerabilities and their behaviours is a study on young delinquents (Ozanne, Hill, and Wright 1998). By undertaking illegal acts (e.g. stealing cars, dealing drugs) young boys attempt to reach material goods, reach some pleasures missing in their violent environment and to establish some control and respect in the society. Thus, their stolen objects reflect cultural resistance to dominant culture and mainstream society.

Resource-control model of vulnerability. Based on the lack of accessibility and availability of goods and services important for consumers' lives and relying on previous research of consumers scarcity, a combination of scarcity of products and resources/capital (Hamilton et al. 2019) and consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008) is developed to reconceptualize consumer vulnerability (Hill and Sharma 2020). Besides these elements, important for consumers who experience vulnerability, be it temporary or permanent, is a loss of control over the situation or life. In that sense, Hill and Sharma (2020) understand consumer vulnerability through the analysis of *consumers resources* and *controls* over consumption situations – both explained through individual (diverse assets and capabilities such as, for example, financial resources or education), interpersonal (e.g. social support and diverse social interactions) and structural (e.g. business practices, policy interventions, public institutions) resources and controls. This resource-control conceptualisation of consumer vulnerability may portray any individual's vulnerabilities appearing in any life stage and market situations, but when certain individuals or populations are exposed to consumer (in)adequacy (see explanation below) than vulnerabilities are more systemic and persistent. According to Hill and Sharma (2020) consumer vulnerability is never constant but may change over time and space, it depends on

combinations of consumers resources and controls over vulnerability related to different life and consumption situations.

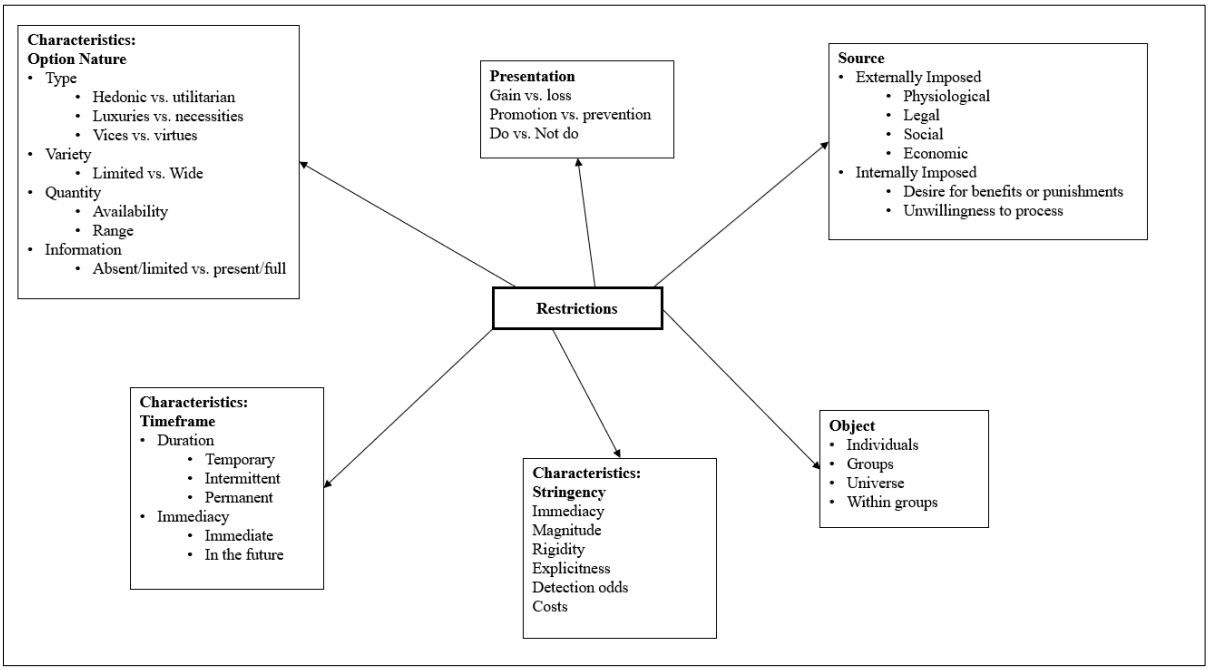
When consumers have limited resources, especially economic, they experience social and economic inequalities in the society and market. In searching for a social justice a lot of discussion has been devoted to how economic resources are distributed within the society (Rawls 1971). Indeed, John Rawls (1971) takes all the members of the society as equal actors in a society, emphasizing that the individuals with greater opportunities should provide more compensation for those in need. However, not much is explained about the inequalities stemming from inequities out of one person's control and what and when entitlements are obtained (Hill 2005).

Consumption restrictions. The concept of consumer vulnerability is closely related to consumption restrictions caused by different factors: limited economic resources (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hamilton 2009), disabilities (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Baker 2006) are among many of them. Thus, consumers that experience vulnerabilities face a choice restriction understood "*as any internally or externally imposed boundary that limits and/or confines choices*" (Botti et al. 2008, 185). Looking at the Figure 2 (page 49) one might find a complexity of sources, duration, characteristics in nature and stringency, presentation and objects of the restrictions. Also, how restrictions affect consumers and their responses (emotional, cognitive and behavioural) depends on many factors, especially on the context in which restrictions appear and how these influence consumers goals in terms of stringency and duration (Botti et al. 2008).

The concept of restrictions portrays more a consumer behaviour of impoverished consumers through limited access to goods and services. Hill and Stephens (1997) propose a three-dimensional model of impoverished consumer behaviour based on the following: (1) exchange restrictions, (2) consequences of restrictions, and (3) coping strategies in dealing with restrictions (Figure 3, page 50). Here, exchange restrictions (1) are caused mainly by limited availability of goods and services and low-income sources that affect consumer choices. In the case of mothers living with their children and receiving benefits, the consumption choices are extremely restricted (e.g. difficulties in celebrating children's' birthdays). Consumers' restrictions result in (2) negative consequences (emotional) for these consumers leading them generally to isolation in poor communities and thus alienation from middle-class and consumer culture (Hill and Stephens 1997). Many of these consumers feel the loss of control over their lives and consumption practices. Yet, not all low-income consumers are totally unhappy since

many of them "*have never had the taste of money and its associated consumption and thus are happy with their lives*" (Hamilton and Catterall 2005, 629). Finally, consumers (3) cope with these restrictions through diverse strategies ranging from emotional to behavioural where the latter may comprise some legal and illegal practices (Hill and Stephens 1997).

Figure 2: Types of consumption choice restrictions



Source: Botti et al. (2008, 186)

Consumption inadequacy. Hill (2005) questions monetary entitlements proposed by Rawls (1971) by advocating for the concept of consumer adequacy in order to understand and provide a relevant support to impoverished consumers (Hill 2005). He defines consumer adequacy as "*the continuous availability of a bundle of goods and services that are necessary for survival as well as the attainment of basic human dignity and self-determination*" (Hill 2005, 217). For Hill (2005) "*food, shelter, clothing, and health care*" are equally important as "*education, training, and job opportunities*" (p 217). This provides much insight into what may be the essential entitlements impoverished consumers would need. Hill (2005) rightly points out that *"[t]he nature of these offerings should vary from culture to culture based on customs, tastes, available resources, and status markers*" (p 217). Through all his works Hill (Hill 1991, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) calls for moral obligations not only of marketers, but of a society in that *"[a]ll persons should have reasonable access to those items that sustain healthful living as well as goods and services that support a better future*" (Hill 2005, 217). Disrupted environmental and

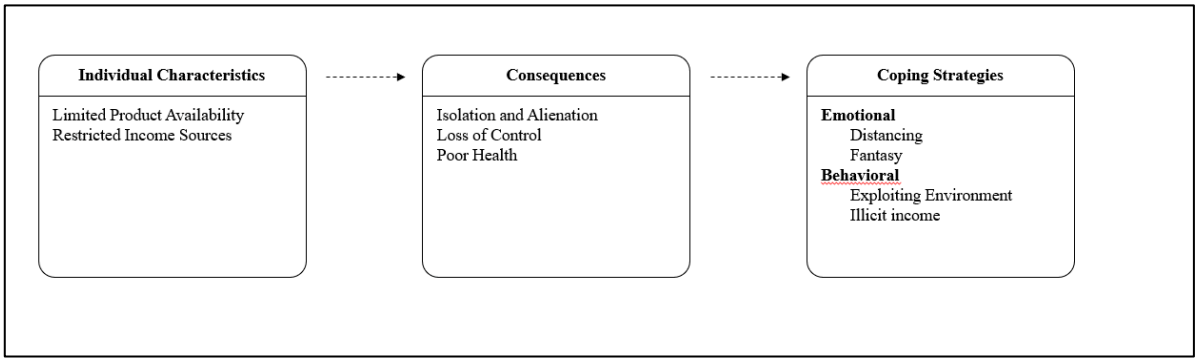
societal conditions affect impoverished consumers' lives and their access to goods and services. Consequently, more influence is provided from the love and care of others in order to reach consumption adequacy. Hill (2002a) explains this influence on consumption adequacy of impoverished at individual/family and community/societal level:

> *"At the first level, focal characters or their families are unable to acquire or lose access to needed goods and services. At the second level, the entire community or society and its supporting infrastructure are diminished significantly, contracting the availability of products and consumption options. In both cases, the consumer quality of life of affected individuals is decreased." (p. 27)*

Loving support may be provided to impoverished consumers from within the community or from the altruistic individuals outside the communities helping the impoverished consumers in alleviating consumption inadequacy.

Finally, the approach to consumer vulnerability that advocates more environmental descriptions and social and market inequalities, stemming from structural forces, leads towards macro perspective of consumer vulnerabilities.

Figure 3: Consumption restrictions in the basis of impoverished consumer practices



Source: Hill and Stephens (1997, 37)

Systemic, macro and status approach to consumer vulnerability

Another approach to consumer vulnerability emphasizes effects of different social processes that cause more systemic and persistent consumer vulnerabilities. Marketing and consumer research scholars adopting this approach do not exclude individual, situational, and temporary consumer vulnerability. Yet, they point to macro forces (marketing practices too) that contribute to consumer vulnerabilities (Dunnett, Hamilton, and Piacentini 2016).

Integrative model of consumer vulnerability (state- and class-based intertwined). The proposed model of state-based or idiosyncratic vulnerability by Baker and colleagues (2005) received some criticism and extensions of micromarketing perspective. Macro-marketers and policy makers are more oriented towards consumer vulnerability or the populations that experience vulnerabilities to a greater extent in the society and the market, than on temporary individual experiences (Commuri and Ekici 2008). Within this inclusive view of consumer vulnerability, state-based vulnerability (idiosyncratic and temporary) is combined with class or status- based vulnerability where certain groups of consumers are more likely to experience vulnerabilities on the market than others (Commuri and Ekici 2008).

Baker and colleagues (2005) also recognize a combination of individual characteristics/states and external factors that affect consumer vulnerability but within the idiosyncratic experience. Commuri and Ekici (2008) commend

> *"that if a characteristic or an external condition persists across many individuals (as is often the case), then that is the reason enough for macro marketers and policy makers to adopt a respective class-based view of consumer vulnerability." (p. 186)*

For example, the impoverished may not have access to resources but it does not mean that all of them are and in the equal way vulnerable to consumption. This may be dependent on the type of product or service (e.g. cultural events, electronic devices, organic food, etc.), education, age, individual state (e.g. divorce, death of close persons, etc.), etc. Moreover, Commuri and Ekici (2008) admit that if the internal (e.g. education, income, gender, etc.) and external factors (e.g. access to resources, discrimination and exclusion, etc.) prevail among many individuals, there is a reason to include a class-based view of vulnerability into vulnerability explanation. Their concern with the implementation only of the state-based view of vulnerability is related to the reduced role of policy as merely responsive but not preventive as should be expected for the welfare of consumers (Commuri and Ekici 2008). Consequently, the integrative model of consumer vulnerability comprises the similarities among consumers experiencing vulnerabilities in terms of systemic vulnerability (i.e. the one related to characteristics shared within a certain class or a group of consumers such as among impoverished or immigrants) and differences in terms of their transient vulnerabilities (i.e. the one that relates to unique experiences of consumer vulnerability) (Commuri and Ekici 2008).

Systemic and capital-related vulnerability. Other marketing scholars propose to understand macro perspective of consumer vulnerability by combining cultural capital (knowledge about benefits) and economic capital (access to resources) based on the Pierre Bourdieu' class-based

analysis of distinctions (Shultz and Holbrook 2009). Combining these resources, a typology of consumer vulnerability is proposed ranging from doubly vulnerable (economically and culturally) to invulnerable.

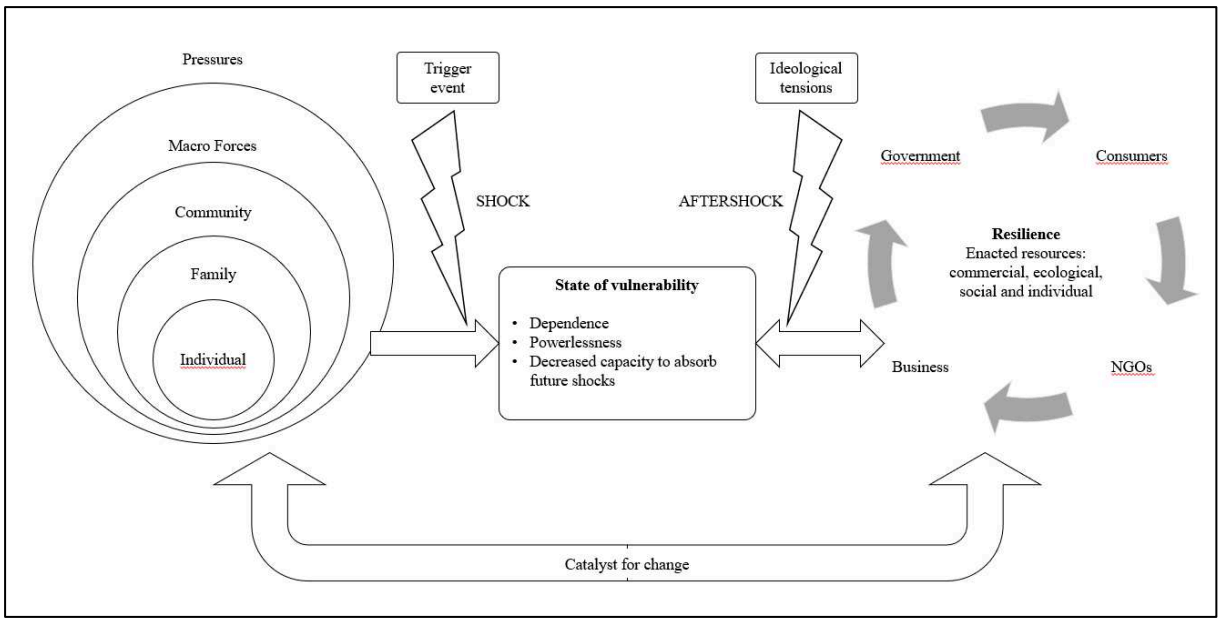
Consumer vulnerability as a process. Based on these two approaches (individual or situational and shared or community-related) Baker and Mason (2012) propose to approach vulnerability as a process focusing on its transformative or potential social catalyst character (Figure 4, page 53). Understanding vulnerability as a process:

> *"embraces a dynamic, systemic perspective by recognizing the complex pressures leading to vulnerability, the trigger events in the marketplace and marketspace that can shock one into a state of vulnerability, the actual state of vulnerability, the socially situated aftershocks that can exacerbate vulnerability, and the resulting responses by numerous stakeholders that can lead to greater resiliency and ultimately create the catalyst for social change."(Baker and Mason 2012, 547–48)*

In opposition to conceptualisation of Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) of consumer vulnerability within a situation, Baker and Mason (2012) provide its holistic perspective where the state of vulnerability is analysed through varied factors, shocks (e.g. limited access to services or consumption experience, situations of natural disasters, or any other shock resulting in the lack of consumers' controls) and consumer resilient behaviour to transform their environment in the way to reduce negative impacts and varied stakeholders need to co-operate mutually (e.g. government, business, NGOs, consumers) to enhance consumer resiliency (Baker and Mason 2012). Reaching consumer resiliency may not be easy as there may be ideological tensions (aftershocks) such as between stakeholders' groups and individuals (Baker and Mason 2012). Finally, the process model of vulnerability refers to its macro perspective to facilitate alleviation of individual and collective vulnerabilities.

The proposed model is an attempt to help researchers and policy makers to understand the process of emergence of consumer vulnerability. That is, it enables an understanding of multiple pressures, especially those "*social systems (e.g., institutions, norms, social stratification) exert on consumers*", and "*can play a transformative role toward building consumer resiliency*" (Baker and Mason 2012, 559). Indeed, marketing and consumer researchers need to consider the characteristics and influences of social system in which consumer vulnerability appears.

Figure 4: The transformative process model of consumer vulnerability and resilience by Baker and Mason (2012)



Source: Baker and Mason (2012, 548)

Spatial vulnerability. In line with macro perspectives of consumer vulnerability that stems from social forces and causes systemic and persistent vulnerabilities, Saatcioglu and Corus (2016) commend a conceptualisation of spatial vulnerability enabling the understanding of the relationship between environmental (spatial) and institutionalized dynamics that affect systemic, persistent vulnerabilities (e.g. Commuri and Ekici 2008) which are in contrast to any short-term spatial vulnerability (Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg 2007; Baker 2009). Their conceptualization relies on critical spatial theories (Henry Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Edward Soja among others) emphasizing that socio-spatial inequalities of populations living in certain social spaces are expressed through diverse temporary or systemic vulnerabilities, and diverse macro forces that lead towards social and market exclusion of these populations. Approaching consumer vulnerabilities from spatial perspective enables researchers, marketers, and policy makers to (1) understand and explain spatial inequalities and oppression marginalized populations experience, (2) understand social and marketplace exclusion and inclusion, and (3) understand marginalized social spaces as spaces of consumers' opportunities, agency and creativity (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016)[23]. These authors by analysing constraining and empowering spatial dynamics acknowledge that despite

[23] See Section One on marginalized spaces and critical spatial analysis.

marginalization (spatial or economic) and social and market exclusion of consumer, social spaces could embrace consumers' "*resistance, agency and creativity to transform the lived experience of vulnerability*" (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016, 231).

Certain populations of consumers may experience multiple vulnerabilities due to low-income, unemployment, lower acculturation, experiences social stigma and exclusion and many other factors (Hill and Stamey 1990; Peñaloza 1995). Saatcioglu and Corus (2016) relate this to a stigma that is assigned to these populations exacerbating their vulnerabilities. These consumers navigate diverse spaces (living, public or market spaces) where their vulnerabilities may come to the fore.

> *"Space becomes a means of control and marginalisation through commercialisation, segmentation and homogenisation for disadvantaged populations who experience group-based (e.g. class- based, race-based and ethnicity-based) vulnerability." (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016, 232–33)*

According to these authors *spatial vulnerability* is defined as

> *"a state of disadvantage and powerlessness that arises due to the tension and conflict that exists across multiple material, socio-spatial and ideological interests over social space." (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016, 234)*

They discuss how spatial vulnerability may arise in spaces of consumption, in a public space understood as a shared good and in digital space. In public and market spaces consumers' vulnerability may be even more expressed (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

Systemic vulnerabilities and stigma. Social stigma is not the same as consumer vulnerability and not all consumers who are stigmatized would be vulnerable (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). Yet, stigmatization exacerbates the lives and self-esteem of certain consumers such are disabled, low-literate or low-income (Hill 2001; Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Hamilton and Catterall 2005; Pavia and Mason 2014). Social stigma arises from the stereotypes that exist in each society and that are associated to discrediting attributes (Goffman 1963). These characteristics are diverse and so are different stigma: one is related to physical characteristics, other is related to the individual character or social status (e.g. mental disorder, homosexuality or unemployment), and finally, there is a tribal stigma, associated to social characteristics such as race, ethnicity or religion (Goffman 1963). Accordingly, individuals, due to their attributes, do not match what is understood as social normality. Whenever individual characteristics (e.g. low literacy, lower acculturation, disabilities, homelessness, low-income) that cause consumer vulnerability pervade others (or a group) with similar characteristics, a stigma would be associated to them (Peñaloza 1995; Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Pavia and Mason 2014). For

example, Hill and Stamey (1990) depict how nomadic lifestyle and inability of the homeless people to accumulate economic resources associated to the label "homeless" render them stigmatized and thus isolated from the rest of the society or what is a mainstream. Indeed, they do not reflect the norm of the society. In the contemporary consumer society, globally, low-income consumers experience relative poverty due to the lack of resources to assure them goods and services that would enable them adequate or social normality such as the ability to consume (Hamilton and Catterall 2005). Low-income consumers experience stigma due to their inability to adapt and to follow the norms of contemporary consumer society (Hamilton 2009) or may fight against 'deviant label' they may have in a society (Hill 2001). Finally, these and many other cases reflect what Baker and colleagues (2005) emphasize: stigmatization exacerbates the lives and consumption practices of consumers that experience vulnerabilities. That is, dealing with the loss of control temporarily or permanently, they struggle with the stigma that is associated with them.

Systemic vulnerabilities and social exclusion. Marketing and consumer research scholars attempting to promote consumer well-being may be directly or indirectly interested in how individuals'/consumers may be or actually are excluded from the society and the market and what are consumers' and institutions' actions towards its eradication (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015). First, the concept of exclusion is quite complex and ambiguous to be applied directly in research (Roy 1995), yet it attracts the attentions of sociologists and marketing scholars, and policy makers interested in structural social and market changes affecting consumers' lives. Also, social exclusion always implies dualism (inclusion – exclusion) from the society or marketplace and some social ideal in the terms of economic conditions, social relations, consumption and so on (Roy 1995; 2008). Here lies the interest of marketing and consumer research scholars in how to alleviate or eradicate social and marketplace exclusion and how consumers act in order to avoid it as an extreme stage of a social process (Roy 1995). The analysis of consumer vulnerability in relation to social or marketplace exclusion finds its usefulness whenever the elements of social exclusion come to the fore in consumers' lives: 1) an experience of distance or separation (Hill and Stephens 1997), 2) a dependence on institutions or other support (for food, shelter, medical service, information, etc.) (Hill 1991; Adkins and Ozanne 2005), 3) a suffering (e.g. of cold and insecurity when they are homeless; feeling shame or humiliation in terms of being poor, of certain race or ethnicity, unemployed; etc.) (Hamilton 2009), 4) an experience of weakening of the social relations (because of deterioration of a person's social position); and *5)* an impossibility to act in self-realisation (Roy 2008).

Second, consumer vulnerability and social and marketplace exclusions are very closely related due to certain persistent and systemic vulnerabilities such as poverty (Hill and Stephens 1997; Hamilton 2009).

> *"Studying the complexity of socio-spatial dynamics and power relations within the marketplace is important for understanding consumer exclusion and vulnerability." (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016, 233)*

Marketing scholars underline that the lack of material resources exclude consumers from the marketplace, yet consumers' exclusion is rather a more complex phenomenon comprising social deprivation and experiencing stigma (Hamilton 2009). For low-income consumers, not only material but also social deprivation – not being able to take part in diverse social activities or customs – affect their social and market exclusion (Hamilton 2009). In the French society attaining well-being is not merely related to affluence but has a much broader meaning of life satisfaction (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015).

Also, to critically understand how social spaces affect consumers' vulnerability enables marketing and consumer research scholars to portray social exclusion and how marginalized spaces may become spaces of consumer agency (Richardson and Le Grand 2002; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Critical spatial theory underlines the social and marketplace exclusion and human/consumer agency of great interest in marketing scholars aiming to tackle public policies. Referring to previous research, Richardson and Le Grand (2002) emphasize that social exclusion comprises multiple deprivations[24] (not only material deprivation), its relative and not absolute character, the role of human agency[25], and dynamic aspect (impact on the future and life opportunities). Consequently, social exclusion is defined as according to Burchardt, Le Grand, and Piachaud (1999) used in Richardson and Le Grand (2002):

> *"'An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society (b) he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate, but is prevented from doing so by factors beyond his or her control'. Conditions (a) and (b) imply relativity; condition (c) emphasizes the importance of agency." (p. 498)*

[24] See Townsend (1987)

[25] "*The issue of agency arises because exclusion is an act, implying that there are agents who undertake that act. These could be people experiencing aspects of exclusion themselves, in which case the exclusion is voluntary; or, more likely, they are members of the parent society itself, in which case the exclusion is involuntary*." (Richardson and Le Grand 2002, 498)

In Richardson and Le Grand (2002) research the starting point was individuals' social exclusion while they find it relevant to take into consideration the neighbourhood and the spatial perspective in order to understand social exclusion.

Challenging social exclusion in the French context. The issue of social exclusion in the French context has been much brought out by French sociologists such as Robert Castel and Serge Paugam who has been interested in the concept of the new poor in the French society. Yet, social exclusion as Roy (1995) illustrates may comprise diverse groups of individuals due to their individual characteristics and life situations. French urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. *zones urbaines senibles*) as deprived and spaces of insecurity inspired François Dubet (Dubet 2008) to portray the lives of young suburban population (mainly of immigrant origin) living in difficulty that leads them towards a social exclusion.

Besides the complexity of individuals and life trajectories explaining social exclusion, we focus on how certain consumers may be excluded or already are excluded from the access to consumption or cultural experiences. While access to cultural institutions, especially museums and cultural heritage, has been democratized or made financially accessible for many people in France over time (Bourgeon-Renault et al. 2009). Despite the importance of financial accessibility to culture in order to enable an intellectual well-being (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015), recent studies have shown that free entrance to museums needs more efficiency in their communication and information sharing among populations less sensible to cultural consumption within such institutions (Le Gall-Ely et al. 2007; Bourgeon-Renault et al. 2009). Finally, the French society is characterized by a high number of foreign origin populations (Béji-Bécheur, Herbert, and Özçağlar-Toulouse 2011). In such context French marketing and consumer researchers have shown an interest in doing a research on consumption practices of those experiencing lower acculturation in order to provide advice for marketers (Benabdallah and Jolibert 2013). Others have underlined the importance of ethnicity as a social category very sensitive in the French society and the relevance of academic research in understanding social construction of ethnicities and their influences on consumer identities in relation to the dominant French culture (Özçağlar-Toulouse et al. 2009; Béji-Bécheur, Herbert, and Özçağlar-Toulouse 2011).

In sum, consumer vulnerability is explained and studied from a different perspective to explain individual experiences or macro constraints that consumers face in their lives and specific situations or the context of consumption. Also, each concept emphasizes a different perspective depending on social and market practical issues and researchers' interests. Consumer

vulnerability is inseparable from the concepts of dependence, stigma, social and market exclusion, coping strategies, and resilience. Each of these concepts reflects social and market issues that affects studied groups of consumers. Presented approaches from this subsection are summarized in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3:Theoretical approaches to consumer vulnerability and related concepts

Authors	Definition of vulnerability	Criteria of definition	Context	Approach	Related concepts
Smith and Cooper-Martin (1997)	"... we define vulnerable consumers as those who are more susceptible to economic, physical, or psychological harm in, or as a result of, economic transactions because of characteristics that limit their ability to maximize their utility and well- being." (p. 4)	Individual characteristics	Target marketing actions	Characteristics-based	Harm
Brenkert (1998)	"… we may initially characterize this especially vulnerable group as being constituted by those individuals who are particularly susceptible to harm to their interests because the qualitatively different experiences and conditions that characterize them (and on account of which they may be harmed) derive from factors (largely) beyond their control" (p. 13)	Experiences and conditions of consumers		Relational (caused by harm); relative (differs among consumers)	Harm
Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg (2005)	"a state of powerlessness that arises from an imbalance in marketplace interactions or from the consumption of marketing messages and products. It occurs when control is not in an individual's hands, creating a dependence on external factors (e.g., marketers) to create fairness in the marketplace. The actual vulnerability arises from the interaction of individual states, individual characteristics, and external conditions within a context where consumption goals may be hindered, and the experience affects personal and social perceptions of self" (p. 134)	Combination of individual characteristics, states, and external conditions; consumers' loss of control and power	Diverse situations	State-based: situational, individual, experiential, temporary or permanent	Dependence; coping strategies
Baker, Hunt, and Rittenburg (2007); Baker (2009)		Shared individual states and external conditions	Tornado devastation	State-based: shared individual experiences	Liminality; resilience
Commuri and Ekici (2008)		Group shared characteristics and individually different experiences of vulnerability		Macro, systemic, integrative	

Table 4: Theoretical approaches to consumer vulnerability and related concepts (continued)

Authors	Definition of vulnerability	Criteria of definition	Context	Approach	Related concepts
Shultz and Holbrook (2009)		Economic and cultural capital		Macro, systemic, class	Bourieu's capital
Baker and Mason (2012)	"…embraces a dynamic, systemic perspective by recognizing the complex pressures leading to vulnerability, the trigger events in the marketplace and marketspace that can shock one into a state of vulnerability, the actual state of vulnerability, the socially situated aftershocks that can exacerbate vulnerability, and the resulting responses by numerous stakeholders that can lead to greater resiliency and ultimately create the catalyst for social change"(p. 547–48).	Improved Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg (2005): trigger events, social contexts and stakeholders' responses		Towards macro; holistic	Resilience
Saatcioglu and Corus (2016)	"… a state of disadvantage and powerlessness that arises due to the tension and conflict that exists across multiple material, socio-spatial and ideological interests over social space" (p. 234).	Social, material, structural constraints of social space	Marginalized, segregating spaces	Spatial, towards macro	Foucault's heterotopias; dependence; coping strategies; stigma; social and market exclusion
Hill and Stamey (1990); Hill (1991, 1997, 2002a, 2005); Hill and Sharma (2020)		Combination of individual characteristics, states and external (structural) conditions; lack of access to goods and services	Homeless; impoverished consumers	Micro and macro combined; resource-based; environmental	Coping strategies; dependence; social stigma; consumption restrictions; consumption inadequacy

Subsection 2: Managing consumer vulnerability

Consumer research scholarship on consumer vulnerability, be it temporary or systemic, has shown consumers' engagement in dealing with individual characteristics or environmental conditions that influence their lack of control in consumption situations or in relation to their unequal position on the market. Through active engagement consumers attempt to re-establish their loss of power as consumers. For many consumer research scholars, an analysis of consumer vulnerability needs to embrace consumers' positive adaptation and resilience to adversaries or transformation (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Baker 2009; Baker and Mason 2012). Consumers experiencing vulnerabilities, regardless of factors that caused them, are all but passive agents (Hill 1991; Hutton 2016). In this subsection we present coping strategies consumers apply in dealing with diverse vulnerabilities.

Consumer copying strategies: positive adaptations to environmental influences

The concept of *coping* has originally been developed in clinical psychology in attempting to understand how individuals respond to situations when they are exposed to stress or adversary. The coping is understood as a process and individuals' efforts in managing and adapting to environmental structures (Lazarus and Folkman 1984) and defined as:

> *"constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person." (Lazarus and Folkman 1984, 141)*

Consumer research scholars analysing situation and systemic factors influencing consumer vulnerability have been interested in how consumers deal with situational and structural constraints stemming from market dynamics and societal changes. Examples of Hill and Stamey (1990) on homeless consumers provide an insight into how these people reach goods needed for daily lives (e.g. by scavenging) or alternatively earn some money from recycled metal. Also, becoming homeless is structural (e.g. unemployment, rising prices of housing) and individual/family issue (e.g. violent or abusive environment, no family support) (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hill 1991). Women, become homeless due to multiple factors, opt for having temporary home in shelters (Hill 1991). While some problem-solving strategies are long-term

(as in the case of homeless outside institutional shelters) in the case of women these may be short-term as soon as they do not find more sustainable solution.

Positive adaptation through individual strategies and social support

These consumers are resourceful in the way they use *the available resources* such as money, social support, or skills, or they rely on their "*competencies for finding resources that are needed but not available*" (Lazarus and Folkman 1984, 158). Indeed, consumers experiencing vulnerability or low-income consumers can demonstrate agency in marketplace and are "*more likely than affluent consumers to use products and services in innovative and creative ways in efforts to save money*" (Hamilton and Catterall 2005, 632). Whenever individual characteristics or external conditions lead consumers to the situations of vulnerability, they attempt to cope with these situations by applying *emotional, cognitive* or *behavioural strategies* (Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). Marketing and consumer researchers studies have shown that consumers are able to cope with their vulnerabilities and be very resilient (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). However, this needs to be nuanced in terms of the difficulties caused by structural and societal conditions (macro forces) that may have needed more marketers and public policy interventions (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Shultz and Holbrook 2009; Baker and Mason 2012).

Individual coping strategies

Behavioural coping strategies. These strategies are applied by consumers in order to solve the problems in life or consumption situation and looking for the alternatives that fit their needs in the best way (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Indeed, the experience of consumer vulnerability, due to individual characteristics or external conditions places consumers in the state of powerlessness. Consumers try to re-establish control or to *empower* themselves during interactions at the market. For example, Adkins and Ozanne (2005) indicate how low literate consumers attempt to develop different skills in managing stigma associated to their illiteracy and in coping in consumption situations. Also, depending on their personal situations, consumers may seek a social support in navigating service spaces.

The homeless try actively to come into possessions of important material things, foods, provide themselves with shelters but also to alternatively reach some income by recycling metal (Hill and Stamey 1990). Impoverished consumers that receive benefits in order to complete their

income and provide a financial support for consumption for themselves, cope differently with economic difficulties – from saving money to engaging in some extra, informal job concerned as illegal (Hill and Stephens 1997). Other low-income consumers actively and creatively try to reduce their expenditures looking for cheaper alternatives and relying on the second-hand market (Hamilton 2009).

The recent work of Hill and Sharma (2020) offers a different perspective of copying strategies of consumers dealing with vulnerabilities stemming from scarcity: *non-defensive* and *defensive coping strategies* emphasizing how consumers attempt to 'increase' their resources and establish a more personal control over their consumption situations. Non-defensive coping strategies include *giving-up* and *giving-in* strategies. The former are typical for consumers who accept their status without seeking access to available goods or opportunities that authors illustrate through homesteaders within the research of Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013a) that accept their life situation in a poor trailer park. Giving-up coping strategies can be found among consumers that accept consumer restrictions and acts within these in order to establish much control over situations which authors (Hill and Sharma 2020) illustrate through the examples of low-literate consumers analysed in Adkins and Ozanne (2005). In contrast to these, there are *defensive coping strategies* where consumers *transcend* or act to challenge their restrictions and to purposefully establish control as in Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2007) (Hill and Sharma, 2020). Other defensive strategy is *rebelling,* which is well recognized among young delinquents living in violent environments, having limited resources and being unable to establish control over their lives and consumption practices. Final defensive strategy it recognizes is the *creation of new structures* where consumers challenge restrictions and make the most of contexts by relying on diverse resources and controls in order to enable themselves access to goods/services and reach opportunities (Hill and Sharma 2020).

Emotional coping strategies. Emotional strategies may or may not appear simultaneously to behavioural strategies. However, these strategies are important in that they help consumers to overcome stressful and situations where they have no or little control. Sometimes, individuals may act in the way to diminish emotional stress through avoidance, distancing, positive comparison or other strategies, or accepting the objecting reality but changing the meaning of it by focusing on something else (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). For some consumers, as for the homeless women (Hill 1991), to cope with life difficulties and previous experiences leading them to losing homes, material possessions and social (family) support means to employ certain *emotional strategies* (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Their emotional coping strategies are

comprised of diverse *fantasies* about home they would like to have. While these emotional strategies enable consumers to cope with reality by 'escaping' it, other consumers emotionally deal with life difficulties. For example, Hill and Stamey's (1990) example of hidden homeless *distancing* is an emotional strategy enabling these consumers to avoid dependence on institutions or to differentiate themselves (welfare mothers) from other women receiving welfare (Hill and Stephens 1997). While in the case of the homeless, distancing from institutions was possible, in the case of welfare mothers this was not possible because they have all been dependent on the welfare.

Social support and relational coping strategies

While the traditional concept of coping emphasizes individual strategies in reaction to environmental factors (Lazarus and Folkman 1984), marketing and consumer researchers have recognized that consumers rely on social support too in attempting to re-empower themselves and re-established their control over consumption situations or structural/environmental problems. Social support refers to help, and solidarity provided by the people sharing the same or similar life and consumption difficulties (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hutton 2016) or from friends, family or relatives (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 2019).

Whenever consumers cannot access goods and services due to their individual (economic or other) incapacities or the institutional support is lacking, they rely on the solidarity of others by seeking moral, material or other help from the people close to them. *Social support* is very important for the impoverished or homeless consumers that enables them to access goods through the process of sharing material possessions and helping each other (Hill and Stephens 1997), and to re-establish their self-esteem through social contacts with the members of the community (Hill and Stamey 1990). Indeed, their social relations may range from more practical, in order to help each other to provide some goods needed to survive, to those filled with communication and caring. Trust and generosity pervade all social relations. Consumers sharing similar lifestyle and consumption difficulties are able to share their emotions, stress and, thus, to *distance* themselves from those depending on shelters and institutional abuse in order to maintain self-esteem (Hill and Stamey 1990).

Among the impoverished consumers social relations are very important ranging from family and friends to diverse members or organisations (churches and associations) from the community that help them access diverse material goods or provide comfort within life struggles (Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999). Similarly, homeless women during their temporary stay

in a catholic shelter for women, may find material and emotional support in that they belong somewhere and are not left in the street (Hill 1991).

Hutton (2016) recognizes that the importance of the process of sharing of stress related to poverty, among low-income consumers, is not so much the issue of individual coping strategies but the issue of the process of sharing and caring of others. Her study underlines considerations that the individualistic approach to coping strategies is not suitable in understanding coping strategies in the context of persistent poverty. In such a context, as she demonstrates with low-income women's consumption experiences, *relational coping* or care of others is one of pathways toward resilience. These female consumers communicate openly about their problems with others trying to find the solutions and express empathy towards others that experience similar vulnerability (Hutton 2016).

From spatial vulnerability perspective all these copying strategies (individual or relational) that consumers deploy in order to deal with structural, environmental or contextual constraints (e.g. of low-income or homeless communities; of those that experience natural disasters) reflect that the social space embraces oppression, marginalization but also empowerment (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). These authors adopting critical spatial theory acknowledge that users and consumers of diverse social spaces are capable of using and navigating spaces in the way that these spaces *become* more *empowering* and *spaces of their agency* (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). On the other hand, current consumer research literature analyses more how affluent consumers spatially organize their consumption practices, resistance or emancipation from the market (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012). Saatcioglu and Corus (2016) have recognized the example of community toy libraries (Ozanne and Ozanne 2011) as one of rare examples where consumers are able to alternatively reach goods but also to be organized around alternative values of sharing and alternative consumption ideologies.

In sum, sources and experiences of consumer vulnerability are diverse, and their outcomes and duration vary amongst the groups of consumers. While state-based vulnerability shows a direct tendency to be overcome, those stemming from disabling environments and societal and structural changes permanently affect consumers' practices, their control over consumption and life situations, their consumption experiences and market inclusion.

Consumers who experience vulnerabilities develop coping strategies to deal with them. While many strategies may help consumers to emotionally overcome stress and difficult situations, others are problem-solving oriented. The latter – behavioural strategies – are multiple and important for consumers' survival or resilience. What interest marketing and consumer

researchers is how these strategies are helpful in enabling resistance, positive adaptation or transformation of consumers. That is, a variety of these strategies, and especially what Hill and Sharma (2020) underline as a combination of resources and controls over life and consumption situations, are crucial for understanding if and how coping strategies may enable reaching consumers' emancipation from the oppressive or disabling environments.

Conclusion of the chapter

In summary to the first chapter we have presented some concluding thoughts that shape consumer agency in marginalized spaces. In the focus of our research are segregating spaces and their constraining dynamics and disruptive environmental influences that cause consumer vulnerabilities. Yet, consumers are never totally passive – i.e. they deploy diverse strategies in order to reach goods and services.

First, critical spatial perspective which enables an understanding of consumers' agencies in relation to spaces (e.g. public, market, segregated or emancipating spaces) (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). In our research we advocate for spatial approach to emancipating and segregating spaces. *Emancipating spaces* provide consumers' empowerment and more control over spatial and social constraints, and the protection of consumers collective practices. *Segregating spaces* are filled with constraints that shape consumers' individual and collective agencies. These spaces also offer possibilities for emancipation, creative resistance and alternative access to goods and services. Consequently, spatial vulnerability approach is helpful in recognizing and analysing constraining and empowering dynamics of a social space that affects consumers' coping (creative) strategies in dealing with *spatial vulnerabilities* (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

Second, critical spatial perspective correlates to ethical concerns of consumers' inequalities that stem from *spatial inequalities* (structural and environmental constraints) that experience residents of segregated spaces (not voluntarily chosen). These spatial constraints cause multiple and systemic consumer vulnerabilities that, from a critical spatial perspective, are understood as spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

Finally, a combination of critical spatial perspective (i.e. a focus on marginalized and segregated spaces but also emancipating spaces within these) and ethical perspective of consumer agency (i.e. focus on the concept of consumer vulnerability) lead towards an understanding of *consumer coping strategies* as survival but also as a creative resistance, and leads to understanding how consumers individually and collectively challenge spatial

vulnerability, guided by ethos of social and consumption situation improvement, in order to provide some emancipation for themselves and to avoid social and market exclusion. How, in such spatial contexts, consumers combine their *resources and control* (Hill and Sharma 2020) over spatial constraints and rely on emancipating spaces reflect their transformative practices.

Chapter 2: French urban policy neighbourhoods and youth cultural practices

French deprived neighbourhoods situated in suburban areas are spaces of geographical marginalization and rising social exclusion, for some inhabitants more than others. However, urban policy interventions attempt to alleviate such situation that affect residents' daily and consumptive practices. These spaces sometimes named deprived, segregating, marginalized, or spaces of social exclusion, are characterized by low-income populations with increasing poverty and strong concentration of immigrant[26] or immigrant-origin[27] populations. Also, local populations, especially younger, faces a lack of variety of services that impact their daily and consumptive practices.

In this chapter we depict deprived neighbourhoods, as a social issue in the French society and as spaces of multiple social and material deprivations that shape spatial constraints and affect daily lives and consumption practices, consumers' choices, and access to services. These spaces and their populations suffer from spatial stigma resulting from media and public discourse. Among a variety of issues French scholars and policy makers have been very much concerned with young populations – their education, access to cultural and sports services, early school dropout, delinquency, and violence. Finally, we approach the issue of cultural practices undertaken among young populations from deprived neighbourhoods (fr. *jeunes des cités*) usually spatially approached and analysed.

This chapter is organized in two sections. In the *first section* we open with French urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. *quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville*) referring to those situated in the suburban areas. Their presentation is organized in that it covers neighbourhoods' history,

[26] According to the definition of INSEE "*an immigrant is a person who is born a foreigner and abroad, and resides in France. […] Immigrant status is permanent: an individual will continue to belong to the immigrant population even if they acquire French nationality. It is the country of birth, and not nationality at birth that defines the geographical origin of an immigrant*."

[27] Here it refers to immigrant (descendent of) defined by INSEE as *"[p]erson who is born and resides in France with at least one immigrant parent. This definition does not include the immigrants (especially those who migrated with their parents)*."

dominant structural, social and spatial issues that shape spatial constraints that affect consumers' lives, and, finally, the role of urban policy interventions of importance for consumptive practices of local populations.

In *the second section* we present young population from the deprived neighbourhoods of social housing (fr. *jeunes des cités*) and how they have been defined so far. Following our interest in youth cultural practices we depict whether these young people represent specific subculture based on struggling life, and different spatial analyses of youth cultural practices or their subcultures. Finally, we open a discussion whether young populations from these neighbourhoods are or may be explained as *youth subcultures* or *microcultures*.

Section 1: Urban policy neighbourhoods: spaces of low-income consumers

Opening a discussion on French suburbs (fr. *banlieues*[28]) and disadvantaged neighbourhoods (fr. *quartiers défavorisés*) leads a reader and a novice researcher to a complexity of social issues (e.g. raising unemployment, poverty, concentration of immigrant populations, urban violence, living environment degradation) and different symbolic and political connotations (e.g. spaces of insecurity) of these spatial and social issues. In order to avoid the unnecessary confusions about this very vast and for our research, imprecise term *banlieue*, we foreground a spatial and social phenomenon of deprived neighbourhoods determined by the French government as urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. q*uartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville*)[29] – as spaces of social (concentration of low-income) and urban issues (e.g. a peripheral position in urban space, the lack of services, the concentration of social housing). However, these neighbourhoods face multiple handicaps and social issues that are used and sometimes exaggerated in political discourse that we in this research would like to avoid. Social and urban issues are intertwined in deprived neighbourhoods comprising a cumulation of inequalities, spatial marginalization, social exclusion, relegation and segregation of their populations (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992;

[28] In order to highlight the specificity of the French socio-spatial term, we keep French word *banlieue* in the text.

[29]We purposefully directly apply the term Urban policy neighbourhood (or elsewhere deprived or simply neighbourhood) in order to avoid any confusion with the amalgam and generic meaning created around French term for suburb – *banlieue*. In the French public and, sometimes, academic literature *banlieue* and *quartiers* are used interchangeably where the meaning of the former (broader and not necessarily negative) have been reduced to the latter representing a synonymous for poor living conditions in social housing of cheap high-rises (fr. *cité*).

Donzelot 2009; Avenel 2010). All contemporary social changes in these neighbourhoods have evoked social issues like urban poverty and social inequalities that are related to dynamics of capitalism (Cortéséro 2012). Social are spatial inequalities that reveal moral and practical obligations of public policy interventions in providing access to services.

The interest in consumers living in these deprived neighbourhoods lies in the increased spatial or urban issues that spatial critical thinkers (geographers, sociologists and philosophers) have already brought out. Also, spatial practices reveal much about consumers lives and their access to services or market inclusion (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b).

In contemporary scholarship, urban issues prevail over social since a spatial divide reflects social inequalities among people (Donzelot 2009). Indeed, the urban issue that in Lefebvre's works reflects social class struggles in and for urban space, while its contemporary understanding refers to the populations in a society that do not contribute to the production of wealth and that are forced to accept to live in the residual spaces of industrial cities - on the margins (Donzelot 2009). In contemporary consumer research, scholars have advocated the importance of understanding of constraining spatial dynamics on disadvantaged or systemically vulnerable consumers (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). In France today, urban crisis more intensively concerns peripheral areas of big cities with concentrated social housing that have become spaces of poverty and relegation, the causes of which and evolution cannot be simply and in the same way explained due to the variety of factors that affect these spaces differently (Stébé 2010).

Among various issues of French policy urban neighbourhoods, in our research we foreground (1) adolescents as a part of low-income and immigrant or immigrant-origin populations concentrated in these neighbourhoods (this reveals social issues), and (2) dominantly public and limited services and facilities in the neighbourhoods (this reveals spatial or urban issues). Also, we approach the social process such as being or sliding into social exclusion, experiencing, yet differently multiple deprivation, omnipresent negative image or stigma of these spaces and their populations, and the strong support of urban policy interventions. These are additional social, spatial, and policy issues that shape our research and study context.

Subsection 1: The history and the meaning of French urban policy neighbourhoods

> *Today, term banlieue "no longer serves merely as a geographical reference or an administrative concept, but stands for alterity, insecurity and deprivation." (Dikeç 2007, 7–8)*

> *"The "banlieues issue" has been constituted for more than thirty years as a social problem, because neighbourhoods known as "sensitive" tend to be redefined as a repository for most of miseries of the French society. They stand for the concentration of phenomena of exclusion and the archetype of bad living of large-scale social housing estates. They are regularly the scene of various forms of violence and form fears of insecurity. Neighbourhoods are regularly held in suspicion of the ghetto. Also, the "problem of banlieues" is the reason of specific and voluntarist intervention of public authorities. In total, it has gained considerable visibility in media. It is the subject of constant debates and often generates an explosion of discourses far beyond the observable facts. »[..]«The French society has thus made a generic category of social problems, imposing itself on everything: "neighbourhoods"."*[30] *(Avenel 2010, 7)*

These two quotes serve well to introduce the issue of deprived or urban policy neighbourhoods as a French social issue *per se*, and our research context. Due to its complex social and symbolic meaning it is imposed on us to explain the history of the phenomenon of *banlieue* and *quartiers défavorisés* – two distinct yet equated spatial phenomena. The above quoted texts illustrate changes in social and symbolic meanings associated with diverse social issues and life struggles of populations from these urban spaces.

The above quoted text of French sociologist Cyprien Avenel indicates the complexity and ambiguity of French *banlieue* issue in terms of applied diverse terminology and associated meanings[31]. By this, the author attempts to emphasize social and urban (spatial) issues intertwined in the phenomenon of French neighbourhoods.

How *banlieue* reached a negative connotation and how urban policy neighbourhoods are created in France cannot be explained in short. However, we accept a challenge here to provide a brief history of (1) how *banlieue* became a social issue, and (2) how its meaning was reduced to the

[30] Our translation.

[31] Indeed, a ***variety of terms***, sometimes ambiguous, with overlapping and reducing or even stigmatizing meanings (fr. *banlieue*, *quartier*, *quartiers sensibles*, *quartier défavorisé*, *cité de banlieue*) have been used in scientific, political, media or daily discourse to portray suburban areas of socially excluded low-income populations, mainly immigrants from ex-French colonies, living in social housing (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012).

one of deprived neighbourhoods which created a stigmatizing public discourse towards these spaces and their populations. This social and spatial stigma affects consumers' daily lives. In so doing we rely on some of the most known and cited scholars in the French literature on this issue (Boyer 2000; Kokoreff 2003; Dikeç 2007; Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012; Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013)

The period between 1950s and 1970s (Town-planning issue: social housing and living environment). The urban planners, public authorities and scientists focused their interests on town planning problems such as the quality of life in large-scale high-rise social housing estates and living environment of *banlieue* and its deprived neighbourhoods. The raising interest appeared due to the deterioration of the living conditions in social housing. This period was marked by inhabitants' struggles for better living environment and much interest has been shown in an adoption of Marxist vision of social classes struggles and economic power distribution.

The period of late 1970s and early 1980s (Social issues, reduced meaning of banlieue and the negative image of youth). Policy makers and scholars paid attention to accumulated anger of the inhabitants of neighbourhoods due to experienced social exclusion and segregation. Urban riots (between youth and police) in Lyon agglomeration in 1981 introduced a new vision of *banlieue* or *quartiers* – i.e. a social issue comprising various issues among which increasing unemployment, a new poverty, urban riots, youth delinquency and high early school dropout rate, concentrated immigrant populations, increasing social exclusion. These accumulated social issues in the neighbourhoods became spaces of interventions of newly created urban policy (fr. *Politique de la ville*) in 1980s. In that period media and public discourse focused strongly on the issues of social integration and immigration.

Banlieue as purely geographic and town-planning notion of suburban areas got new, impoverished (reference on socially and materially deprived suburban areas) and pejorative meaning (reference to public and media-related image)[32]. The latter was assigned to suburban areas since it referred to deprived neighbourhoods regardless of their location in or outside the city. Thus, *banlieue* became a new socio-spatial category with simplistic and generic content referring to deprived neighbourhoods, and the latter denoted the transition from the marginality of space to social marginality (of its inhabitants) (Boyer 2000).

[32] When the focus is on social issues (insecurity, violence, urban riots, poverty, etc.) than usually *banlieue défavorisée* (deprived suburban areas) or *banlieue chaude* (bad neighbourhood) are applied in public or media discourse.

Mass media discourse affected public discourse about *banlieue* in this period through their broadcasted negative images of youth and urban riots in 1980s. That has introduces the feeling of insecurity and banlieue was associated to the fear of immigration (Dikeç 2007). Also, the issue of increased poverty among immigrant population in these areas has gained in attention.

The period of 1990s (Social issues and official urban policy neighbourhoods). In this period much attention was paid to urban riots (of youth) in these suburban areas and on inhabitants' social exclusion due to increased poverty and their immigrant origin. Thus, a discourse of development of a delinquent youth subculture in deprived neighbourhoods appeared. In such socially and economically unstable contexts z*ones urbaines sensibles* (urban sensitive neighbourhoods) were created in 1996 focusing on public social housing of cheap high-rise (fr. *cité*) that were considered as spatial concentration of social issues (Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013). Thus, these deprived neighbourhoods became spaces of urban policy interventions. Banlieue or quartiers became problems of social order, very much in relation to police interventions (Avenel 2010).

The period of the beginning of 2000 (Social issues as insecurity and negative image of young population). This period brought out new riots in suburbs in Lyon agglomeration which affected an enhancement of the issue of (in)security. This accompanied by the media discourse increased stigmatization of youth from the deprived neighbourhoods and aggravated their image in the French society. In this period, *zones urbaines sensibles* were renamed in 2014 in *quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville* or urban policy neighbourhoods.

Subsection 2: Deprived neighbourhoods and constraining macro factors

Due to the accumulated social issues in deprived neighbourhoods, a process of urban segregation and isolation of the most impoverished and usually immigrant populations has been recognized (Laurent, Maurice, and Fitoussi 2004; Cortéséro 2012; Avenel 2016). Urban segregation and social marginalization of populations from these neighbourhoods, especially the most remote from cities, have stemmed from structural (external) factors – i.e. rising poverty and unemployment, spatial concentration of immigrant populations, stigmatization through media images, paradoxical policy actions, and local (neighbourhood) factors – i.e. scarce materiality, lack of businesses, strong reliance on local social relations, etc.).

Urban segregation. The discourse about the process of ghettoization of urban policy neighbourhoods has appeared in France which is often related to immigrant population (Avenel 2016). Yet, French deprived neighbourhoods in *banlieue* are not the same as American ghettos, despite the existing similarities (Wacquant 2008). Avenel (2016) proposes three axes of analysis to understand the ghettoization of some deprived neighbourhoods in France:

1 To analyse three issues parallelly: urban, social and ethnical (e.g. Cortéséro 2012)[33];
2 To understand the influence of segregation on the way of living and social relations of local populations;
3 To consider urban policy interventions in relation to *quartiers sensibles* created as administrative category.

These have been useful in guiding an understanding of complex process of establishing socio-spatial inequalities local populations of urban policy neighbourhoods' experience; and of ghettoization of some of these neighbourhoods.

To compare French urban policy neighbourhoods to ghetto there are four elements to be understood: stigmatisation (of space and its population), oppression, spatial isolation, and parallel institutions (created by inhabitants for their purposes) (Wacquant 2008). Wacquant (2008) illustrates along with many other French sociologists that French urban priority neighbourhoods are not ghettos, at least not as American ghettos. However, it is not possible to neglect the process of withdrawal of local populations into their social space in the search for social bonds (Cortéséro 2012); and the presence of urban violence, delinquency in these spaces and racial discrimination (Avenel 2016).

To understand the process of ghettoization of deprived neighbourhoods it is inevitable to analyse the process of urban segregation which means a distance among groups of people and a spatial distance. Some neighbourhoods and some populations/inhabitants experience segregation. What may be understood as a French ghetto is created externally through urban segregation – i.e. spatial concentration of low income and mostly immigrant populations or spatially expressed social inequalities, and internally – i.e. social space as identity protection and individuals' imprisonment due to segregation (Avenel 2016). A social distance between neighbourhood's population and others is caused and exacerbated by certain external factors (e.g. spatial changes in cities, housing prices). Paradoxically, public policy interventions

[33] Cortéséro (2012) evokes three intertwined dimensions in the explanation of these neighborhoods: socio-economical dimension (increasing poverty rate), urban dimension (location in urban space, but also social relations of inhabitants that are dominantly situated in their social space), and racial dimension (overrepresentation of immigrant population from French ex-colonies).

contributed to the social isolation of local populations and augmented spatial stigma. First, an administrative label urban policy neighbourhoods has become a synonym for social issues of these neighbourhoods which caused a distance of middle class in providing a better education for their children than they can have in these neighbourhoods (Stébé 2010). The purposeful creation of the label aimed to improve a built environment and fight against social exclusion of local populations, but it has contributed to categorization of these spaces as urban spaces of accumulated social problems (Dikeç 2007; Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013). Also, it created a homogenous, mainly, negative image. It goes to the extreme that "*no one wants to live in a 'zone'*" (Dikeç 2007, 105).

Second, paradoxical outcomes of urban policy in the encouragement of local populations' mobility to enable their social integration has resulted in keeping, in urban policy neighbourhoods, mainly populations that cannot afford living elsewhere (Avenel 2016). Often public institutions can provide administrative and other support to local populations, but are not able to promise them integration, especially not professional (Avenel 2016). Thus, any assistance is seen more as adjustment of poverty which creates individuals' dependence on social care which leads to ghettoization of populations from the deprived neighbourhoods (Avenel 2016).

Finally, the image of urban policy neighbourhoods and their populations has been exacerbated by the media (Dikeç 2007; Avenel 2010), big national channels or press[34]. Indeed, media have played a crucial role in the projection of a negative image of French banlieue. Often their image is inaccurate to their reality and corresponds to a construction of a social problem (Dikeç 2007) and social myth (Avenel 2010). Indeed, the concepts of *banlieue* and their deprived neighbourhoods raise

> *"as much objective as subjective dimensions. There is no "banlieue" without images and stereotypes of banlieues, images and stereotypes that weigh heavily on the lives of people and their interpretations of their own living conditions. From this point of view, the "banlieue" is the product of a collective work on definition, a social and political construction."*[35] *(Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013, 16)*

French new poverty and urban policy neighbourhoods. Urban riots in 1980s were caused by instability such as "*unemployment, accumulation of social problems, decrease of public services, omnipresence of daily violence"*[36] (Donzelot 2009, 38). Indeed, deprived

[34] http://www.onpv.fr/uploads/media_items/ra-onpv-2018-fiches-images-des-quartiers-hd.original.pdf
[35] Our translation.
[36] Our translation.

neighbourhoods of social housing faced an increased number of new poor (Paugam 2013), a spatial concentration of immigrant or immigrant-origin population and their social isolation and exclusion (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012). Thus, "*exclusion has become a major social problem. In the suburbs of big cities in France, a real urban marginality has appeared*[37]" (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992).

A special urban policy[38] (fr. *Politique de la ville*) was created for "*the urban policy neighbourhoods, which, mainly, are social housing neighbourhoods in the banlieue*" (Dikeç 2007, 14) and usually those of cheap high-rises (Vieillard-Baron 2001). Officially defined urban policy neighbourhoods are characterised by the concentration of low-income population (ONPV 2017). These spatial administrative units have as their objective to fight social exclusion by applying criteria such as "*long-term unemployment, young people under 25 and foreigners*" within relative geography approach that helps policy makers to understand the gap in defined criteria of these neighbourhoods and surrounding urban spaces (and to compare them to mean values at the national level) (Dikeç 2007, 83–85).

There are more than 1500 urban policy neighbourhoods in France with a 5.4 million people or 8% of the total French population[39]. The neighbourhood's population is "*mostly young, more impoverished, less qualified, more unemployed and of worse health than average national population*"[40] (Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013, 14), and composed of foreigners (around 2.5 time more than in surrounding urban areas), single parent families and those that often have unstable jobs[41]. Also, the level of poverty in urban priority neighbourhoods (in big cities) may range from around 30 % to 50 % of the population and is usually very contrasting to the level of poverty of surrounding areas[42].

Policy makers have become concerned with rising unemployment in deprived neighbourhoods so that support to local population in finding jobs has been among crucial interventions (Heyraud 2016). Rising poverty has become a crucial social issue:

[37] Our translation.

[38] We have no ambition to explain the development of the Urban policy and changes in its interventions. Rather through the Interpretation and Discussion we approach some of Urban policy interventions since main services proposed in these neighbourhoods are public services or associations receiving subsidies.

[39] http://www.onpv.fr/quartiers

[40] Our translation.

[41] http://www.onpv.fr/uploads/media_items/portrait-qp2015-2.original.pdf

[42] http://www.onpv.fr/uploads/media_items/pauvrete-pdf.original.pdf

> *"The share of people living below the poverty line, when it is set at 60% of the median standard of living (i.e. € 1,015 per month in 2015), raises to 44.0% in urban policy neighbourhoods, a rate three times higher than in metropolitan France (14.9%)."*[43] *(ONPV 2019, 28)*

The situation of children (younger than 18) is even more difficult in these neighbourhoods in metropolitan France: their lives in poverty have reached the rate pf 55.8% in 2015-2016 (comparing to 19,9% in all of France) (ONPV 2019). A similar situation is for single parent families living in poverty: the rate has reached 54.6% (ONPV 2019).[44] Consequently, urban policy neighbourhoods are the spaces not of populations living in total poverty, but of a growing rate of individuals/families entering poverty and of an increasing gap between these and other urban neighbourhoods in terms of income and received social benefits.

Even though permanent job contracts are present in urban priority neighbourhoods, temporary contracts are more widespread than in other urban areas (ONPV 2019). Job instability concerns especially young population. Lower level of qualifications and job positions of workers and employees are dominant in the neighbourhoods (ONPV 2019). Finally, the unemployment is especially widespread among young populations: one in five young individuals is unemployed and does not follow any educational program (ONPV 2019). A lack of financial resources that has led the populations (many families or individuals) of these neighbourhoods to poverty (many of them) caused economic marginalization, especially of young population (Avenel 2016).

To understand what poverty in urban policy neighbourhoods means in a contemporary French context, there is a need to define new poverty appeared in mid-1980s in the French society as a consequence of deteriorated social welfare system that has particularly affected marginal groups (Paugam 2013). A new poverty refers not only to economic poverty, but to new categories of impoverished individuals that rely strongly on receiving social benefits, have poor social relations, health problems and struggle to access housing (Paugam 2013). New poor are thus considered as being below any social class: as excluded – i.e. a population beneficing of social welfare - in the French context, or as *underclass* – i.e. a population being apart from other classes and not being able to progress by individual engagement - in American context (Donzelot 2009).

[43] Our translation.

[44] Database is very rich, but we put here some rates for the purpose of illustration. We consider more detailed data for our urban policy neighbourhoods in the Interpretation section.

Majority of people from urban policy neighbourhoods have dominantly local social capital (Cortéséro 2012). By simply analysing urban policy reports (ONPV 2017; 2019) and detailed statistical data for each urban policy neighbourhood[45] one may notice a higher rate of population receiving social benefits and of social housing than in other urban areas. There is a higher rate of social benefits as a part of total income of the populations from urban policy neighbourhoods than in the surrounding urban areas.

The poverty of populations in urban policy neighbourhoods is widespread and for many individuals or families represents a way of life (Avenel 2010). Despite increased poverty among these populations, urban priority neighbourhoods are not characterised by the culture of poverty, but their populations face a need to develop strategies for social integration and adaptation to consumer society (of dominant middle class) (Avenel 2010). Their situation is well explained by Avenel (2010) as "feet in economic precarity, and head in middle class cultural universe" in relation to consumption practices.

Sensitivity of deprived neighbourhoods. Population from deprived neighbourhoods have faced a degradation of their living conditions and experienced different social inequalities and social exclusion (Donzelot 2009; Avenel 2010) and urban and social marginalization (Boyer 2000). Thus, in the French society term neighbourhood (fr. *quartier*) stands for social problems usually associated to sensitive neighbourhoods while many or none are sure what that sensitivity really means. In the context of neighbourhoods, Vieillard-Baron (2001) provides some clarifications of their s*ensitivity* referring to:

> *"the statistically identifiable manifestation of a social fragility (unemployment, length of inactivity, precarity, academic delay, single parenthood, delinquency ...) and as the measurable expression of dysfunctions both economic (number of local shops closed, relation to the number of businesses initially established in the neighbourhood, annual turnover of local businesses, recognized parallel activities ...) and environmental (dilapidation of buildings, poor quality of public spaces, services provided by public transport, distance from municipality and metropolis centre - weighted by the number of inhabitants of the municipality and the urban ensemble considered)."*[46] *(p. 132–33)*

Urban policy neighbourhoods as sensitive neighbourhoods are the spaces of systematically accumulated disadvantages (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Avenel 2010; Stébé 2010). Despite a diversity of types of and living conditions in deprived neighbourhoods, they all have some common threads featuring their socially and economically marginal position. These spaces are

[45] Geographical Information System of Urban policy: https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/atlas/ZUS/
[46] Our translation

affected by diverse social, material, and environmental causes such as: (1) the negative image of these spaces amongst people (social myth); (2) the role of media (an emphasis of violence and insecurity) encouraging spatial stigma; (3) inhabitants' deep feeling of spatial isolation; (4) increasing impoverishment; (5) concentration of foreign population; (6) inhabitants as victims of economic changes (the decline of working class, the presence of low-qualified employees, high unemployment rate and the presence of unstable jobs); (7) the aging of built environment and the deterioration of public spaces; (8) highly present and ambivalent youth (birth rate is higher among immigrant families; a presence of education failures) and its relation to urban violence and delinquency, and (9) an increase in drug dealing and addiction (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Stébé 2010).

Outcomes and ambiguities of urban policy interventions. Over the last thirty years there has been a tendency to unify and homogenize the characteristics of deprived neighbourhood while their characteristics and inhabitants' lived experiences and life trajectories vary (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Avenel 2010; Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013). In line with the remarks of some sociologists, the impact of urban policy is twofold: it helps in analysing and understanding the situations in these neighbourhoods, but it contributes to its homogenization (ONPV 2017). This homogenization of deprived neighbourhoods resulted not only from the media discourse but also from government actions. Despite its socially just character, urban policy interventions resulted in uncertain outcomes and an increased spatial stigma (Box 2, page 80).

Subsection 3: Urban policy neighbourhoods: intertwined constraining and protecting spatial dynamics

The urban policy neighbourhoods can appropriately be understood only through the complex analysis of many social issues simultaneously (Stébé 2010). Here we focus on some of external-internal factors (structural and local/neighbourhood) that affect populations' daily and consumption practices and demand their adaptation to diverse spatial constraints (Avenel 2010)[47] and that affect an urban segregation of a population of urban policy neighbourhood (Laurent, Maurice, and Fitoussi 2004). Beside a concentration of low-income population that

[47] French sociological literature on *banlieue* is enormous and covers various social issues of which we focus on those that may affect consumption practices (strategies) of young population we are interested in.

Box 2: Specificities and uncertainties of French urban policy outcomes

Space and public policies have had a special relation in the French society.

"*The French case is particularly important for exploring the relationship between space and politics, as space – and not community, as in the British and North American urban policy experience – has been the main object of French urban policy. This is almost necessarily so since the French republican tradition emphasizes a common culture and identity, and any reference to communities is deliberately avoided because they imply separatism, which is unacceptable under the principle of the 'one and indivisible' republic*." (Dikeç 2007, 4)

Although it is not exclusively a French phenomenon, a positive discrimination – i.e. an action of encouragement of groups that are systematically discriminated (on socio-economic, ethnic or racial criteria) in a society to enable them equal life opportunities – in the French context, it has been only possible through a spatial approach and so called "*territorial positive discrimination*" (Dikeç 2007).

Since certain urban spaces and their populations faced socially unequal position, government has very early established certain actions. Starting from 1990s urban policy neighbourhoods (fr. *zones urbaines sensibles*) have been created to define these urban spaces of priority for the Government interventions. These neighbourhoods have been defined "*based on three main variables: the share of young people under 25; long-term unemployed and people without qualifications or diplomas. In the light of these three elements, it is a question of measuring the gap with the national average and the municipality in which the neighbourhood(s) of the new priority geography are situated*. "[48](Heyraud 2016, 35)

Urban policy represents a public solidarity policy "*aiming at corrective to territories in difficulty and helping the population living there*"[49] (Heyraud 2016, 17). The policy interventions have been as follows: technical (e.g. demolition of buildings, improvement of urban environment); economic (e.g. establish additional facilities); social interventions (e.g. socio-cultural activities, fight against delinquency and drug addiction, health promotion) and occupational integration interventions (e.g. creation of nearby jobs and area exempt of tax) (Stébé 2010, 94).To make *urban policy* visible, government contributed to homogeneous image of deprived neighbourhoods (Vieillard-Baron 2001) and to imprisonment the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods in passivity which they perceive as inefficient and top-down (Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013).

Through various City contracts urban policy has intervened to enable or improve the following: access to employment and economic development; improvement of the living environment and the housing; educational success; prevention of delinquency and citizenship; and health (Heyraud 2016). Also, among the priorities in City contracts there are no cultural topics which seems "*paradoxical, considering the number of socio-cultural projects carried by specialized associations engaged in the annual program of many sites, and the privileged place of the actors of the cultural sector in the urban policy, since the beginning of the 1980s.*"[50] (Heyraud 2016, 77)

Finally, the efficacy of urban policy is uncertain. First, urban policy have not succeeded in enabling deprived neighbourhoods to bridge the gap with other neighbourhoods (unemployment rate is still higher than elsewhere concerning especially young adults) (Heyraud 2016). Second, "*this policy is handicapped by its lack of relay to*

[48] Our translation

[49] Our translation.

[50] Our translation.

the population. The inhabitants accuse it of being ineffective, if not counterproductive, and of being conducted without consultation, as a policy coming from above"[51] (Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013, 77–78).

Sources: (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Dikeç 2007; Stébé 2010; Kokoreff and Lapeyronnie 2013; Heyraud 2016)

experiences increasing unemployment and social and market exclusion, there are other factors that shape consumer practices. French sociological literature and our fieldwork observational and verbal data have been helpful in structuring this subsection. Constraining and protecting dynamics that we foreground here are those that local young populations express directly verbally or indirectly through their cultural practices in and outside their social space. Finally, all these factors and recognized practices[52] that reveal socio-spatial inequalities of neighbourhoods' populations in terms of resource distribution, population structure and social relations, built environment and materiality of social space, and dependence of local population on public institutions and interventions (Cortéséro 2012; Avenel 2016).

Dominant constraining factors reveal social and material deprivation of people's lives in urban policy neighbourhoods and emphasize observable disadvantaged social and market positions of these populations and their environmental, social and economic conditions (Townsend 1987). These living conditions result in daily practices and adaptive strategies to spatial stigma and urban segregation (Avenel 2010). Due to accumulated disadvantages, populations of urban policy neighbourhoods are characterized as socially and economically excluded or marginalized people[53] (Wacquant 2008; Donzelot 2009; Avenel 2016).

Majority of people from urban policy neighbourhoods face systematically accumulated disadvantages and, if not living in total poverty, experience social and material deprivation. Deprivation is context-dependent and thus vary from society to society. It can be defined as

> *"a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs. The idea has come to be applied to conditions (that is, physical, environmental and social states or circumstances) rather than resources and to specific and not only general circumstances, and therefore can be distinguished from the concept of poverty." (Townsend 1987, 16)*

[51] Our translation

[52] Due to the lack of marketing and consumer research on agency or practices of consumers from these spaces, we have been restricted to sociological literature and some available official reports.

[53] If working-class has not totally disappeared, there is no more dominant working-class struggles and its culture in relation to French *banlieue*. Instead, contemporary scholarship have recognized a population of impoverished, highly relied on social benefits and mostly dependent on Urban policy interventions (e.g. Donzelot 2009; Avenel 2016). In that sense, we avoid any discussion on the social class issue.

Without opening detailed discussion on types of deprivations and their indicators, we simply offer a portrayal of the deprived character of these neighbourhoods that, if we compare it with Townsend's (1987) work, it is possible to recognize social and material deprivation indicators. These underlined disrupted environmental conditions to which local populations adapt through diverse daily strategies reveal the socio-spatial inequalities in comparison to other (sub)urban spaces.

Socially homogenous social spaces: an amplifier of social distances of consumers from the neighbourhoods

Contemporary French scholarship and statistics brought out the lack of social diversity and dominant concentration of immigrants or immigrant-origin populations in urban policy neighbourhoods leading to the creation of ethnic communities atypical to social organization of the French society (Dikeç 2007). Indeed, originally urban policy neighbourhoods were not designed for immigrant populations or for certain ethnic communities[54]. Due to historic, social and economic processes in French urban policy neighbourhoods immigrant populations (mainly from ex-French colonies) have become more dominant than in other urban spaces (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012). A dominant reason is the abandonment of these urban spaces by the French middle class in searching for non-violent urban spaces to live and a better education for their children (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Stébé 2010).

Spatial concentration of more recent immigrants in large-scale high-rises of cheap social housing (in peripheries) results from rising unemployment and lower qualifications of these people and their impossibility to afford themselves private housing because of their social status (Donzelot 2009) and, so, live there by default (Avenel 2016; Stébé 2010). Economic crisis disproportionately impacted this immigrant population because of weak positions of workers on the job market (Avenel 2016). An issue of immigrants becomes a social issue since many of them had or have lower qualifications and suffered from industrial and economic changes leading them to unemployment (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992).

With the disappearance of working-class movement, starting from 1980s, public discourse has brought out ethnical issue (Avenel 2016) or cultural and ethnic differences between local populations and people outside urban policy neighbourhoods (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Donzelot 2009). Structural (external) factors such as urban segregation (spatial concentration

[54] There is a diversity of types of Urban policy neighbourhoods and their ethnic structures (Wacquant 2008; Avenel 2010; ONPV 2017).

of low-income immigrants) and racism towards residents of urban policy neighbourhoods have strengthened from the outside their common feeling of belonging to a community that has nothing in common to a traditional ethnic communities that never existed before in French *banlieues* (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992). Social and cultural experiences of these immigrant populations in the French society oscillate between strong cultural assimilation and weak social integration (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992). They experience low social integration due to their lower qualifications and may experience ethnic discrimination (Laurent, Maurice, and Fitoussi 2004; Avenel 2016). Immigrant populations from urban policy neighbourhoods experience more frequently than others a discriminatory treatment on various markets (e.g. rent a car, a tourist accommodation, car insurance), especially young men of African origin (ONPV 2019).

Finally, this concentration of low-income immigrant populations in urban policy neighbourhoods, as a form of urban segregation, has led towards their social isolation. This is exacerbated by social and spatial stigma (Goffman 1963) towards these populations. French urban sociologists have demonstrated that these individuals and families relive spatial stigma on a daily basis aiming to leave these urban spaces with the first stable economic possibility but also having strong feelings and social relations in their space to which they belong. Such ambivalent feelings are recognized among adolescents (aged 17 and over) we met during our fieldwork practice.

Constraining spatial dynamics shaping life and consumption practices

> *"In* cités*, urban life is reduced to its simplest form. Shops are rare. The few shopping malls and supermarkets are poorly supplied. Places of entertainment and meetings are non-existent. Often, for a whole suburb, a bar or two compete with the only youth club. The buildings are deteriorated before being completed: broken lifts, destroyed mailboxes, devastated entrances. Transport is insufficient. The suburb is far away, damaged, isolated and abandoned. Boredom is the first reality."*[55] *(Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 8)*

This quotation portrays living conditions of one of many social housing estates in *banlieues* near Paris. Dubet and Lapeyronnie (1992) portray a general situation of many urban policy neighbourhoods situated on the peripheries of big cities in France that face scarce material and deteriorated physical environment that affect residents' everyday lives and consumption practices greatly. Here, we focus on spatial constraints that shape peripheral urban location and

[55] Our translation.

scarce materiality of urban policy neighbourhoods and emphasize a built and physical environment, the lack of business and services, a limited accessibility and variety of services[56]. These spatial constraints affect local populations' dependence on public institutions and policy interventions. Also, they reflect daily lives and the context of youth cultural practices we observed or learned about through discussions during our fieldwork.

Deteriorated built environment and lack of business and services

Early and rapid deterioration of built environment in deprived neighbourhoods was government's priority from 1950s. The effects were visible especially in social housings within *grands ensembles* (large-scale high-rise social housing estates) situated dominantly at the peripheries of big cities as Paris and Lyon more so in other urban spaces (ONPV 2019). While social housing estates are common in different urban spaces in French towns, these are dominant in urban policy neighbourhoods. Currently, the most important problem of the social housing in comparison to those in other urban spaces is their overpopulation, a deterioration of buildings facades, and some defects on electric installations (ONPV 2019). These social housing buildings have a bit more defects than others in other urban spaces and private housing from these spaces (ONPV 2019).

The issue of built environment is coupled with a poor quality of public space (Vieillard-Baron 2001). Architectural and environmental constraints of urban policy neighbourhoods are in the focus of urban renewal projects attempting to alleviate the:

> *"obsolete physical and living environment, monumental urban forms, degraded common spaces, outdated housing comfort standards, precarious sound and thermal insulation, etc."*[57] *(Stébé 2010, 52)*

Even though the living conditions and materiality of these spaces are still of lower quality than in other urban spaces, the government has invested in the urban renewal of urban policy neighbourhood (ONPV 2019).

Looking again the quoted text from Dubet and Lapeyronnie (1992) one may notice the lack of services and facilities in urban policy neighbourhoods. These spaces are economically dysfunctional which is illustrated by closed local shops or important turnover of local businesses (Vieillard-Baron 2001). Certain businesses established originally in urban policy

[56] Being aware of the complexity of academic literature on the issue, we here provide brief characteristics that are important for our description and the understanding of youth cultural practices.

[57] Our translation.

neighbourhoods have closed, leaving spaces to more "ethnic" retail stores and services or to only one supermarket or hard discount (Mordret and Maresca 2009). Urban policy neighbourhoods face a lack of various businesses and shops that government tries to alleviate through various tax concessions (Dikeç 2007; Mordret and Maresca 2009)[58]. Despite government's will to improve the situation for local populations, much effort has been invested in understanding people's current access to existing facilities and services (Mordret and Maresca 2009). In contrast, the results of CREDOC[59] survey have shown the importance of not only accessing the existing services, but also understanding the needs of these consumers in relation to, for example, food supply or various household products (Mordret and Maresca 2009).

Peripheral urban location and access to services[60]

Another spatial constraint of large-scale high-rise social housing estates situated at the peripheries is a poor transport connection to other urban spaces (Vieillard-Baron 2001; Stébé 2010). With broader urban renewal in French big cities, some of these neighbourhoods have met improved public transport connections and access to various services and facilities outside the neighbourhoods. However, during holidays public transport timetables may be very discouraging for the populations from urban policy neighbourhoods, especially those at the urban peripheries, limiting their mobility and access to services (Boyer 2000). For populations from suburban deprived neighbourhoods public transport connection is a crucial factor in alleviating limited mobility of the most precarious individuals or families and diminishing urban segregation.

In general, services that local population needs are situated further away from their neighbourhoods imposing consumers to rely on the nearby services and facilities (Fol 2010). Due to such material scarcity of urban policy neighbourhoods and the lack of or limited economic resources, consumers have been forced to get out of the neighbourhoods to reach needed products or services and adapt strategies in transporting supplies (Mordret and Maresca 2009; Fol 2010). To understand financial and physical accessibility to services of consumers from urban policy neighbourhoods, it is important to analyse their consumption needs and

[58] Despite the government tax concessions for the business sector in or near urban policy neighbourhoods, there have not been more businesses established or more new jobs for local populations employed in those businesses (Dikeç 2007).

[59] *Centre de Recherche pour l'Étude et l'Observation des Conditions de Vie* (CREDOC)

[60] Here we focus on general brief description of public (cultural and sports amenities and services as important for young population from the deprived neighbourhoods) and private (various businesses and shops) services.

practices leading them to the use of local or services further away from their neighbourhoods (Mordret and Maresca 2009).

Adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods rely much on the services and facilities they have in their social space - for both economic and organisational reasons. During our fieldwork we have recognized such consumption practices. Municipalities and urban policy neighbourhoods situated at the peripheries of the cities are characterised by limited access to diverse public services and facilities which are more concentrated in the city centres with an exception of sports facilities that are more frequent and more easily physically accessible (Laurent, Maurice, and Fitoussi 2004). In comparison to other urban spaces, urban policy neighbourhoods have fewer sports facilities[61] and less diverse offerings, but local population can access it rather easily (in terms of spatial distance) (ONPV 2019). *Physical accessibility* of local population to sports facilities does not mean real accessibility to them due to additional limiting factors such as prices, open hours, accessibility by public transport, size of facilities, obstacles such as cultural differences or image (ONPV 2019). Further, likewise cultural institutions[62] are accessible physically to local populations of urban policy neighbourhoods, but their variety is lower (ONPV 2019).

The lack of accessibility to services and facilities comprises various constraining factors among which are *economic restrictions* that consequently influence physical access to services (Mordret and Maresca 2009). To understand the usefulness of existing services in urban policy neighbourhoods, there is a need to understand consumption practices and financial constraints of local populations (Mordret and Maresca 2009), all the more so as many of these consumers, like those from other urban spaces and social classes, consider themselves as agents in consumer society (Avenel 2010).

Concerning high unemployment rate, rising poverty, traditional role of public policies and lack of businesses in or near to French deprived neighbourhoods, the local population is highly dependent on public institutions (Avenel 2016): on social centres for an organisation of leisure practices, on social assistants to find internships and trainings, on police to deal with youth delinquency and neighbours' conflicts (Stébé 2010). That is, people's daily lives in these neighbourhoods are influenced by the support of local public institutions (Avenel 2016). People are differently dependent on these public institutions in terms of their needs and life situations

[61] Sports facilities refer to swimming pools, multi-sports halls, specialized halls (including battle halls), athletics facility, big-game courts (football, rugby, baseball, etc.) and tennis courts (ONPV 2019).

[62] Cultural institutions are: cinemas, libraries, college of music, theaters, museums of France, regional collections of contemporary art, art centers, places for live performances (ONPV 2019).

– i.e. not all are poor, isolated, uneducated. In general, local population is much supported by local public institutions that provide them affordable access to leisure (including cultural and sports practices) practices in and outside the neighbourhoods, important information (for administration, health care, assurance, job trainings), and sometimes moral or social support in different situations. These institutions are established there to help in alleviating social isolation of local population and local social and spatial organisation is managed by urban policy. Despite a great effort, local populations from deprived neighbourhoods still do not meet full social and market inclusion (Box 2, page 80).

Autochthon social capital and local populations' strategies of adaptation

In the contemporary global capitalist world shaped by highly "nomadic" ways of life, limited mobility of impoverished, especially those experiencing urban (social) segregations is a handicap, a constraint to full participation in social and consumption practices in a socio-cultural context (Fol 2010). How has a low mobility become a synonym for social isolation? While low mobility and distance from market-oriented society was an advantage for a working-class, today these are the signs of social marginalization, relegation, and lost identity (Fol 2010). As mentioned above, connecting urban policy neighbourhoods with other parts of towns is crucial in avoiding local populations' social isolation and enabling their mobility, at least in reaching diverse services. Yet, it does not mean that populations are or would be more included in the society and on the market. Factors that influence urban segregation in France are, as we presented above, diverse. However, low-income and immigrant-origin populations of urban policy neighbourhood have experienced economic constraint of living and staying "among them" (Donzelot 2009).

Strategies of adaptation to difficult economic, material, and social situation are quite diverse due to the heterogeneity of individuals' life trajectories. Despite these difficult living conditions, urban policy neighbourhoods represent spaces of social relations of solidarity and the local network of social institutions and associations (Kokoreff 2003; Avenel 2010). Due to limited economic resources, cultural differences, dependence on public institutions and experienced spatial stigmatization by the media many inhabitants rely on autochthone social capital – i.e. a dominantly local or neighbourhood-based network of social relations (Avenel 2010). This strong focus on local social relations affects greatly the most impoverished people. Such social capital is *ambivalent* since this local sociability is one of strategies of adaptation to

economic marginality and urban segregation, but at the same time it provokes conflicts through neighbourhood relations and feeling of populations' dependence (Avenel 2010).

Populations from urban policy neighbourhoods, even though dependent on public institutions, are not passive. Social space and autochthone social capital are the source of development of strategies of adaptation (Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012). A solidarity stemming from populations' material deprivation and spatial stigmatization helps them on the daily basis, in their various life practices (Avenel 2010; Fol 2010). Social relations are nurtured by cultural and ethnic specificities and similar experiences of immigration (Avenel 2010).

Peoples' life trajectories are heterogeneous and so are their daily lives and consumption practices. Some individuals or families, usually the most impoverished ones, are much related to their social space in terms of network of social relations (Avenel 2010; Cortéséro 2012) and consumption practices (Fol 2010). For example, many impoverished consumers from deprived neighbourhoods in French and USA context rely on their families or some friends to give them a ride when going shopping due to not having their own cars (Fol 2010). The author reminds that

> *"[t]he proximity of these networks, just like the familiarity which has been established for a long time with the places as with their inhabitants, create a secure environment and produce ties."*[63] *(Fol 2010, 41)*

For more long-term strategies, some individuals, usually younger people, undertake illicit behaviour (e.g. drug dealing or other delinquencies), while others rely on local networks of associations (Kokoreff 2003) or undertake specific cultural practices (e.g. hip-hop dance) trying to be locally engaged in order to enable life opportunities – i.e. to find a job and go out from passivity (Faure and Garcia 2005). Further, local populations adapt to limited social capital trying to make the most of local public institutions and associations in terms of reaching job information, leisure opportunities, etc. (Stébé 2010; Avenel 2016).

In sum, lives of immigrant and low-income populations from French urban policy neighbourhoods are very challenging for many families and individuals. First, external factors such as unemployment, rising poverty and stigmatization of these spaces and populations from the media and society have resulted in local populations' social isolation and reliance on social relations they have in the neighbourhoods. Second, a scarcity of services and limited access to these outside the neighbourhoods, have affected local populations' dependence on public

[63] Our translation.

institutions and associations established in the neighbourhoods. Despite all these disadvantages and social and material deprivation, individuals are engaged in finding solutions to adapt to spatial constraints and consumption restrictions. Additional spatial constraint, especially for younger populations, is widespread youth passivity and/or delinquency of some of the most isolated adolescents. Thus, younger population has been and still is in the focus of public policy interventions. Also, established negative image and spatial stigma exacerbate lives of these young people.

Section 2: Youth from urban policy neighbourhoods: intertwined spatial and cultural perspectives

When presenting the history of French *banlieues* and urban policy neighbourhoods in the previous section one, one might understand that youth from these urban spaces are of great concern for policy makers and researchers, and important social issue for the media. While urban sociologists have worked closely with policy makers to understand younger populations' lives and practices to propose practical solutions, media have aggravated their image and contributed to their public stigma.

By simple reading French sociological scholarship on youth from *banlieue*, one might notice that this newly created category (from the beginning of 1980s) introduces the ambiguities and generalizes the image of young population from suburban areas and social housing estates. These young people have been approached through a negative and mythical image that fostered their dangerous and delinquent character (i.e. based on riots and delinquency) and that was aggravated by the media making them a homogenous social phenomenon widely stigmatized in the French society (Kokoreff 2003; Wacquant 2008; Avenel 2010); or through the image related to struggling life and life difficulties (Dubet 2008; ONPV 2019). The second image calls attention of policy makers and researchers. Finally, *jeunes des banlieues* cannot be understood out of context of social and urban changes in French deprived neighbourhoods, especially on the peripheries of big cities – i.e. a rising social exclusion and disqualification of certain populations in the French society. Finally, certain French sociologists attempted to present a mosaic of individual life trajectories and daily practices of the young population from urban policy neighbourhoods (Marlière 2005; Avenel 2010). Thus, this youth does not represent a

subculture due to the heterogeneity of young people from these neighbourhoods neither by life struggle and from time to time delinquency (Dubet 2008) nor by belonging to a street culture of just one part of young population (Lepoutre 1997).

The objective of this section is to present how *jeunes des cités*, as a non- homogenous social group, are or may be defined. Also, these adolescents have always been analysed from a spatial perspective (i.e. in relation to spatial constraints of urban policy neighbourhood) but from different lenses. Discussions are organized around the concepts of *subculture* and microculture aiming at depicting whether *jeunes des cités* are a special subculture or not.

Subsection 1: Definition of *jeunes des cités*

> *''The words are not easy. Speaking of the poor, the outcast, the suburbs, the people or the working classes, we make choices beyond language habits, both in "spontaneous" and "scientific" discourse. The way people define themselves and are defined assigns them a place and an identity. ''*[64] [from François Dubet (1997) *Ces quartiers dont on parle*, cited in Boyer (2000, 19)]

Relying on François Dubet's statement we aim at introducing a complex and ambiguous category named interchangeably *jeunes des banlieues* (suburban youth) or *jeunes des cités* (social housing estate youth[65]) in scientific, public and media discourse. Yet, the former term is used more often in the literature referring to the youth from a public (social) housing project that includes cheap high rises situated often at the peripheries of big French cities.

A unique and broadly accepted definition of *jeunes des banlieues* does not exist in the French scholarship even though some researchers have provided its explanations (Marlière 2005; Beaud and Pialoux 2013). Behind the catch-all expression *jeunes des banlieues* is a recently created generic category that embraces socially different groups of young people in terms of age, level of education, social class, ethnic origin, and comprises diverse social phenomena (e.g. youth delinquency, racism, lack of education/training, school failure, second generation of North African immigrants, Islam) (Aquatias 1997; Kokoreff 2003).

Besides a generic aspect of this category, its usage is quite problematic due to a generalizing portrayal of different aspects of youth. On the one hand, *jeunes des banlieues* associated to socially disqualified urban spaces is an uncertain age category that is generally perceived as

[64] Our translation.
[65] This translation into English language appears in the Wacquant (2008).

potentially dangerous or deviant (reference to youth as a social problem)[66] (Kokoreff 2003; Avenel 2010). On the other hand, the most aggressive young men or delinquents and their practices have been ascribed to the whole young population of suburban areas, both wealthy and impoverished (Kokoreff 2003).

An alternative way would be to focus directly on the deprived neighbourhoods of social housing and *jeunes des cités* (Marlière 2005; Kokoreff 2003; Beaud and Pialoux 2013). Yet, this has not been an ideal approach to the youth definition. Marlière (2005) understands *jeunes des cités* as those

> *"young people living in large-scale groups* [of buildings] *whose common denominators are to live in social housing located in the heart of the working-class suburbs."*[67] *(Marlière 2005, 24)*

The author defines the youth in relation to the physical and social space of deprived neighbourhoods opening the interpretation of multiplicity of youth life trajectories and cultural practices. Also, this is not an objective category since:

> *"…it is constructed and worked through feelings of belonging defined in a contextual and relational way, by units of meaning linked to subjective experiences and to material positions in the local or global society. It is always done and undone but remains relevant as long as the actors recognize it as an explanatory value of what they are experiencing."*[68] *(Aquatias 1997, 6)*

From this perspective, the category *of jeunes de cité* embraces experiential and subjective perspective which enables an understanding of this category as a combination of (1) culturalist (anthropological) perspective – i.e. a collective sense of shared experiences of life in deprived neighbourhoods (and beyond), and (2) sociological perspective emphasizing socio-economic life conditions (Aquatias 1997). Thus, *jeunes des cités* are:

> *"… at the same time actual groups, connected by the knowledge and the proximity, but also categories sharing partly same social situation, as much at the level of the resources as of the chances of social promotion."*[69] *(Aquatias 1997, 6)*

Finally, all these definitions emphasize all but a unique social group or category. Rather, there are various groups which reflect spatial, social and cultural aspects of their practices in relation to deprived neighbourhoods. These younger populations are always approached and analysed

[66] In similar way, these young people represent something already known and something a bit different in social discourses on youth in the French society. What is already known is that the approach to youth as a social problem stems from the vision of socially dangerous youth related to poverty and spaces of working-class context; but this category reveals something new in French context – an appearance of immigrants youth in 1990s, sons of workers who are concerned with the issues of immigration and colonisation (Kokoreff 2003).

[67] Our translation.

[68] Our translation.

[69] Our translation.

in relation to social and material aspects of spaces of deprived neighbourhoods, but from different lenses that we briefly present in the next subsection.

Subsection 2: From struggling life to subcultures[70]

The expressions *jeunes des banlieues* or *des cités* reflect what Kokoreff (2003) explains as society's fear or racism, and a symbolically re-appropriated reality in the distance between people living in deprived neighbourhoods (working-class) and those living out of these areas (middle class). However, these young people, at least some of them, have experienced various difficulties (e.g. early school drop-out, lack of access to jobs, economic restriction, discriminations). In such social context, these young populations cannot be defined and understood outside the context of deprived neighbourhoods or without critical spatial perspective of their lives and practices related to these spaces (Kokoreff 2003). This is of a great importance since various spatial constraints shape their feeling of social and market exclusion in comparison to other members of the society. Yet, not all young people share the same feeling about this issue. Thus, in the scholarship, *jeunes des cités* have been dominantly analysed from spatial perspective through two lenses: struggling life and cultural perspective.

Struggling life as a youth subculture?

If media established the image of youth as dangerous social category, urban sociologists in 1980s aimed to understand and explain them through socio-economic conditions and life struggles they faced by living in deprived neighbourhoods of social housing (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992; Dubet 2008) [71]. To destigmatize these young people, scholars have focused more on structural and social factors. Struggling life of young population from deprived neighbourhoods of social housing is different than danger, violence, and delinquency:

> *"To struggle is not to know how to use one's time, it is to be engaged in fleeting relationships, to seek a job without really looking for it, to be delinquent without really being it... [...] The struggle is what*

[70] We acknowledge a variety of research topics and social issues in relation to *banlieue* and young population that French scholars have studied so far. In line with our research interest and in relation to the profile of our research informants (e.g. age, relation to local institutions, cultural practices, etc.), we avoid a discussion and a literature review on the issues such as: school drop-out, delinquency and young men groups, unemployment, urban violence. However, these issues may appear elsewhere in the text as a part of the explanations of adolescents' lives in deprived neighbourhoods.

[71] These are very famous French sociologists who worked on the issue. François Dubet (1987) was the first French sociologists who wrote about the issues of social exclusion, disorganisation and anger of the youth (at that moment, emerging social issue in France).

remains of the youth life when the working-class world is no longer organized around the workers' experience."[72] *(Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 111)*

Thus, struggling lives of young boys and girls (aged 15 to 25) due to the weakened working-class values, rising unemployment and the lack of life opportunities have shaped their life trajectories and feeling of exclusion or anger towards a dominant society (Dubet 2008). Thus, some of young people have gone into delinquency or social isolation. Living struggling life is closely related to the young populations' feeling of a social exclusion and a rejection from the society (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992). Also, feeling or experience of exclusion do not exclusively lead to youth delinquency. Rather local young population feels a shame for their living situations and reputation of deprived neighbourhood they live in (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992).

Life struggle as a subculture? While there has been a tendency to suppose that *jeunes des cités* represent a subculture usually in relation to delinquency and violence, François Dubet (2008) has opposed to this vision. A subculture is established by:

"a normative and cultural system, a set of codes of behaviours and recognitions sufficiently stable and autonomous to organize and "inform" the behaviour of the actors."[73] *(Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 127)*

Dubet (2008) acknowledges that a struggling life of *jeunes des cités* is not a subculture due to the lack of its constitutive elements: functions of subcultures within wider social relations, and cultural characteristics that stem from historic relations and a special way of life (Dubet 2008). *Jeunes des cités* cannot be understood as a subculture because of three following aspects. First, often life struggles are related to poverty. Despite an increasing poverty in the urban policy neighbourhoods, there is no culture of poverty (Avenel 2010). Struggling lives do not have their specific cultural characteristics:

"Even if people are poor, there is no culture of poverty because, through the media, education, travel opportunities, outings and exchanges offered to young people by social institutions, aspirations considered as normal are those of everyone: work, car, individual house…"[74] *(Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 117)*

[72] Our translation.
[73] Our translation.
[74] Our translation.

Adolescents from these neighbourhoods adopt various adaptive strategies to life situations and consumer society of a middle class (Avenel 2010), and for that, especially for leisure practices, they rely on offer of local public institutions such as social centres (Avenel 2016).

Second, these young populations do not create countercultures (i.e. subcultures of delinquency) or gangs despite a young male groups' existence and their delinquency (Boyer 2000)[75]. None of youth groups from these neighbourhoods do not correspond to a culturalist perspective of subcultures in terms of Chicago school of sociology – i.e. there is no dominant ethnic or racial character of young male groups and importance of group integration, these are not criminal groups organized around illicit behaviour and youth delinquency is not group-organized, and there is no deviation of working-class and a strong membership based on criminal acts (criminality is banalized[76]) (Dubet 2008). Other French sociologists have denied that *jeunes des cités* represent subcultures in relation to delinquency due to the youth heterogeneity and different life trajectories (some examples in Kokoreff (2003) or Marlière (2005)). Finally, *jeunes des cités* are not a delinquent subculture since there is no independency of young delinquents actions (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992) due to the lack of an organization of groups.

In sum, according to Dubet (2008) and other French sociologists, there is no youth subculture of delinquency in French *banlieues* nor in *cités*, at least not at the organized level which means a subaltern class and specific cultural values (Barker and Jane 2016).

Cultural practices of youth from deprived neighbourhoods

Beside social and spatial issues of struggling lives of youth from deprived neighbourhoods, French sociologists have shown an interest in their cultural practices. We recognize two approaches in understanding youth cultural practices: (1) a spatial and hip-hop related, and (2) culturalist (or youth subculture).

First, a spatial analysis focuses on *jeunes des cités* (aged 20 to 50 years) and their cultural practices understood as spatial practices witnessing multiple life trajectories stemming from young individuals' daily practices and their relation to social space (Marlière 2005, 2008). Also,

[75] The vision of *jeunes des cités* as a subculture is not consistent with three approaches to subculture : (1) as an *outcome of adolescents crisis* (i.e. in relation to teenage culture) and social organization (i.e. in relation to Chicago school approach and 'gangs'); (2) a *delinquent subculture* as an *outcome of frustration and structural constraints* (anomie and disorganization in the neighborhoods); and (3) an *autonomous* working-class or *delinquent subculture* (culturalist perspective) (Dubet 2008).

[76] Illicit behaviour is not taken seriously but as a way "*to 'handle things' when there are no other resources and the temptation is too strong*" (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 130)

these youth cultural practices have been analysed through their urban culture or hip-hop practices (Bazin 1995; Faure and Garcia 2005).

Second, a culturalist perspective of *jeunes des cités* focuses on a group of adolescents and its autonomous system of values and codes guiding their practices or behaviours (youth subcultures) such as street culture in the study of Lepoutre (1997).

Spatial and hip-hop related cultural practices

The concept of cultural practices may be quite confusing since it depends on researchers' approach to culture. First, as mentioned above, spatial perspective foregrounds daily practices in relation to social space. Second, from the class-based approach to culture, cultural practices may be related to an art as in the context of bourgeoisie (Fleury 2014) or to a popular culture as in Richard Hoggart's research on working-class culture (Barker and Jane 2016)[77]. Third, cultural practices are embedded in the understanding of culture in relation to the reception and experiences of art (i.e. in reference to the high-brow culture) which leads towards a reductionist approach to culture and an understanding of culture within a branch of sociology: sociology of culture (Appendix 1, page 415) (Bauman 1999; Wolff 1999). Consequently, due to a limited space in the dissertation and our research context characteristics, we portray here a spatial approach to youth cultural practices as how *jeunes des cités* have been studied in urban sociology, and their relation to some artistic expressions (e.g. hip-hop). Our interest in these artistic expressions stems from the fieldwork as well as from the French concept of democratisation of culture to fight against social exclusion (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015).

French sociologists, especially those engaged in state institutions – INJEP[78] and Ministry of Culture – have shown an interest in youth cultural practices (Patureau 1992; Octobre 2008; 2009), yet *jeunes des cités* miss their greater attention. French sociologists have been and still are interested in young populations from deprived neighbourhoods, but due to other urgent social issues they have been much involved in collaboration with urban policy makers. Cultural practices of young population from these neighbourhoods have been approached through: (1) urban culture (hip-hop, rap, tags, etc.) (Faure and Garcia 2005), or (2) social and cultural practices in relation to the space (Kokoreff 1993, 1994; Marlière 2008).

[77] We intentionally omit a discussion on cultural practices in relation to social class since the space rather than the class has been in our research focus.

[78] *Institut National de la jeunesse et de l'éducation Populaire* (National Institute of Youth and Popular Education)

First, French deprived neighbourhoods are spaces where urban culture has been developed (Avenel 2010) in relation to the hip-hop movement, integrated into a so called subculture of difficulty, reflecting diverse issues of urban space, youth and immigration (Bazin 1995). Hip-hop culture has been welcomed in suburban neighbourhoods since their inhabitants have experienced relegation and stigmatization increased by the media discourse (Bazin 1995). Socially constructed and collectively accepted image of hip-hop culture has been the one of creative expressions of suburban, low-income areas (Avenel 2010). Also, the hip-hop culture in French suburban deprived neighbourhoods has become omnipresent resulting in urban policy makers' interest in integrating it in their interventions towards *jeunes des cités* (Faure and Garcia 2005)

Faure and Garcia's (2005) study on youth hip-hop dance (from primary to high school) in deprived neighbourhoods brings out its characteristics (e.g. learning and training, material resources, relation to local public services) in relation to urban policy which is more focused on hip-hop for the social purposes than for purely youth artistic experiences. Hip-hop dance, as presented here, has been realized within local educational and social institutions.

Second, other French sociologists have analysed social and cultural experiences of youth from suburban deprived neighbourhoods reflecting more or less their identities which are shaped and influenced by social spaces (Kokoreff 1993, 2003; Marlière 2008). These sociologists have demonstrated a heterogeneity of youth (older than 18 to even 50 years[79]) life trajectories and cultural practices defined through their relations to social space. These cultural practices reflect the role social and physical space of deprived neighbourhoods plays in youth daily practices, and that role is dependent on young people's level of education, (un)employment, relation to religion, ethnic origin, and the level of relation to physical space (Marlière 2005; 2008). Marlière's works have also demonstrated how and how often different youth groups occupy a public space of the neighbourhoods.

Kokoreff (1993, 1994) has analysed young male individuals, aged 18 to 20 or 25 years, and had their identities constructed through their relations to space of these neighbourhoods of social housing and by their urban mobility. The author is not exclusively interested in adolescents, but they are among the young people he has interviewed and observed. Their cultural practices reflect adolescent culture (adolescents aged 15-19 years), mostly oriented towards "going out"

[79] This large age range, especially in the research of Marlière (2005,2008), shows that cultural practices are not biological age, but social context dependent.

which for *jeunes des cités* means escaping relegation and boredom in their living spaces, while for others, from more well-off suburban areas, it means consumption (Kokoreff 1993).

Culturalist perspective: youth subcultures

When a researcher privileges a plurality of cultures that stem from differences of groups that may be discriminated, he privileges a differential concept of culture over hierarchical conceptualisation of culture (Bauman 1999). Differential conceptualisation of culture foregrounds anthropological approach to culture which is not merely related to art or something extraordinary, but it is expressed through everyday human practices and meanings such as values, norms and material or symbolic goods (Barker and Jane 2016). From *culturalist* perspective, culture

> *"is both 'arts' and the values, norms and symbolic goods of everyday life. While culture is concerned with tradition and social reproduction, it is also a matter of creativity and change." (Barker and Jane 2016, 47)*

Anthropologists are very much concerned with meanings, experiences, feelings but also forms through which these internal elements of culture are expressed, presented and became socially constructed (Hannerz 1992). Shared meanings among the members reveal a collective aspect of culture (Hannerz 1992). *Cultural turn* in the 1970s has enabled a development of cultural studies and an anthropological vision of culture – i.e. a culture as a part of everyday life and not as an extraordinary element of people's lives (Fleury 2014).

The concept of youth appeared in the social and economic context after the II World War[80] - i.e. increasing leisure industries and purchasing power, a development of culture and mass communication, an expansion and prolongation of education, a commercialisation of mass products (in Nguyen 2016 according to Clarke *et al.* 2006). Youth as a global phenomenon has been associated with an American society and industrialization (Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995; Schlegel 2000; Bucholtz 2002; Schlegel and Hewlett 2011). However, this approach to youth has been criticized as being too "Eurocentric" and based on how American and European societies explain their teenagers (Brown, Larson, and Saraswathi 2002). Despite becoming a global phenomenon and an important market segment (Drenten 2012), youth culture has

[80] Talcott Parsons was the first (sociologist) who introduced the *concept of youth culture* (Wulff 1995) relying closely on the *criteria of age and gender (sex roles),* youth characteristics as irresponsible due to its undermined social status (still not adult) and a comparison with adult culture whose roles those adolescents might reach (Parsons 1942).

developed its local specificities, but the essential elements of it are hedonic consumption and material culture (Schlegel 2000).

Beside the association of youth culture to adolescence period – i.e. 13 to 19 years (Wulff 1995) or from puberty to 19 years (Bucholtz 2002), it is difficult to precise age range due to earlier puberty, prolongation of education, context and social class (Bucholtz 2002). Indeed, in some cases youth is not defined by biological age but of social circumstances explained by cultural and socio-economic context and historical changes (Bucholtz 2002). Youth has been perceived as a *cultural stage* that:

> *"...often marks the beginning of a long-term, even lifelong, engagement in particular cultural practices, whether its practitioners continue to be included in the youth category or not." (Bucholtz 2002, 526)*

Youth identities and cultural practices shaped by socio-cultural context have gained in research interest (Wulff 1995). For anthropologists, youth culture is a local phenomenon (Bucholtz 2002; Schlegel and Hewlett 2011) even in the case of global youth culture when it comprises its local interpretations. Each youth culture in different national contexts – i.e. developed or developing countries, and of different youth groups (e.g. minority or mainstream; problematic or ordinary youth; deviant) is worth being explored (Wulff 1995). Despite the global homogenization of youth culture, the adolescents and groups whose voices are not sufficiently heard (e.g. marginalized, minorities, excluded, impoverished), need to be portrayed:

> *"The social spaces of difference are important because these sites are constituted by the presence and activity of people whose voices continue to be silenced. These voices belong to those who occupy subordinate positions of power, including women and children. [...] ... cultural meanings that may be held by the groups that oppose dominant interpretations continue to be excluded in order to uphold this representation of culture." (Caputo 1995, 19)*

Finally, youth cultures are dominantly local phenomena and express local, contextual specificities. Instead of talking about youth cultures anthropologists, sociologists, cultural and consumer research scholars use concepts such as subcultures or microcultures.

Youth (sub)cultures[81]**.** The culturalist approach to youth is peculiar to the anthropological[82] (Valentine and Skelton 2005) and cultural studies on youth (Bucholtz 2002). Culturalist scholars do not deny youth and adolescents' age liminality, but they focus on youth culture as worthwhile being studied. This approach is originally developed by anthropologists, that

[81] In this part we briefly present the notion of subcultures as well as some main streams of research.

[82] Here we have no intention to explain the evolution and early anthropologists research and influence of American cultural anthropology

sociologists, interested in youth identity and not in youth as liminal age phase or transition to adulthood (Bucholtz 2002), adopted in their studies.

An anthropological perspective of youth – i.e. youth-centric approach- foregrounds a symbolic meaning, values, behaviour patterns, practices of youth culture (Schlegel and Hewlett 2011). Young people are considered as active agents and creators of their culture (Wulff 1995).

From the cultural studies standpoint, a culture expressed within a subculture "*has referred to a 'whole way of life' or 'maps of meaning' which make the world intelligible*." (Barker and Jane 2016, 554). Any subculture is distinctive and different "*from the dominant or mainstream society*" (Barker and Jane 2016, 554).

The streams of sociological, anthropological, cultural studies and consumer research on youth subcultures have evolved through several streams of research. First is represented by *deviant or subcultures of delinquency* analysed within Chicago school of sociology (between two World Wars). Urban sociologists studied ethnical groups youth and their unruly behaviour in relation to violence, crime, or delinquency. Youth was understood through its members' illicit behaviour as resistance to dominant class and its values and practices (Barker and Jane 2016).

The second stream of research foregrounds *youth subcultures of resistance* through their rituals and the appropriation of material culture that was in research focus of scholars from Birmingham school during 1960s and 1980s. Their attention was paid to collective identities and styles of working-class youth understood as an active agent demonstrating a resistance (Hebdige 1988) towards dominant cultural and social ideology of British society in the 1970s. A popular culture and politization of youth and an oscillation between culturalist and structuralist approach to culture have marked these studies[83].

Finally, through postmodern sociological, anthropological and consumer research (e.g. Consumer Culture Theory) *youth subcultures* have gained more fluid conceptualisation and plurality of cultural forms has been acknowledged – i.e. subcultural differences are not *a priori* based on resistance, but on individuality, taste, aesthetics, and other characteristics (Barker and Jane 2016).

Postmodernism has greatly influenced changes in consumer culture (Featherstone 2007) and cultural studies, and their understanding of categories such as class, gender, race, etc. not as ultimately structuring features of consumers' behaviours. Contemporary consumer societies with the proliferation of commodities and images acknowledge culture as an element of society

[83] A constant play between culturalist perspective to culture (i.e. as part of everyday life) and structuralism in sociology (i.e. a strong influence of social class on social and cultural practices)

(Jameson, 1981). At the same time Pierre Bourdieu's theory of taste as a social classifier has been still used in consumer research since a consumption is based on a social distinction (Featherstone 2007).

Youth and microcultures. Among contemporary anthropologists, Ulf Hannerz[84] (1992) is a scholar that has proposed to explore youth culture through the concept of *microcultures.* His adoption of an interactionist approach to culture makes him closer to qualitative sociologists from Chicago school – i.e. a culture is produced through interactions among people. Also, for Hannerz a social reality (political, economic, ecological, etc.) is not separated, external to culture with which it interacts and which it shapes (Hannerz 1992). Such standpoint is in opposition to strictly culturalist perspective of Birmingham school (even in constant relation to values and practices of dominant culture) focusing on the issues of power and materiality in producing cultural difference (Hannerz 1992).

According to Hannerz (1992), a culture is produced through the interaction of perspectives that members of a culture adopt in reacting to meanings produced externally and by producing their own. These perspectives are reached by an adoption of different roles (e.g. gender, age, ethnical origin) through situational involvement that enable individuals to develop their perspectives (Hannerz 1992). Consequently, a culture is a flow of meanings within small groups that communicate on a daily basis – a social organisation of cultural meaning at the micro scale in contemporary complex[85] societies (Hannerz 1992). In such a complex context, small scales (small in relative sense) of social organisations of meanings are subcultures and microcultures (Hannerz 1992). Hannerz (1992) has been more prone to the concept of microcultures (Table 5, page 101). Yet, microcultures have usually not been of interest for anthropologists due to their concrete character and limited size (Hannerz 1992). This leads to the problems of the usage of microcultures in anthropological works. They may be transformed into subcultures or cultures through the process of generalization during a research. In the same vein, Fine (1979) has emphasized that "*every group has to some extent a culture of its own, which I shall term its idioculture*" (p. 734). This statement refers to a group's own culture consisted of:

> *"a system of knowledge, beliefs, behaviors, and customs shared by members of an interacting group to which members can refer and employ as the basis of further interaction." (Fine 1979, 734)*

[84] We express no intention to develop Hannerz's analysis of contemporary culture (this is not our objective), but to underline his position in opposition to culturalism (as presented above in the case of subcultures and Birmingham school and after).

[85] Hannerz (1992) also precises that he might call it "messy" society aiming at precising the plurality of cultures and its complexity in contemporary, especially Western countries.

Table 5: Subcultures versus microcultures concepts in anthropology

Element	Subculture	Microculture
Sub versus micro prefixes	"Sub" refers either to just a culture as a part of a larger culture or as a hierarchically and/or qualitatively lower or subordinated culture (even deviant);	"Micro" simply reveals a part of a larger culture
Focus on externalities and larger culture	Too much focus on a subculture itself and less relations to a larger culture (with an exception of Birmingham school and their constant relation to the dominant culture);	Understood inseparably from a larger culture
Individual participation	A lack of focus on individual participation in situations	Situational involvement and shared experience in the core of microcultures
Quality and quantity of participation	Supposed equal participation	Real life situations reveal a different level and intensity of participation
Conditions	Ideal conditions for a creation and existence of a subculture	No ideal conditions for microcultures (see also Fine (1979) on external constraints)
Size	May reach millions of members	From dozen to hundred persons
Differences	Isolated; emphasized differences from a larger or dominant culture	In constant relation to a larger culture; microcultures among themselves may show commonalities (see Fine (1979) for example)
Membership character	Exclusive	Overlapping of subcultures and perspectives
Cultural boundaries with larger culture	Clear	Blurred

Source: Hannerz (1992)

In his study, Fine (1979) focuses on five baseball teams (groups of adolescents 12 to 15 years) from the USA since "they combine the two major elements of group life: task orientation (winning games) and socioemotional orientation (peer friendship)" (Fine 1979, 735). These idiocultures have a mediating role according to Fine (1979) since they deal with external situations (constraints) to the group and the group response (behaviour) to the constraints (e.g. responses to victory or defeat of baseball teams). Five constitutive elements of Fine's (1979) concept of idioculture are: known, usable, functional, and appropriate culture and triggering event.

In contemporary consumer culture societies, the notions of neo-tribes (Nguyen 2016) and microcultures (Darpy 2012) appear to find their appropriate place. Darpy (2012) explains it this way:

> *"Unlike a subculture, micro-culture is a social structure deliberately chosen by the individual and not" imposed "by the environment. Since the links between culture and consumption are becoming closer, these micro-cultures are also defined on the basis of consumer activities (admiration or possession of such a brand, consumption of such a product category) and not on the basis of common social denominator (age, religion, profession, ...)."*[86] *(p 237)*

Social housing estate youth and youth subcultures. A heterogeneity and fluctuating aspect of youth groups from French deprived neighbourhoods has been advocated as an obstacle to define them as subcultures (Boyer 2000; Dubet 2008; Marlière 2008). Media have tended to ascribe this youth to the issues of violence and delinquency which have stigmatized them associating them to a counterculture or subculture of delinquency. If counterculture means being in opposition or separated from dominant culture, Boyer (2000) highlights that *jeunes de cités* are in relation to dominant culture and French consumer society, which enables them to create their identities through cultural *bricolage* of Western consumer culture practices and traditional values (Islamic or Rastafarian) of their cultures of origin (Boyer 2000).

French scholarship on *jeunes des cité*s faces limited research on youth (sub)cultures approached from anthropological perspective. The reasons are different. First, psychological research of adolescence as a life age has a long-term dominance in French sociology of youth (in general and from deprived neighbourhoods (Lepoutre 1997). Second, there has been a prevalence of research on youth social and economic integration due to the economic crisis that appeared at the end of 1970s. This has lead scholars to approach *jeunes de cite* from the perspective of sociology of marginality – i.e. to focus on violence and delinquency and other related social issue such as school failure or unemployment (Avenel 2010). Sociologists have paid more attention to social disorganisation and life difficulties in deprived neighbourhoods which brought out the concept of struggling youth introduced by François Dubet (1987) (Lepoutre 1997).

Third, despite a few studies on forms of sociability and language among adolescents from deprived neighbourhoods, more studies are

> *"concerned with the discovery and valorization of cultivated or already more or less recognized forms of culture, that is, forms of artistic expression such as graffiti , the dance and music of the hip-hop movement, or some specific sporting practices such as Thai boxing."*[87] *(Lepoutre 1997, 25)*

[86] Our translation.
[87] Our translation.

Concerning structural, social and spatial constraints (e.g. spatial stigma, rising poverty, discrimination, school failures, violence), it is important to understand cultural practices of *jeunes des cités* more broadly to reach their symbolic meanings so that miserabilist approach (i.e. in relation to *legitime* culture) and populist approach (i.e. a focus on local cultural forms) towards this young population would be avoided (Grignon and Passeron 1989; Lepoutre 1997).

Lepoutre (1997) offers a culturalist perspective of young people aged 10 to 16 living in deprived neighbourhoods of large-scale high-rise social housing estates, experiencing school failures, and facing the lack of professional opportunities. Thus, a recognized set of practices, attitudes and social relations among these young people shapes *streets culture* (fr. *culture des rues*) to which they belong and which has been expressed through youth awareness of the "group" and occupied places in a public space that enabled their culture's autonomy (Lepoutre 1997).

What streets culture reflects is an adolescent and working-class subculture with certain specificities: (1) culture of young people 10-16 (mainly male groups); (2) culture is public space related since members express their identity through their social relations within public space (physical space) of deprived neighbourhoods; (3) culture is strongly local and context dependent – i.e. street culture cannot be understood out of the French context of large-scale high-rise social housing estates at the peripheries of big cities (Lepoutre 1997); and (4) it is not consumer culture – i.e. this culture exists at the same time as consumer and media culture (Avenel 2010).

In sum, *jeunes des cités* is neither a special social category nor a youth subculture, especially not subculture of delinquency. However, to understand and to define them a combination of an anthropological perspective (i.e. shared youth experiences and meanings of their practices) with sociological perspective (i.e. similarity of shared social situations of lives in the neighbourhoods) should be privileged. That is, youth cultural practices or even youth cultures cannot be separated from spatial and social context these adolescent live in. Yet, apart the study of Lepoutre (1997) French literature lacks culturalist or interactionist approach to youth cultures or collective cultural practices – i.e. contemporary French scholarship lacks research on youth shared experiences during collective practices (as in Hannerz's microcultures) and relation between these practise and consumption experiences.

Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter portrays spatial constraints of French urban policy neighbourhoods caused by diverse external (macro) and space-specific factors. In such a context, consumers have developed strategies of adaptation to material and social deprivation, and to find the way out of social and market exclusion. Their reliance or dependence on local public institutions is a part of their strategies.

In these constraining, deprived social contexts, youth cultural practices are not only pleasure and hedonic oriented, but also reflect adolescents need to avoid boredom overwhelmingly present in these neighbourhoods. To date French scholarship approaches *jeunes des cités* and their cultural practices from spatial perspective either as related to an appropriation of space and a creation of youth cultures, or to urban culture.

Conclusion of Part One

The first part of our dissertation represents a theoretical grounding of our research on collective cultural practices of young consumers from economically marginalized French deprived neighbourhoods. Critical spatial theorists and scholars that have adopted this theoretical position emphasize constraining spatial and broader social and structural forces through analysis of consumers' appropriation of social space (Lefebvre 1974). At the same time, they acknowledge that such spaces provide creativity, resistance and alternatives of local populations or consumers (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997).

To understand and describe practices of young consumers from French urban policy neighbourhoods that are strongly shaped by *constraining spatial dynamics* (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) – i.e. rising poverty, spatial stigma, socially homogenous space created through spatial concentrations of low-income populations, etc. Many young consumers from these neighbourhoods, due to their limited economic resources and the lack of services in these spaces, depend on local socio-educational institutions and their offered services (sports, cultural). These relations of dependence between adolescents and local institutions lead towards understanding spatial constraints and consumption restrictions adolescents attempt to avoid and the empowerment they try to reach. Finally, in such contexts, certain young consumers create small-group cultural practices that refer to Hannerz's *microcultures* and coping strategies realized at a group (collective) level.

In our work we use terms *spatial vulnerability* to emphasize spatial constraints that affect consumers' lives and practices, and *youth microcultures* to depict adolescents' collective cultural practices in small groups according to Hannerz (1992). The former concept helps us to avoid naming *jeunes des cités* as vulnerable consumers, and to emphasize our interest in how space influences youth practices. The latter concept underlines interactionist perspective (i.e. youth shared experiences) of youth collective cultural practices and it is intertwined with spatial perspective (i.e. spatial constraints and consumption restrictions). Finally, microcultures are *coping strategies* and, thus, they represent young consumers' collective agency and response to spatial vulnerability.

After the presentation of reviewed literature to shape our theoretical grounding, in the next part we present epistemological position we take in our research, applied methodology for data collection and analysis.

PART TWO: RESEARCH EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction to Part Two

After the presentation of theoretical grounding of our doctoral research in part one, here we introduce our epistemological position and methodology we applied.

For the purpose of our research we aim at reaching knowledge by privileging consumers' views and the meaning of their practices stemming from the observations in their living context. In line with spatial perspective, these consumer practices are approached and described through spatial influence. Consequently, in our dissertation, we aim to understand the meaning of youth collective cultural practices as a response to spatial constraints of deprived neighbourhoods they live in.

This part is organised in the following way. In the *first chapter* we have presented the main philosophical assumptions of interpretive paradigm in consumer research in which we have embedded our doctoral research (Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Creswell 2007; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). By this epistemological position, our research privileges young consumers' views and an understanding of the sense of their words and practices within deprived neighbourhoods.

In the *second chapter* we discuss ethnography as a qualitative methodology applied in our research. Also, we introduce data collection methods with focus on multi-sited ethnography and provide a more detailed description of our process of data collection and fieldwork evolution.

The *final chapter* introduces the specificity of ethnographic interpretations and clarifies our data analysis and interpretation making our process of coding and criteria of validity, that we relied on during our research, comprehensive.

Chapter 3: Epistemological position

Before starting a scientific research study, it is crucial for a researcher to consider and justify her/his epistemological position that guides scientific knowledge. The epistemology is a theory of knowledge (Barreau 2013)[88] which

> *"…aims fundamentally to characterize the sciences in order to judge their value and in particular to decide whether they can be closer to the ideal of certain knowledge and authentically justified."*[89] *(Soler 2009, 10)*

But, how was scientific knowledge developed over time? The theory of knowledge evolves simultaneously with a scientific development that is enabled through scientists' efforts to contribute to facts, methods and/or theories within a science or a discipline (Kuhn 1983). Thus, the scientific development is related to epistemological *paradigms* where a new one challenges a 'normal science' or a scientific consensus on dominant paradigm (Kuhn 1983; Soler 2009). Different epistemological paradigms exist in marketing and consumer research (Denzin and Lincoln 2011) despite a dominant reliance of scholars on positivism and interpretivism/constructivism.

In this chapter we briefly depict the interpretivist paradigm and its relationship to gaining scientific knowledge of social realities as applied in marketing and consumer research. Further, in the *second section* we present main philosophical assumptions of interpretivist paradigm (in contrast to positivist research) and conclude this section illustrating how these have impacted our doctoral research.

[88] In French academic context epistemology refers more specifically to a scientific knowledge (Soler 2009).
[89] Our translation.

Section 1: Interpretivist paradigm and its application in marketing and consumer research

At the turn of 1990 an interpretivist paradigm has found its place in marketing scholarship alongside positivism (Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Bergadaà and Nyeck 1992). In 1980s marketing scholarship has faced emerging debates on the alternative paradigm to dominant positivist logic in marketing scholarship: a relativist, constructivist or interpretivist paradigm has been advocated by marketing scholars (Peter and Olson 1983; Hudson and Ozanne 1988). In the period of late 1980s and early 1990s Anglo-Saxon and French marketing scholars have published articles in which they introduced the specificities of interpretivism and its contrast to positivism (Hirschman 1986; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy 1988; Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Bergadaà and Nyeck 1992). Guided by different research goals, principals, theories and methods of inquiry than positivists, advocators of an alternative paradigm have been asked for more justification and objectivation of their theoretical and methodological choices. This is recognized as an *interpretive turn* in consumer research advocating alternatives to grasp more socio-cultural and more critical knowledge about marketing and consumer behaviour phenomena that cannot be reached through mere reliance on psychological theories and micro perspective of consumption using experimentations or surveys (Sherry 1991).

These debates and proposed interpretivist paradigm, alternative in marketing and consumer research, rely much on Kuhnian tradition of epistemological paradigms[90]. The succession of paradigms appears in the periods of crisis within a science or a discipline (Soler 2009). Such crisis appeared in 1990s in consumer research leading to the introduction of alternative paradigm (Sherry 1991). The advocators of the emerging paradigm (Hudson and Ozanne 1988) rely heavily on *incommensurability of paradigms* (Kuhn 1983) in terms of differences in norms and contents which bring out opposite research goals and differences in main philosophical assumptions to seek marketing knowledge. Based on different research goals, values and philosophical assumption, interpretivist and positivist paradigms in marketing and consumer

[90] Kuhn understands a *paradigm* as a collection of theories and methods to which dominant values are joined, research problems and legitimate solutions that are accepted by the members of a scientific community (Soler 2009).

research are incommensurable (Hudson and Ozanne 1988), yet contribute to pluralistic vision of marketing phenomena (Hunt 1991).

The interpretive paradigm is labelled in different ways: naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988), humanistic inquiry (Hirschman 1986) or relativist/constructivist science (Peter and Olson 1983). The specificity of this paradigm lies in (1) the act of interpretation and (2) the role of understanding. First, the act of interpretation represents an assignment of a sense to a given reality (Soler 2009) being used both in positivist (nomological-deductive explanations of reality) and interpretive paradigms. However, distinctions between its use in the two paradigms exist. In positivist paradigm a theory is seen as separate from an inquiry, while in interpretivist paradigm an inquiry is understood as theory laden and "paradigm bounded" (Hunt 1991). Thus, interpretations in constructivist/interpretivist paradigm are framed by interpretive communities or theories (Creswell 2007).

The interpretivism is understood as non-legalized type of scientific explanation not based on principles of universality and prediction as this is the case in nomological-deductive explanations (Soler 2009). Thus, an interpretation does not aim to enable causality and predictions but allows a description of human or social facts giving them meanings (Soler 2009). Taking Ricoeur's vision Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy (1988) advocate an interpretation as "*critical analysis of a text for the purpose of determining its single and multiple meaning(s)*" (p 400). The act of interpretation of human or social phenomena is associated to *hermeneutics* which understands these phenomena as text which needs to be deciphered (Soler 2009) while a researcher attempts to provide meanings to what s/he has experiences during inquiry with the informants. Specifically in anthropology, it calls for a "thick description"[91] based on researcher's experiences during fieldwork (Céfaï 2003).

Second, social sciences[92], in general, and marketing research, in particular, cannot propose an explanation of causality and enable an objectivity as natural sciences do, since commonly various interpretations of a given reality or phenomenon are possible (Martinet 1990). Social scientists adopting the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm aim to *understand* human behaviour and social situations. In the case of human behaviour to understand means "*to live*

[91] The approach to the interpretation of cultures introduced in anthropology by Clifford Geertz in his work "The interpretation of cultures: selected essays" (1973)

[92] A need for much explanation of an epistemological positioning in social science research lies in fundamental differences between nature and social sciences of which the former was dominant in establishing leading scientific principles: causality, objectivity, deduction, research object-subject separation, universal truth, etc. (Martinet 1990; Soler 2009). The challenge for social science, and marketing too, is to adapt to these principles while having its specificities in terms of research goals, objects and, consequently, methods.

through, to a certain point, from the inside and comprehensively, the other person's experience – be able to reconstructs the meanings and reasons [of actions]"[93] (Soler 2009, 84). Human actions (behaviours) are taken as signs in that they always hide some other meanings than what is merely observed (Soler 2009). To understand phenomena or situations calls for a researcher to announce the process behind her/his vision and statements (Laplantine 2010). Thus, constructivist/interpretivist scholars try to understand meanings associated to the real social situations by actors themselves and to propose the interpretation(s) of these meanings. In so doing, they adopt the *Verstehen*[94] approach to (1) understand purposes of individuals' actions and transmit their visions of the world (e.g. consumption, market) within a situation under study, and (2) capture and interpret shared meanings within a given cultural context very often in relation to the hermeneutical analysis (Abel 1975; Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Soler 2009). Doing research in cultural contexts, that an interpretivist researcher is familiar with, is helpful (and usually done) to further the understanding of consumers' actions within a situation under study (Hudson and Ozanne 1988).

The alternatives that the interpretive paradigm brings about are summarized in (Spiggle 1994):

> *"(1) the attempt to understand meaning of texts through interpretive procedures, (2) the focus on context, (3) the use of qualitative data and qualitative analysis, and (4) the frequent use of emergent research designs and inference processes." (p 491)*

Consequently, due to the interpretivist paradigm orientation towards various possible interpretations, and thus, multiple realities, a scientific knowledge being *relative* to a given context or situation and a period of time is incapable of applying universal scientific laws since each research context demands its interpretive framework and references (Peter and Olson 1983). In marketing scholarship, starting from late 1980s, scholars have acknowledged the need to develop conceptually and methodologically their scientific enterprise in understanding consumer behaviour beyond the process of buying (Badot et al. 2009). Accordingly, other social science concepts and/methods (e.g. anthropology, sociology, history) helped marketing scholars undertake research at various levels (macro or micro) and approach social reality in a different way than in classical consumer motivation studies. Consequently, a new movement

[93] Our translation.

[94] *Verstehen* (in German "to understand") stems from German philosophy in late 19h century, namely from Wilhelm Dilthey, that advocated for a descriptive and a process of deep understanding of human beings (their actions and subjective leanings) by undertaking an inquiry that describes rather than explains their actions and subjective meanings within different social situations (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012).

within consumer research has been created - Interpretive Consumer Research (ICR) referring to:

> *"… a series of interpretive methodologies including 'existentialism, philosophy, semiotics, hermeneutics, introspection, critical theory, cultural studies, post-structuralism, feminist theories, discourse analysis and postmodernism' (Beckmann and Elliott 2000, 1)."*[95] *(Badot et al. 2009, 97)*

Section 2: Main philosophical assumptions in interpretivist paradigm

In our doctoral research we aim to understand youth microcultures and portray them as collective strategies in managing spatial vulnerability. Our research goal is in consistency with the process of understanding, advocated by interpretivist paradigm, in that we privilege adolescents' voices and meanings they ascribe to their collective cultural practices in relation to spatial vulnerability that is greatly affected by scarce materiality of space and affects consumers' lives. This section opens with (1) a presentation of main philosophical assumptions of interpretivist paradigm in contrast to positivism (Table 6, page 115). It is followed by (2) brief discussion on practical issues brought out by the interpretivist paradigm that affects our research (Table 7, page 116)[96]. In so doing, we rely on the scholars whose works were cited in marketing and consumer research scholarship: Denzin and Lincoln (2011), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Hudson and Ozanne (1988) and Peter and Olson (1983).

Differences between positivist and interpretivist marketing scholars go beyond mere methodological differences (dominantly quantitative versus qualitative) advocating opposite goals and leading philosophical assumptions (ontology, epistemology and axiology) (Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Bergadaà and Nyeck 1992). The way these scholars understand the research subject, the relation to truth and gaining scientific knowledge and roles of values of scientific research underline important paradigmatic differences that make them incommensurable (Kuhn 1983). Advocates of interpretivism emphasize that reality is multiple, meaningful and

[95] Our translation.

[96] Concerning philosophical assumptions, we focus on the differences between a positivist and interpretivist paradigm since their differences have been mostly discussed in marketing scholarship. In the part *Practical Issues* we underline some we found relevant to our inquiry. A methodology is purposefully omitted in this table since it is presented in the next chapter.

dependent on time, context and individuals under study, which exposes marketing scholars to various interpretations of the reality and leads them towards the process of understanding instead of predicting (Martinet 1990; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Such vision of reality demands researcher's participation in the inquiry in order to capture the meanings of intersubjective relations in the construction of reality to gain a scientific knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Indeed, human and social facts cannot be explained as natural facts but understood in the way that their interpretation is based on lived experiences of those under study through their intersubjective relations (Céfaï 2003; Soler 2009). In our inquiry such understanding is reached through employed ethnography as a research strategy in capturing multiple cultural practices and their meaning among youth groups from underprivileged urban areas.

If reality is relative, how does a researcher understand the nature of a scientist knowledge? In line with ontological assumption of multiple and relative realities rather than a single reality, an interpretivist acknowledges subjective scientific knowledge (Lincoln and Guba 1985) since s/he does not believe in the absolute truth and application of universal scientific laws. Thus, knowledge is highly context and time dependent (idiographic) and shaped by theoretical framework accepted within a paradigm and relevant research community (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Soler 2009). To reach multiple realities in specific contexts a researcher interacts with subjects or "object" of study leading to the co-construction of meanings and their inseparability in the process of research (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Also, multiple realities are coupled by multiple causes of a phenomenon/a behaviour which makes it difficult for interpretivist researcher to provide causality and prediction as positivist paradigm allows.

Relying on subjective knowledge and the understanding of a phenomenon (not on universal scientific laws) an interpretivist inquiry is value-laden in terms of choices made by a researcher in terms of chosen research subject and informants, a paradigm, a leading theory, and guiding values within context itself (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Interpretivist paradigm calls for the consistency of these values to produce results meaningful to a research community and research participants. The latter advocates an emancipatory character of the inquiry.

Further, the interpretivist inquiry embraces very practical issues in marketing and consumer research such as: a demand for practical research goals in relation to a studied consumers' behaviours, an adoption of theories (other than psychology dominantly used in micro analysis of consumer behaviour independently of the context) to improve marketing knowledge, a consideration of ethical issues since a researcher and participants are in close contact and

research may affect participants, and the possibility to grasp multiple voices in order to understand a phenomenon and provide its interpretation.

Table 6: Philosophical assumptions of positivist and interpretivist paradigms

Philosophical assumptions		
Assumptions	**Positivist/Empirical Paradigm**	**Relativist/Constructivist/Interpretive paradigm**
Ontology (metaphysics)		
Nature of reality	There is a search for measurable truth and focus on prediction and control; reality: single, objective, possibly fragmented into measurable variables;	Relativist due to multiple realities: time, context and individual dependent; mainly mental and perceived, but also intersubjectively constructed through meanings developed socially and through experiences; they need to be studied holistically through *Verstehen* due to constant changes
Nature of social beings	Deterministic; reactive	Voluntarist; proactive; individuals act in their environments
Epistemology (nature of knowledge)		
Truth	Reaching absolute truth through research process	Truth is subjective and context-dependent
Scientific knowledge	Objective; nomothetic (time and context-free; following universal laws); absolute; rational (following logical-empiricism)	Subjective; idiographic (time and context bond) and relative to context and reference framework; pragmatic
Relationship knower-known	Independence; duality; separation	Co-creation of meanings; inseparability
Causality	Existence of real cause preceding the action	Multiple interactions and simultaneous causes
Axiology		
	Inquiry is value-free due to application of objective methodology	Inquiry is value-bond through values of a researcher's choice of a subject, but also of a paradigm, a leading theory, a research context; roles of values toward social emancipation

Table 7: Our research and its relations to interpretivist paradigm

Philosophical assumptions	
Assumptions	**Our research**
Ontology (metaphysics)	
Nature of reality	Our participants are various adolescents from French urban policy neighbourhoods; we search for their visions of their collective cultural practices in local institutions; adolescents' meanings of practices are dependent on materiality and social context of the neighbourhoods;
Nature of social beings	Adolescents collectively through contacts with diverse local coordinators/professors/artists undertake cultural practices and deal with spatial constraints of the neighbourhoods
Epistemology (nature of knowledge)	
Truth	Meanings of youth microcultures are influenced by adolescents' visions and affected by spatial constraints; adolescents collective cultural practices represent the situations in two urban policy neighbourhoods and evolve over time
Scientific knowledge	
Relationship knower-known	Meanings of collective cultural practices are co-created through participant observations, interviews and informal exchanges with adolescents and related local stakeholders
Causality	Adolescents' groups interact with diverse local stakeholders; certain adolescents take part in different groups and undertake different leisure practices; causes for their collective cultural practices are diverse (from passion for the activity and peers' influence to economic restrictions)
Axiology	
	Adolescents make part of a social phenomenon "suburban youth" that faces spatial stigma and real or potential social exclusion; youth microcultures (collective cultural practices) are a way of challenging spatial constraints of deprived neighbourhoods and avoiding social (market) exclusion
Practical issues	
Issues	**Relation to our research**
Inquiry aim (the research goal + the reason for inquiry)	"Suburban youth" in French public and media discourse has had a negative connotation, suffers more from social (market) exclusion and is less present in cultural institutions within their leisure time
Scientific knowledge accumulation (further development of understanding of the subject/field	We adopted critical spatial theory (philosophy, sociology) and youth microcultures (anthropology)
Ethics (relation researcher-subject + inquiry influence on participants	Ethical issues affect each fieldwork activity; no direct influence on young people (see Methodology: Data collection process)
Language of research (voice)	No intention to integrate voices of young people directly in the final presentation; young people help us understand them and context of inquiry (see Limits of the research)

Our interest in youth microcultures in deprived neighbourhoods in managing experienced spatial vulnerability is consistent with its philosophical assumptions and practical issues of the interpretivist paradigm. How these relate to our doctoral research is presented in Table 7.

Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter introduces our epistemological position. For the purpose of our doctoral research we adopt the interpretivist approach that enables us to reach meanings of our informants' practices within their lived contexts. This approach is in line with our focus on consumer practices from spatial perspective enabling us to consider sociocultural context and its influences.

Based on the interpretivist approach we explain the research strategy and the methodology we applied in our research.

Chapter 4: Qualitative research strategy and applied methodology

In an attempt to reach the meaning and to understand adolescents' collective cultural practices within deprived neighbourhoods, we adopt a qualitative (naturalistic) research strategy and employ a humanistic method in our doctoral research conducting an inquiry in a natural setting (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Hirschman 1986). Qualitative research is consistent with an interpretivist approach for several reasons:

1 research tools and applied methods are designed to collect various qualitative data (e.g. field notes, images, videos); and

2 data analysis process allows reaching the meaning of studied reality/phenomenon and helps reflecting informants' words and visions of reality which excludes any verification of data in artificial conditions (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012).

Relying on the interpretation of consumers' life worlds and contexts of consumption and applying the humanistic method for that purpose, marketing scholars tend to study them "*in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them*" (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, 3). This demands a researcher's immersion in and her/his exposure to various consumers' beliefs and multiple realities that make reaching an objective truth impossible (Hirschman 1986). These natural settings are contexts where consumers' behaviours take place and influence meanings of their interpretation (Lincoln and Guba 1985). To enable appropriate interpretations of studied human behaviours and contexts, interpretivist research relies on certain paradigms (e.g. constructivist, participatory) and employs certain interpretive perspectives (lenses, theories) (Creswell 2007). Among various qualitative research strategies, marketing and consumer research scholars apply ethnography which is consistent with human and naturalistic inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln 2011).

In this chapter we introduce ethnography as a research strategy we applied in our research which resonates with our aim to describe youth microcultures created within local institutions in managing spatial vulnerability of two urban policy neighbourhoods situated at the periphery of

Lyon agglomeration. In so doing, the *first section* opens with an introductory discussion on ethnography as a research strategy and its use in marketing and consumer research followed by a presentation of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) and main data collection methods employed within our ethnographic research with adolescents. Also, ethical issues affecting our data collection process are presented here.

In the *second section* we portray and explain data collection process in quite a long and exhaustive way due to the fieldwork challenges we have experienced as a doctoral researcher of a different cultural background. Here, data collection activities (Creswell 2007) are presented in a chronological way according to several phases of fieldwork development.

Section 1: Ethnographic research strategy and data collection methods

To collect context-relevant data about youth collective cultural practices within deprived neighbourhoods and spatial influence on these, we opted to apply ethnography as a research strategy for data collection in our research.

Here we introduce general characteristics of ethnography and its use in marketing and consumer research accompanied by a presentation of multi-sited ethnography. The section is concluded with presentation of main data collection methods and techniques we apply in our research.

Subsection 1: Ethnographic approach to qualitative research

A complexity of evolution of meaning and usage of ethnography in scientific research has caused a lack of its single meaning (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Traditionally, ethnography is a research method of data collection peculiar to anthropology (Augé and Colleyn 2018) and adopted later in qualitative sociological research (Adler and Adler 1987; Céfaï 2003). Ethnography as research strategy reflects social and cultural anthropology interest in social relations as they appear in socio-cultural context (Augé and Colleyn 2018). It is a method adopted in qualitative research that aims to understand individuals' experiences as they occur in studied socio-cultural context and to provide a holistic perspective through written representation of a studied culture-sharing group (Sherry 2008). Ethnographic research is useful

whenever a researcher is interested in how individuals' behaviours and experiences are both shaped by and construct a culture of which they are members (Arnould 1998). A culture as a *symbolic human action* guides interpretation towards reaching the meaning of what the events and human agencies have to say about culture (Geertz 1973).

Ethnographic research enables particularistic vision of studied individuals or a group since it brings into focus a contextualisation of cultural elements providing connections among them where actors' experiences may be recognized (Arnould 1998). In the words of Geertz (1973) culture is a context for its diverse structural elements – behaviours, events, institutions and processes – that ethnographer aims to describe. Researchers who adopt ethnography attempt to reach informants' insights into culture-sharing group specificities through immersive work and data collection conducted directly from informants within a natural setting. That immersion is "*labour intensive and always involves prolonged direct contact with group members in an effort to look for rounded, holistic explanations*" (Goulding 2005, 7). In other words, ethnographers apply a participant observation of social behaviour and direct communication with members of a studied group/culture (Laplantine 2001).

Aiming to explain cultural, structural patterns of individuals' behaviours or experiences, the ethnographers "*must be able to live in himself the main trend of the culture he studies*[97]"(Laplantine 2001, 157–58). In so doing, they privilege an exteneded stay in cultural contexts using diverse data collection methods and resources involving fieldwork practice (Laplantine 2001).

Applying ethnography demands a researcher to acknowledge the following (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Arnould 1998):

1 data collection and recording of actors' behaviours or experiences are done in natural setting(s) by actors themselves;
2 a prolonged and experiential researcher's participant observation in a cultural context is needed to understand social actions;
3 a particularistic vision of consumer behaviour and a plurality of consumption practices need to be reached;
4 a multiple source of data collection in studying a single phenomenon is needed to reach consistency in presented representation of behaviours and context; and

[97] Our translation.

5 an advocated reciprocity in researcher-informants relation, where ethnographers communicate her/his experiences with social actors in a studied context, should be adopted (an opposite approach to classical ethnography).

Trying to represent cultures, ethnographers attempt to explain "*structured patterns of action that are cultural and/or social rather than merely cognitive, behavioural, or affective*" (Arnould 1998, 86). Ethnographic representation of culture (or certain aspects of culture) is written down – it is a text (Van Maanen 2011). This demands ethnographers to enable an interpretive flow between *emic* analysis (actors' perspectives of experiences) and *etic* analysis (an interpretation of cultural meaning proposed by a researcher) (Spradley 1980; Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). That is, natives' voices (multiple realities) are combined with a scientific vision of studied reality based on theoretical constructs (Arnould 1998)[98]. This *emic-etic* interplay in ethnographic representations of cultures (or aspects of cultures) demands a researcher to develop a holistic perspective of a studied phenomenon (Hill 1993).

Finally, the ethnographic approach adopts ethnographer-informants inseparability, direct contacts in natural settings (studied contexts). A lack of separation of an ethnographer from the research "object" is justified by sociologists adopting the ethnographic approach, through the need to understand actors' experiences of socio-cultural contexts or their social word (Adler and Adler 1987). This is something that marketing and consumer research scholars have advocated in order to reach pluralistic, context specific and socio-cultural perspectives of consumer behaviours (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). Also, direct relations with informants in ethnographic approach are not without criticism. A researcher's presence is not without an influence on the actors and context that s/he tries to minimize (Hill 1993). Also, ethnographer's presence in the field and data collections demand his/her highly ethical behaviour towards the informants (Hill 1993; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Anthropological research and ethnographic practices have evolved over time (Marcus 1995; Van Maanen 2006). The process of globalisation has challenged classical anthropological vision of centre-periphery paradigm as it was understood in anthropological research over time (Copans 2011) resulting in a different fieldwork approach. Contemporary anthropological approach and ethnographic practices are adopted in marketing and consumer research:

[98] Goulding (2005) underline that *emic* is "*at the heart of ethnography, while the etic perspective is the researcher's abstractions or scientific explanations of reality*" (p 300).

1 There is a common usage of ethnographic strategy in various culturally close social situations[99] which enabled application of ethnographic research in marketing research in understanding consumers' behaviours and experiences within the contexts where they occur (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Hill and Stamey 1990; Badot et al. 2009);
2 Within the globalisation process where individuals, groups and cultures are highly (inter)connected, ethnographic research has influenced marketing research on consumption practices shifting from classical single-site to *multi-sited ethnography* (Marcus 1995; Ekström 2006; Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006);
3 Contemporary researchers employing ethnography are more concerned with *ethical issues* that are fundamentally imbricated with ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Sherry 2008);
4 In the search for more critical ethnographic research, scholars apply multiple-voice perspective in their research advocating an emancipation of marginalized groups (Creswell 2007). *Critical ethnography* has found its place among the consumer research scholars attempting to reach emancipatory thinking or actions towards certain populations of consumers (Hill 1995).

Here, we have introduced the main characteristics of ethnography as a research strategy applied in our doctoral research. We have also mentioned contemporary ethnography features – multi-sited ethnography, ethical issues, and critical ethnography – which are consistent with our research goal to portray youth microcultures and the context of our study (deprived neighbourhoods). We have introduced and explained these features and their application in our research in the following sections.

Subsection 2: Multi-sited ethnography as research strategy

In our research we have applied a multi-sited ethnography. Prior to its description here we have underlined practical reasons that led us to apply this data collection strategy. Firstly, our position as a researcher of a different cultural background and the knowledge of the urban policy neighbourhoods, as a spatial and social phenomenon in the French society, guided our focus to different neighbourhoods and sites (institutions) at the time. Secondly, first months of

[99] Contemporary anthropologists do not search for exotic, isolated or distant cultures (Laplantine 2001) as they had done at the beginning of 20st century. Thus, contemporary anthropology gives a priority to diversity of contexts/situations and to the plurality of cultural forms within a society (Augé and Colleyn 2018).

our fieldwork have shown a lack of constant and regular presence of our informants in the public space of the neighbourhoods.

Classical ethnographic research (Hannerz 2003) comprises "*a long time [spent] in a remote location far away from home, seeking a deeper cultural understanding of a certain phenomenon*" (Ekström 2006, 497) and focuses on everyday life and intimate relations to social groups (Marcus 1995). Classical ethnography is related to a single-site fieldwork and the experiences of local practices exclusively, which are inconsistent with the process of globalisation (Hannerz 2003; Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006) and thus, peoples' migrations, travelling and communications. That is, in today's globalized, connected world, most places and people are connected and not isolated opposing to classical anthropological interest in distant cultures. The process of globalisation changes the nature of social life that influences markets and consumer behaviours, especially local consumption practices (Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006). Marcus (1995) finds this "intensively-focused-upon single site of ethnographic observation and participation" (classical) model is confronted to *multi-sited ethnographic* research that is "*embedded in a world system*" aiming "*to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space*" and "*tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity*" (Marcus 1995, 96). Multi-sited ethnography is

> *"designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography." (Marcus 1995, 105)*

The main differences between classical and multi-sited ethnography, and in what our methodology aligns with the latter are summarized in Table 8 (page 127). Further, some specific questions have guided contemporary ethnographers and marketing and consumer researchers too, towards an adoption of multi-site ethnography in contemporary ethnographic research. These elements are embedded in paradigmatic shift in contemporary anthropology (Ekström 2006) that coupled with global changes have impacted the nature of local consumption practices (Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006).

1 *How to understand "field"?* Ekström (2006) relying on James Clifford emphasizes the understanding of the field in contemporary ethnography "*as habitus instead of place, involving embodied dispositions and practices*" (p 500).

2 *How to understand "sites*"? According to Hannerz (2003) in multi-sited ethnography a combination of various sites may create a field, and sites are not fixed, but may be a

temporary phenomenon (e.g. conference, exhibitions). Field sites create a coordinated structure as understood by Hannerz (Ekström 2006). A real challenge for a researcher and a contribution of multi-sited ethnography is "*to bring these sites into the same frame of study and to posit their relationships on the basis of first-hand ethnographic research*" (Marcus 1995, 100).

3 *What data collection methods to apply?* There is a variety of methods to be used (Ekström 2006). However, researchers are more focused on interviews (due to the lack of time in many multi-sited research) texts and media (Ekström 2006), but are less focused on (participant) observation – a key method of classical ethnography – which is not adapted to mobile individuals today since some activities are important while, at the same time, others are not or not accessible (Hannerz 2003) and a researcher can spend less time in various contemporary fields (Ekström 2006). Fieldwork practices vary in terms of quality and intensity among field sites (Marcus 1995).

4 *How to understand a comparison?* In single-site ethnography, a comparison enterprise is based on homogenous units of analysis (group of informants, local communities, etc., includes separated periods of time or project and activities, and is spatially linear in nature (Marcus 1995). Such linear and *a posteriori* realized comparison cannot be employed in multi-site ethnography since its object of research is mobile, multiply situated and emergent which requires that a comparison process is conducted simultaneously with fieldwork practices in order to outline the emergent object of research (Marcus 1995).

5 *What to be concerned with in final writings and data collection?* Contemporary ethnographers should be more reflexive in their writings on cultures that may replace a need for "thick descriptions" in traditional, realist ethnographies (Ekström 2006) in addition they need to be more critical (Creswell 2007). Indeed, in multi-sited ethnography, a reflexivity is a dimension of method (Marcus 1995) embedded in the cognitive, reflective enterprise of a researcher towards her/his informants.

6 *What is the role of a researcher?* Due to changes of sites, situations, and groups of subjects during fieldwork, the role of a researcher and her/his commitment in local contexts may vary and also her/his identity may require renegotiation (Marcus 1995).

7 *How to understand "culture"?* Van Maanen (2006) advocates "*the distinctly modern idea of culture as something constructed (and construed) – thick and thin – by all self-identifying groups"* such as, for example, "*culture as constructed by motorcycle gangs, culture as constructed by art scene aficionados in lower Manhattan…"* (p 15).

8 *What is the object of the research?* Not a holistic presentation of a local culture and conditions of studied individuals, but "*a cultural formation, produced in several different locales*" (Marcus 1995, 99). Techniques in defining the object of study and conducting multi-sited ethnographic research may be to: follow the people (following a particular group of subjects; mostly present in migration studies); follow the thing (following the circulation of material objects – commodities, money, work of art, etc. - through different contexts); follow the metaphor (following the discourse and the mode of thoughts); follow the plot, story or allegory; follow the life or biography; and follow the conflict (Marcus 1995; Ekström 2006).

9 *What is about "subaltern perspective"?* Classical ethnographic research has traditionally been focused on subaltern subjects. In multi-situated ethnography subaltern perspective is not avoided, but the research focus is on "*other domains of cultural production and ultimately to challenge this frequently privileged positioning of ethnographic perspective*" (Marcus 1995, 101).

10 *How to understand "local"?* In multi-sited ethnography there is no room for traditional distinction world system-lifeworlds of subjects (local specificities) due to more fragmented and globalized social reality (Marcus 1995). Further, multi-sited ethnography aims to gain *local knowledge – relationships of the local to the global* – "*that remains to be recognized and discovered in the embedded idioms and discourses of any contemporary site that can be defined by its relationship to the world system*" (Marcus 1995, 112). In marketing and consumer research multi-sited ethnography is useful, besides understanding global market conditions (Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006), to explain local markets (Ekström 2006).

11 *How to understand "global"?* Within multi-sited ethnography a global perspective is "*an emergent dimension of arguing about the connection among sites*" (Marcus 1995, 99).

12 *What are the challenges of doing multi-sited ethnography individually?* This is seen as "ethnographic nomadism" which, despite constantly enabled improvement of researcher's understanding of sites and consumers' behaviours, may not provide sufficiently deep view of the phenomenon due to the lack of its details (Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006).

In our doctoral research the multi-sited ethnography refers to different sites in different urban policy neighbourhoods in Lyon agglomeration used by the groups of adolescents for collective cultural practices. These sites in our research comprise: *main sites* (socio-educational institutions in the neighbourhoods) and *secondary or temporary sites* (public space in the neighbourhoods, local events, local cultural and other institutions and facilities, or other sites outside the neighbourhoods). Our research goal to portray youth microcultures created within

socio-educational institutions in deprived neighbourhoods is consistent with the multi-sited ethnography. Also, focusing on different adolescents' insights into their collective cultural practices and spatial influences on these, we opted to align our data collection to critical ethnography that aimed the emancipatory visions and actions (Hill 1995) of the broader French society, cultural institutions managers and policy makers towards this population. In the next subsection we depict the data collection methods specific to ethnography that we applied in our research.

Table 8: Single sited versus multi-sited ethnography (adapted from Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006)

	Single-sited	Multi-sited	Our multi-sited ethnography
Approach to fieldwork	Intensive focus on observations and participation within one chosen site	(1) Objects of study are mobile and multiply situated; (2) multiple sites fieldwork; (3) not all sites are treated using a uniform set of fieldwork practices; (4) varying intensities and qualities of fieldwork	(1) youth cultural practices done in and outside the neighbourhood comprising different sites; (2) two urban policy neighbourhoods and various sites for youth cultural practices; (3) /(4) no equal presence in each neighbourhood; no participation in youth cultural practices with the same quality of relationships with informants; no equally profound, rich and spontaneous interviews and informal exchanges with adolescents;
Main research topics	Illuminating an entire culture and social life of people/perspective of subaltern; resistance and accommodation; groups' encounter of and responses to displacement of their culture	The circulation of cultural meanings, practices, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space	Focus on youth cultural practices within local institutions in the neighbourhoods as transformative practices against social exclusion
Research perspective	Committed localism, holistic dualistic them-us frame	Self-consciously embedded in a world system; exercise in mapping terrain, goal not holistic representation	Youth microcultures are not countercultures but spatial variation of youth cultural practices in French society; mapped adolescents' relations with institutions and their navigation through spaces in and outside the deprived neighbourhoods
Comparative perspective	Comparative studies are generated from homogeneously conceived conceptual units, on the basis of separate projects of fieldwork	Comparative dimension is integral to study; it involves juxtaposition of phenomena previously seen as 'worlds apart'	Constant comparison leads to a limited number and characteristics of cases/sites/neighbourhoods; local and beyond the neighbourhoods' youth consumptive and creative cultural practices are intertwined within youth microcultures

Subsection 3: Data collections methods

Ethnographic research, both single or multi-sited, are specific for multi method or multiple source of data collection (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Arnould 1998; Creswell 2007). Multiple methods are used to grasp different perspectives about social actors' behaviours and a given context (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994)[100]. In that sense these various data collection methods tend to access "*disjunctures in consumers' behaviour and praxis (established practice and associated norms)"* (Arnould 1998, 87) referring "*to the differences between the data provided by various methods*" (Arnould 1998, 90).

In general, ethnographic research gives a priority to "*informal interviews with privileged informants and in situ observations, rather participant, recorded in a "logbook*"" and also may comprise "*more formal interviews (semi-structured or open), or even a questionnaire survey to verify a trend identified by a more qualitative approach*[101]" (Badot et al. 2009, 95). Various data collection methods are applied in both single and multi-sited ethnographies such as: observation and participant observation, informal conversations, interviews, field experiences logs, videos and photographs (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003; Copans 2011).

In our doctoral research, we adopt the following data collection methods: participant observation and ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979; Duchesne and Haegel 2008), field activities log/diary (Lincoln and Guba 1985), informal exchanges, and the use of different public documents. Our data resources are both human (adolescents under study and other actors of importance for the research) and nonhuman sources of information (documents or records) (Lincoln and Guba 1985). A summary of data collection methods is presented in Table 9 (page 137).

Participant observation

Participant observation is dominant and specific data collection method applied in ethnographic research strategy (Adler and Adler 1987; Arnould and Wallendorf 1994) and used by marketing and consumer research scholars "*because of the access it provides to the complex behavioural details of consumption*" (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, 486). Participant observation

[100] Their purpose is twofold: they seek to understand behaviours in contrast to existing norms or ideals, and to grasp the oppositions/contradictions in actors' own explanation of their behaviours/experiences (Arnould 1998).
[101] Our translation

advocates the ethnographer's participation "*in social, cultural or ritual life as it is*"[102] (Copans 2011, 34) or in "*everyday life of the group or organisation under study*"[103] (Becker 2003, 250). Badot and colleagues (2009) explain participant observation as

> *"more often a kind of "floating observation", not much participant in practice (except for in-store purchases), but very anchored in the places of practice. It consists of a research characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, among them. During this period, data is systematically collected. The observers immerse themselves in people's lives. They share their experiences."*[104] *(Badot et al. 2009, 102)*

The purpose of a participant observer is dual: (1) "*to engage in activities appropriate to the situation*" and (2) "*to observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation*" (Spradley 1980, 54). The participant observation chronicles the actions/experiences of the informants directly within a situation (in a studied context) which contrasts with informants' report on how these happened and it does not have to correspond fully to their behaviours/actions (Arnould 1998).

To realize participant observation is not an easy task for the ethnographer who needs to be accepted by a group/individuals, to establish normal relations with people, and to manage any unforeseen event or crises due to various causes (Copans 2011). One of the main challenges for the ethnographer is to gain people's confidence (Adler and Adler 1987) in order to access diverse situations and have a more meaningful exchange with informants. To which extent the confidence of informants is important depends on the sensibility of research topic and context and it is closely related to the roles a participant observer may have: from a complete observer to a complete participant (Gold 1958), overt (openly admitted role by a researcher) or covert roles (unadmitted researcher's role) (Adler and Adler 1987). Thus, participant observation may vary from passive (not a lot of exchange with the informants; rather distant position of a researcher; her/his position is to observe and take notes), to moderate (a researcher balances between participation and observation), to active (a researcher seeks to learn cultural norms), to complete (a researcher is like an ordinary member) (Spradley 1980). Also, ethnographer's roles are affected by the specificities of the context/field and of the researcher and by any changes occurring during fieldwork (Adler and Adler 1987).

The observational data in ethnographic research enable an ethnographer to provide the interpretations of the phenomenon under study, but only coupled with the verbal data

[102] Our translation.
[103] Our translation.
[104] Our translation.

(informants accounts) (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). There is a challenge of cultural interpretations for a researcher demographically and culturally distinct from the informants, so that s/he need to apply certain *correctives*: longer fieldwork activities, to ensure extensive field note details and member checks to grasp emic perspective of the phenomenon (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994).

Field activities log. Taking field notes and writing a field activities log are techniques ethnographers use during participant observations (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Hirschman 1986; Badot et al. 2009). These writings represent a reminder for a researcher of what has been done and said during fieldwork activities, but also a document to be used later in the research process (Copans 2011). Badot et al. (2009) acknowledge a variety of information a researcher notes down such as descriptions, sketches, first impressions when entering the sites, etc. Field activities log may include reflections on theory-construction (process of development of understanding of studied phenomenon) and methodology (writings about bias and distortions employed technique may engender) (Hirschman 1986). Further, within these notes a researcher writes down her/his feelings towards informants (Copans 2011). Field activities logs are useful in the process of data analysis enabling a researcher to live through moments s/he experiences at different sites and in various situations again (Badot et al. 2009).

In our fieldwork practices (Table 9, page 137) we have undertaken an overt role that is consistent with a need for an ethical treatment of young informants from deprived neighbourhoods facing spatial stigma through the media and public discourse. Our participant observation ranges from passive to moderate (Spradley 1980) depending on the group of informants and activities. We have passively participated in many situations since youth collective practices have been organized in such a way that prevents us from actively participating in them (e.g. hip-hop dance trainings, radio workshops). Also, this has helped us observe both materiality of space where youth practices have been done and relations between adolescents and coordinators (Beaud and Weber 2010). In situations where it was possible (e.g. improvisational theatre workshops, board games, children's games) we have moderately participated in undertaking roles suitable for the collective practices and acceptable for both youth coordinators and adolescents.

Our participation has been dependent on the confidence of the informants that we have developed over time. We insist on this issue since we have not been previously known to either adolescents or to their coordinators who have been our intermediary persons. Thus, a double confidence was needed for us to be accepted in the field and by youth microcultures.

At the beginning of our fieldwork practices (phase of intensified negotiation of sites) we opted to take field notes (during activities). With the consolidation of fieldwork sites and participant observation, we focused on keeping field activities logs, written on the daily basis after the fieldwork activities (Lincoln and Guba 1985). This enables us to stay focused to observe activities, places, people, but also to engage in informal exchanges when possible. In certain cases, a researcher faces difficulties in taking down notes or is forbidden to do so, demanding to write them down and organise once a field practice is finishes (Copans 2008). In certain situations where we passively participated, we have abandoned taking notes very quickly since this made us uncomfortable vis-à-vis the adolescents[105]. Our field activities log comprises: (1) descriptions of situations (places, actors, and cultural activities) (Spradley 1980), we participated in, coupled with our reflections on them (2) used techniques during fieldwork and emerging theoretical orientations for data interpretations (Hirschman 1986) and (3) *introspection* on our position in and feelings within a field site or group (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Minowa, Visconti, and Maclaran 2012). Concerning introspection, unlike these marketing scholars we have not taken personal diary apart. Rather we have integrated the introspective reflections into our impressions within the field activities log. Further, in relation to our position of a researcher from a different culture this helped us express our culturally distant viewpoints of the context. And, finally, we have applied certain correctives in order to grasp more information about youth microcultures and spatial influence. The most useful to us have been member checks of first data analysis with the groups we spent more time at the field and developed confidence during a fieldwork.

Informal exchanges and ethnographic interviews

Informal exchanges and interviews (individual or group, semi-structured or open) are an integral part of ethnographic research (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Badot et al. 2009). Verbal data are important for ethnographic research in that they provide an insight into *emic* perspective of the observed action through the accounts of informants (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). The usefulness of interviews can be found in what Arnould (1998) acknowledges about informants: "*their comparative statements can only articulate what they believe to be true about themselves and those like them*" (p 95). Ethnographic interviews are "*a series of friendly*

[105] We felt that taking notes made a barrier between us and adolescents making it impossible to realize informal and spontaneous conversations. Also, we felt like by taking notes directly in front of them that at the beginning we did not know, we demonstrate them our superior social and a position of a researcher and stranger to them.

conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants" (Spradley 1979, 58).

Within the interview the ethnographer is a stranger to social situations and to the informants since s/he does not belong to a studied context (Beaud and Weber 2010). This demands situations and practices to be explained by informants. In our research we have applied ethnographic interviews with the adolescents from low-income neighbourhoods (Spradley 1979; Beaud 1996) In that sense, we followed what Spradley (1979) advocates: a gradual introduction of new elements to discuss within an interview or through several interviews with a group or individuals.

In our multi-sited ethnographic research, we opted for informal exchanges with adolescents, youth coordinators, cultural institutions' managers, professors, and other stakeholders form the urban policy neighbourhoods, and ethnographic interviews with adolescents. These have happened before, within or after our participation or simply observation of the situation in which we participated. Informal exchanges appeared to be much easier to collect information from various stake holders in the field. With adolescents, at least with certain groups, even this data collection method has been quite challenging to apply. With the older adolescents (19+) and the groups where confidence with coordinators or professors was established, the informal exchanges were easier and more spontaneous. We have relied on informal exchanges in our research to understand contextual, spatial influences on adolescents' cultural practices and to collect the information or to confirm the ones that we already collected.

In terms of ethnographic interviews, we have conducted some elements and our challenges need to be introduced here. First, our ethnographic interviews have been conducted in the working-class or low-income neighbourhoods which exposed us to the challenges Beaud (1996) and Beaud and Weber (2010) indicate. Due to cultural and social distance between us and our informants we noticed their awkwardness during interviews (Beaud and Weber 2010). In order to minimize this feeling, we have excluded the interview guide after several months of fieldwork practices (see Interview guide below) which was an obstacle in our interviews (Beaud and Weber 2010) with adolescents from low-income environments. Also, due to the generalized negative image of the adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods, we have been forced to assure the adolescents about our critical spatial approach and our interests in their activities being sure they have many things to tell us. Consequently, such distance and spatial stigma they

face have made it very difficult to organize the interviews[106] and to repeat them when needed. This has led us to keep, for the final analysis, only the groups with which we could develop a confidence and with adolescents who have not shown discomfort in participating[107].

We aimed to conduct in-depth interviews (Beaud 1996). In our research they have been quite irregular in terms of duration which was caused by the informants' age and confidence we developed. Older informants (19+) and some aged 17 could concentrate on longer and complex discussions. Also, once we have developed enough confidence, adolescents could spend much time conversing with us. However, we were forced to have shorter interviews than we hoped, and to repeat them to collect the information[108].

Second, ethnographic interviews in our research are semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews rely on an interview guide (Beaud and Weber 2010). The interview guide that we applied at the very beginning of our fieldwork practices has been abandoned in the intensive period of data collections. It has been unsuitable for the low-income population environment (Beaud 1996) such as urban policy neighbourhood where we conducted the interviews. We felt a social distance between us and a lack of adolescents' spontaneous descriptions of behaviours and situations. Our seminal ideas about cultural practices in relation to their visits to cultural institutions and experiences did not provide anything specific to these groups and context-specific but mechanical answers to our questions. Also, with time, new concepts and spatial issues have appeared from our observations and informal exchanges that we have attempted to include in our repeated interviews. Finally, our interviews are semi-structured in that we have had questions or issues in mind to ask informants and let them be

[106] Our general strategy was to develop coordinators' or professors' confidence, and then to informally exchange with adolescents whenever possible before starting interviews. This strategy resulted in different quality of relationships with coordinators and adolescents. One of extreme examples are y*outh multipurpose centres* (specific institutions for remote neighbourhoods). Besides a number of changes in structure of and great number of youth coordinators, our challenge were the adolescents themselves. To informally exchange with adolescents (mainly 11 to 14 years) has been almost impossible and the reasons were various: not a good time because of the time of an activity they had, an interest to talk to us has been expressed, but very superficially and very briefly, and most of the time they have talked and played with the coordinators. To organize interviews has been even more challenging since adolescents never came with the same regularity to participate in the weekly leisure practices, we needed to interrupt their activity for the interview and that changed the whole atmosphere, promises for the interviews have never been kept. Several interviews that have been organized did not offer much but simple answers to our questions without the expression of their experiences and their answers revealed their discomfort with the interviews.

[107] With the groups (other than those from Youth multipurpose centres) constituted of adolescents 15 to 21 years we experienced a challenge to develop confidence and their interest in our research (with some groups and individuals this was much time-consuming). However, we succeeded in exchanging informally and conducting individual and group interviews (and to repeat them when needed).

[108] The reasons for this are quite practical and related to our limited time for the fieldwork practices and irregularity of adolescents' presence in the collective activities. That is, we needed to take advantage of the situations we participated in and to organize the interview with the adolescents during or after their activities. Thus, duration has not been negotiated before the interview. In many cases, the promises for interviews have not been kept which resulted in weeks of repeated meetings with some groups or in no interviews at all.

free in their accounts, providing anecdotes or examples. We have been obliged to do so to gain more details from adolescent's accounts and to maintain group dynamics in group interviews. A few group interviews were very close to unstructured interviews where mostly adolescents' exchanges guided the interview (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). Yet, all adolescents needed to be guided by our questions and encouraged by topics of discussion. Thus, it is difficult to characterize these interviews as purely unstructured.

Third, conducted interviews are mainly group interviews. The adolescents we met during our fieldwork have more or less constituted stable groups. In order to capture group interactions and their collective insights into their cultural practices we have privileged group interviews understood as research interviews and not used for the purpose of observation and experimentation (Duchesne and Haegel 2008). At some sites we have conducted individual interviews and mostly with informants 19+ years due to the conditions of certain situations when we did not have much opportunity for the participant observation or for gathering members for the group interviews (Appendix 2, page 417). We have been less prone to conducting individual interviews. Yet, their contents are among the richest and most spontaneous.

The group interview comprises at least two persons and brings out some social relation (Duchesne and Haegel 2008). Our group interviews have been conducted with adolescent constituted groups during their cultural practices at different sites. At the same time, these groups are natural groups in that their members share an inter-knowledge (Duchesne and Haegel 2008). Our informants' groups are comprised of friends or peers from the neighbourhoods gathered around cultural practices within local institutions. In group interviews we have faced a group dynamics that oriented the interview (with adolescents creating close groups and being passionate about the collective cultural practice), an unequal participation of each member of the group in the conversations and less dissonant points of view about what has been commonly accepted by the group (Duchesne and Haegel 2008).

For the interviews with the adolescents we aimed at maintaining natural conditions (Duchesne and Haegel 2008) in which youth groups have lived and done their cultural practices. This is important for the ethnographic interviews in low-income populations' environments (Beaud and Weber 2010). We negotiated the places of interviews with adolescents respecting their choices to enable them being interviewed in the settings they know either in the places of their cultural practices or in the places they chose in or near the neighbourhoods.

During each interview we needed to adapt to each group in terms of elements Spradley (1979) proposes: (1) we explain the purpose of the interview to adolescents (e.g. to get to know each other, to collect information on their cultural activities, to enrich collected data, to analyse together what we understood from them) and (2) provide ethnographic explanations of the purpose of our research project[109], recording[110]; and question explanations (especially within repeated interviews we explained the different questions we asked). Providing descriptions of experiences or collective practices has been very challenging with the adolescents in general except in the case of those aged 19 and over and having a status of a student. This demanded us to ask diverse questions to encourage them to explain their visions to us.

Ethical issues and sensitive context (sensitive population)

Ethnographers are always concerned by ethical issues (Sherry 2008)[111], yet those that study sensitive topics (Ger and Sandıkçı 2006) or oppressed and marginalized populations (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hill 1991) are particularly guided by these issues. These researchers need to or should enable advocacy or support for the informants under study or, in cases of public policies or human rights, to undertake an activist role (Sherry 2008). For that purpose, a *critical ethnography* employing an advocacy approach towards marginalized populations is particularly appealing to researchers (Creswell 2007). If a research (including consumer research) attempts to enable an emancipation of studied informants (population) from any constraining social domination stemming from practices or stereotypes, then critical ethnography is the appropriate research strategy (Hill 1995). This empowerment of marginalized populations' of consumers is among sensitizing principles consumer scholars should consider if they attempt to reach some social changes (Ozanne and Fischer 2012). In our ethnographic research, adolescents from the deprived neighbourhoods are the *sensitive population* due to their stigmatization in public discourse associating them with urban violence, delinquency, early school dropout and passivity. Also, while many of them do not live in total poverty, their families face limited

[109] Not all informants have shown equal interest in our project so that depth of our explanation varies among youth groups. Mainly 11 to 14 years old have been less interested.

[110] Even though each institution authorized voice recording of interviews, we have asked each group for their permission and explained why this is helpful for our research. All informants agreed to this. However, the use of voice recorder made adolescents, at least at the beginning or during the first interview, shy or more careful about saying 'nonsense' (sometimes when they provide funny anecdotes they used to calm down or correct each other's vocabulary). The use of voice recorder with the adolescents aged 11 to 14 disturbed them very much. The relations we created during informal exchanges radically changed during recorded interviews. Information was superficial, adolescents expressed discomfort and we felt awkward. The spontaneous words disappeared. However, in few cases, some of these adolescents-initiated conversations. Then a usage of voice recorder was not a problem.

[111] The anthropological fundamental focus has been on individuals as actors and their relation to power structures Sherry (2008).

economic resources and mainly rely on local socio-educational institutions to access diverse services outside the neighbourhoods. Additionally, urban policy neighbourhoods as a spatial and social phenomenon characterized by low-income and dominantly immigrant-origin populations coupled with limited variety of services represent *sensitive research context*. These two elements (context and population) imposed on us the focus on social space and its materiality that affect the types, organisation and meaning of youth collective cultural practices.

Being in contact with the informants during data collection, a researcher needs to behave in an ethical way: to guarantee their anonymity, to explain clearly the purpose of the research with a careful attention to sensitive topics and to be careful about sharing personal experiences with informants (Creswell 2007). These ethical issues are among the important field issues Creswell (2007) proposes to employ in ethnographic research. In research in sensitive contexts or with marginalized populations, building the informants' trust is an important ethical issue. In reaching information that attempt any emancipation or social change, a researcher needs to spend much time in the field developing much needed confidence of the informants (Hill 1993; Ozanne and Fischer 2012). Yet, it is usually very challenging for a researcher to assure confidentiality and anonymity to the informants and even a copy of a scientific paper (Ger and Sandıkçı 2006). In our research, we explained our focus, directly to the adolescents, on their cultural practices and how these enable them to challenge the constraints of the space they live in[112]. French sociologists have demonstrated that the populations from urban policy neighbourhoods in France often express a mistrust towards journalist and even researchers. This is related to their generalized stigmatizing image these spaces, and thus their populations, have in the French society. We have felt the pressure of this spatial stigma towards local population that obliged us to be clear and very open in the explanation of our research interest. Also, we have assured confidentiality and anonymity of the informants to the managers of the institutions and to the informants themselves. While quick and brief discussions with adolescents have been realized often, to gain their confidence for in-depth and repeated interviews or for active participation in their activities was very challenging, stressful, and time-consuming. Also, we proposed to check up our first analysed data but not all groups have been interested in this or it has been quite difficult to gather the members. Groups and individuals with whom we kept longer relationships during our fieldwork accepted check-up meetings. Finally, in remote neighbourhoods we have mostly been characterized as journalists or sociologists by different

[112] This was quite challenging to explain to the adolescents 11 to 14 years old since they have not shown the maturity for such discussions. Instead we needed to explain this to the managers and youth coordinators of the institutions.

stakeholders. Being a researcher in marketing has been not at all appealing to the different managers of socio-educational institutions. For some we have been there to analyse the adolescents and to later influence them by selling them products. The obstacles have been diverse.

Table 9: Applied data collection methods in our research

Method	Type	Researcher's roles	Specificity	Usage
Participant observation		Overt role (Adler and Adler 1987)	We openly admitted our role to the informants	In all situations
		Observer-as-Participant (Gold 1958)	Brief or no deep relationships with certain groups and adolescents	In different situations
	Passive Participation (Spradley 1980)		Presence during youth activity without participation in or greater interactions with informants; taking notes if possible	Major
	Moderate participation (Spradley 1980)		Our attempt to create a balance between observation and participation	Moderate
Interviews	Group interviews		Semi-structured, audio recorded	Major
	Individual interviews			
Informal exchanges	Main informants: adolescents		Met or exchanged with during their activities	Moderate
	Other informants: youth coordinators, street educators, managers of youth centres, professors, etc.		During and out of youth activities	Major
Documents	Field experiences log/diary		Written and/or audio recorded	Major
	Public documents		Leaflets; printed cultural programs; local newspapers; etc.	Minor
Audio-visual materials/records	Collected photographs		Settings; places of cultural activities	Minor
	Collected sounds		Smartphone application "Shazam" to identify the music during activities	Minor

Further, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) contend that ethical issues in ethnography need to be carefully considered if the aim of the inquiry is to gain knowledge. That is, a researcher needs to behave ethically during the whole data collection process. In addition to what (Creswell 2007) underlines we indicate the following issues: (1) to provide an informed consent of informants, (2) to respect their privacy, (3) to avoid doing harm and (4) exploitation of informants while collecting data, and (5) to consider possibilities for further research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Specificity of ethnographic research, especially relying on participant observation in the context, and sensitivity of research topic or researched population advocate the importance of ethical issues to be respected. Thus, following the ideas of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) we underline several issues we have faced during data collection:

1 *Informed consent*: people (potential informants) need to be completely informed about the research and its purpose (Creswell 2007).

1.1. *Researcher's roles*: The covert roles – a researcher does not admit openly her/his position to informants (Adler and Adler 1987) – are ethically questionable. In case of overt roles – openly admitted researcher's position (Adler and Adler 1987) – a researcher tends to nurture the relation with informants, because there is a constant possibility of its deterioration.

In our research: we adopted an *overt role* with all groups of informants; to maintain constant relation with adolescents we aimed at frequent presence on the fieldwork and organization of meetings and interviews directly with them (whenever possible);

1.2. Explanation of research objectives: at the beginning of data collection, a researcher usually does not reveal all due to the lack of knowledge of a field development; and later, for practical and logical reasons, s/he would not reveal detailed research aim to avoid influencing their behaviours or accounts that may impact the results (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In our research: as fieldwork evolved and thus our research objectives, we gave more detailed explanations to youth coordinators and youth groups who showed more interest in participating in our research.

2 *Respect privacy*: in ethnographic research what is private will be made public though interpretations, but "public" depends on the context of research and certain conventions already existing (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In our research: we opted for the anonymity of adolescents, main institutions and coordinators, and the urban policy neighbourhood; only Lyon agglomeration is revealed as geographical reference.

3 *No harm*: it is usually not the case that ethnographic research will cause harm to its informants, but to avoid or lessen their stress, a researcher needs to establish confidence and trust (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In our research: that has been the main preoccupation during fieldwork; since with some groups there has been no possibility to establish confidence, we have gradually or rapidly (which depends on our relations at each site) avoided approaching them for more exchanges; in the cases where we had developed trust with coordinators or professor the process of gaining adolescents trust have been easier, yet differed from one group to another.

4 *No exploitation*: this is closely related to what Creswell (2007) called *reciprocity* – reflecting on the way to enable something in return for the informants' participation in research: (1) "*that researchers should give something back, in the way of services or payment*"; (2) "*that participants should be empowered by becoming part of the research process*; or (3) "*that research should be directed towards studying the powerful and not the powerless*" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 218)

In our research: the participation in our research was voluntary and we have not proposed remuneration; we tried to integrate the adolescents in the research process but due to limited time, mistrust of some and lack of time for others, we could not enable active cooperation[113]; (3) our research focus was on any challenging and creative aspect of adolescents collective practices activities enabling them to overcome spatial vulnerability they lived in.

5 *Future research*: dependent on the experiences during data collection and relations established during the process (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In our research: We established a few contacts with young people (above the age of 18) for further research on their cultural practices, but we remained open to adapting the research subject according to their visions on the leading spatial constraints and restrictions.

[113] We have tried to integrate some of the most engaged boys but with school and job duties and lack of time spent with one group at a time, we did not succeed in developing such collaboration. It was at the end, during check-up meetings, that some have become aware of the results and have shown much interest to open other doors which would introduce us to other contacts in the field.

The lack of our previous knowledge of suburban context where we conducted the research, the nonexistence of our prior contact with adolescents, the difference between us/researcher and adolescents (in terms of age, origin, social roles) have influenced our ethical reflexions during whole data collection process and interpretations. Thus, we discussed, in the data collection process, some of these ethical issues in relation to data collection activities and situations under study. Following all these elements we join Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) ethical situationism revealing context dependent judgements and strong focus on avoiding harm, legitimacy of research and acceptance that total avoidance of offence is not avoidable, and try to respect to what Creswell (2007) prosed strongly focusing on avoiding harm and exploitation.

In this subsection we introduced the main ethnographic data collection methods that we applied in our fieldwork practices in urban policy neighbourhoods. Data collecting methods are considered before fieldwork practices by doing some prior instrumentalization (Miles, Hubeman, and Saldaña 2014): to apply participant observation, to privilege in-depth recorder and transcribed interviews (semi-structured), to take some photographs, to analyse official documents, and to keep a fieldwork log. Yet, much of our adaptation and flexibility was needed. That was very challenging in terms of limited time, general mistrust of adolescents (and some youth coordinators) and time-demanding process of building trust, and their instability in keeping promises for interviews and observations.

In our research with adolescents we have been highly concerned with the ethical issues during the whole process of data collection. Ethical issues are very important in our ethnographic research in sensitive, segregated urban contexts where populations face social-spatial stigma and have a tendency to slide into social exclusion.

Section 2: Data collection process

Our ethnographic research indicates an *emergent research design* leading to more refined or transformed research interests and questions (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). At the very beginning of the fieldwork we focused on youth art-related cultural practices but stayed open to the possibility of discovering other types of cultural practices among youth groups living in urban policy neighbourhoods situated in the suburbs. Art-related approach can be justified by the French sociological tradition in analysing cultural practice in relation to art and cultural institutions, and our seminal interest in art-related experiences of adolescents in museums when we started doctoral research. After several months of fieldwork, we abandoned this approach

adopting context-specific and broader understanding of youth cultural practices that they do in their leisure time and not within the education system.

Our data collection process consists of five phases (Table 10, page 142) in the period from May 2016 to May 2019. Each phase includes a series of different fieldwork practices that we introduce and explain through *data collection circle* proposed by Creswell (2007). Data collection circle includes the following practices we adapted for the presentation in this section: (1) locating sites, (2) gaining access to sites and establishing a confidence of gatekeepers and informants, (3) purposeful sampling of informants, sites and situations, (4) collecting data, (5) recoding data, (6) field issues (challenges for the entry and trust development, role of the research in observations, the way interviews are conducted, analysed materials, and ethical issues such as anonymity, explanation of research purpose and shared personal experiences within the context), (7) storing data, and (8) participants data evaluation.

Thus, in this section we present phases in chronological order and pay much attention to the issues and fieldwork practices that are of much importance for each phase of data collection. Also, this section is quite long and may be exhausting despite our effort to make it as short as possible. The reason for an exhaustive presentation of our fieldwork practices evolution over time is practical. Due to our lack of prior knowledge of the social organisation and exact institutional network and no prior social contacts in the urban policy neighbourhoods, we needed to broaden and intensify our search for the personal and institutional contacts to access adolescents. Also, conducting ethnographic research in those has been time-consuming in terms of gaining confidence of adolescents and some youth coordinators. We have been exposed to this challenge and that represents one of the challenging field (ethical) issues in our research.

Table 10: Phases of the fieldwork practices evolution (May 2016 to May 2019)

	Phase 1 (Exploration)	**Phase 2 (Exploration and data collection)**	**Phase 3 (Consolidation and data collection)**	**Phase 4 (Residual data collection)**	**Phase 5 (Post-fieldwork)**
Period	**May to Mid-July 2016**	**September 2016 to Mid-February 2017**	**Mid-February to late July 2017**	**September to November 2017**	**April 2018 until May 2019**
Objective	Explore potential urban policy neighbourhoods and negotiate access to sites (institutions) and adolescents	Broaden the scope of fieldwork (neighbourhoods and institutions); approach to adolescents (11-17ans) from the neighbourhoods through cultural/educational institutions;	Enrich the network of informants and gain their confidence within two chosen urban policy neighbourhoods	Enrich collected data	Enrich collected data; members' check; maintain contacts
Criteria of areas/sites choice	Official urban policy neighbourhoods + local cultural and socio-educational institutions	Criteria from Phase 2 enlarged to secondary and high schools; cultural institutions outside the neighbourhoods	Official urban policy neighbourhoods; local and nearby cultural and socio-educational institutions		
Suburban areas	Two suburban areas in Lyon agglomeration + 1 urban policy neighbourhood in each	Two additional suburban areas in Lyon agglomeration + Two distant areas	Two suburban areas from Phase 1 (including urban policy neighbourhoods)		
Sites (Institutions)	Potentially social centre and youth multipurpose centres (socio-educational institutions)	Added secondary and high schools; local hip-hop choreography centre; museums	Secondary school, youth hip-hop association (Peripheral neighbourhood); social centre, youth multipurpose centres, and via street educators (Remote neighbourhood)	via social centre (remote); via hip-hop association (peripheral)	
Approach to cultural practices	Art-related (cultural institutions offer)	Art-related (cultural institutions offer)	Broader understanding of cultural practices; social context-related		
Data collection activities (Creswell 2007)	Locating sites + Gaining access (authorisations)	Locating sites + Gaining access and establishing confidence + purposeful sampling + collecting/recording/storing + field issues	Locating sites + Gaining access and establishing confidence + purposeful sampling + collecting/recording/storing + field issues	Purposeful sampling+ Collecting/recording/	Members' checks/recording/

Phase 1: Exploration phase

This is the phase of first exploration of potential suburban areas and sites (local institutions) for our ethnographic fieldwork. Normally, this phase should be presented together with the Phase 2 but summer holidays and closure of local institutions from mid-July to early September imposed the rhythm of negotiation of access to institutions and adolescents. This and the following phase of fieldwork practices are quite long in our research due to our foreign origin and lack of prior knowledge about the spatial and social phenomenon of urban policy neighbourhoods (*fr. quartiers prioritaires; zones urbaines sensibles*)[114]. Also, limited time for the fieldwork affected the breadth and depth of our investigations of potential research contexts.

We chose the potential suburban areas and sites applying the following *criteria*. First, not a whole suburban area is taken into consideration. We relied on the official online atlas of urban policy neighbourhoods[115] provided by urban policy (fr. *Politique de la ville*)[116][117]. Their criteria in defining urban policy neighbourhoods are in line with our research focus on deprived and economically marginalized neighbourhoods. Additionally, we focused on the suburban areas in Lyon agglomeration accessible by public transport: two suburban areas and their urban policy neighbourhoods.

Second, we aimed at gaining access to the adolescents in local socio-educational institutions where they undertake cultural practices in their free time. In one suburban area we contacted municipality cultural service who oriented us toward hip-hop choreography centre of urban culture and local professor of sport as a leading person for all cultural and artistic projects (no personal contact or intermediary person). In other suburban area we contacted the social centre either directly or by intermediary person from youth multipurpose centres. To gain access, we officially contacted persons in charges of youth cultural practices (coordinators, professors, and managers), explained our research objective and data collection methods, and assured data confidentiality and adolescents' anonymity in the research.

Third, we focused much on youth cultural practices related to art (dance, paintings, singing, etc.) and visits to cultural institutions. However, being aware that this approach to cultural

[114] See Glossary.

[115] Urban policy defines these neighbourhoods according to several criteria: higher number of youth (aged 6 to 17) than in other urban spaces, higher number of immigrant population, less educated and low-income population, increasing poverty, and a lack of cultural institutions.

[116] https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/atlas/ZUS/

[117] See Glossary.

practices may not provide context-specific data, we stayed open to other practices less related to art and visits to cultural institutions (going to art museums, galleries, etc.). We doubted that these populations may provide rich data on art-related experiences. Also, due to the lack of our prior knowledge of populations from these neighbourhoods, we aimed to stay open for the possibilities and to understand general cultural practices. These institutions and cultural practices represent the starting point in meeting adolescents. In line with Creswell's (2007) data collection activities, in this phase we tried locating future fieldwork sites and gaining access to these sites (institutions). The outcomes of this phase are as follows:

- First suburban area:
  - preliminary authorisation of Neighbourhood centre (potential informants aged 11 to 14);
  - authorisation by local hip-hop choreography centre (informants various age groups);
  - preliminary authorisation of social centre (informants various age groups);
  - authorisation of sports professor to access hip-hop trainings (informants mainly aged 11 to 14)
- Second suburban area:
  - authorisation from youth coordinator from a social centre (informants various age groups);
  - authorisation from the manager of all youth multipurpose centres (informants mainly aged 11 to 14).

No data were collected during this phase.

Phase 2: Exploration and data collection

In this phase we opted to broaden the scope of our fieldwork practices in terms of neighbourhoods and institutions. The reason is that the institutions that authorized our access in Phase 1 started organizing youth cultural practices not earlier than mid-October 2016[118]. Since our time for the fieldwork practice was limited, we opted to search for other possibilities. So, during this phase, we simultaneously located new sites, negotiated access and tried to establish confidence of gatekeepers (of different institutions) and first groups of adolescents,

[118] This is the period when their activities become more stable and adolescents started coming regularly to these institutions.

applied a purposeful sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994), realized first participant observations, some informal exchanges and conducted first group and individual interviews. Besides the introduction of these practices, we have provided a brief explanation of field issue in terms of site relevance, access, data collection and ethical issues and field issues.

Locating sites. The criteria for the suburban areas and institutions defined in Phase 1 are broaden opting to gain access to adolescents through schools. We have been receptive to consider additional suburban areas. The objective here is to multiply the possibilities to gain access to adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods and that are still accessible to researcher by public transport.

Field issues in relation to new suburban areas and new sites. Field issues are those that occur during the process of data collection referring to: the access to sites/institutions (and to informants), data collection methods, and diverse ethical issues (Creswell 2007). During this phase we have faced certain field issues we have summarized in Table 11, Table 12, and Table 13 (pages 147, 151 and 152).

Intentionally, we do not discuss in detail these sites and strategy applied since all the sites and groups of adolescents are excluded from our research. This strategy was destined to fail in terms of our research interest in young population from deprived neighbourhoods. First, through direct contact or intermediary persons, we have gained official access to one museum in Lyon that enabled us access to one secondary and one high school, to a UNESCO heritage site (outside Lyon) resulting in access to a secondary school in Second suburban area from Phase 1 and two high schools from different suburban areas of Lyon agglomeration. For each cultural and educational institution, we gained official authorisation by directors or managers and school professors (research interest was explained, confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed, authorisation for recording voices and taking photos were obtained).

Second, in collaboration with museum and high school from First suburban area we participated in the museums' visits of different schools from deprived neighbourhoods situated in different suburban areas than those from Phase 1. Participant observation (with our overt role as a researcher, no photos taken, fieldnotes (taken during visits) have enabled us to organize first group semi-structured interviews in schools (preteens aged 10 and 11 and adolescents 15 and 16). We aimed discussing the experience during a museum visit and to gradually introduce other questions about their cultural practices in leisure time. The challenges of this approach are diverse: certain groups or individuals are not from deprived neighbourhoods, observations were not helpful for the interviews since those from deprived neighbourhoods did not provide

much description about their experiences, usage of the interview guide as well as places of interviews (school environment) appeared to be obstacles for spontaneous discussions and trust could not be established. Applying this strategy does not enable us to gain context-specific behaviours and experiences and to understand spatial influences.

Field issues in relation to previously chosen suburban areas. In this phase we continue to explore the possibilities to include additional institutions from the **peripheral neighbourhood** and to start meeting adolescents during their activities in the institutions that authorised our research. In negotiating access and establishing first contacts with adolescents we adopted an overt role and explained our research objective. While it was easier to explain our interest in the *sensitive issue* of "social housing estate youth" and their cultural practices to school directors, managers, coordinators or professors, the process was very challenging and stressful for us when it came to adolescents. In order not to stigmatize them, we explained what we learned about these deprived neighbourhoods in terms of low-income populations and negative youth image mainly due to media focus on delinquency or urban violence. We emphasized (here and in any other situation later during the fieldwork when we met the adolescents aged 15 and over[119]) that we were interested in what is 'good' and how they can be creative through their practices. The issues such as the lack of services in the neighbourhoods and limited economic resources for most of local population are introduced gradually in the following phases of fieldwork during repeated meetings and observations.

Access to certain local socio-educational institutions has not been reached for objective reasons even though they might have been useful for our research. Further, we conducted two interviews with the adolescents undertaking hip-hop dance classes in the *hip-hop choreography centre*. Due to the profile of these adolescents and other young people dancing in the centre (not being from the peripheral neighbourhoods) and difficulties to organize other interviews with the help of the hip-hop centre, made us omit this site from the research.

Within the *secondary school*, next to the neighbourhood, we gained additional official authorisation from school director to assist cultural activities other than hip-hop which included theatre and fine arts workshops. It is important to mention that this secondary school is the only institution that welcomed us easily and where professors accepted us and allowed us to participate in their artistic activities and with whom we had rich informal exchanges about the social situation of the adolescents living in social housing in the neighbourhood.

[119] With the adolescents aged between 11 and 14 it was impossible to talk about these spatial and social issues. Certain information was collected through informal exchanges with youth coordinators and managers.

Table 11: Field issues in peripheral neighbourhoods in Phase 2

Site		Field issues										
		Study relevant site (research purpose related)	Access		Data collection methods				Ethical issues			
			Access to site	Access to adolescents	Participant observation	Interviews	Informal exchanges	Documents/Materials	Protection of informants' anonymity	Explanation of purpose of study	Sensitive topic	Shared personal experiences with informants
Hip-hop choreography centre		Low relevance: adolescents not from the neighbourhood; **excluded** from the research	Officially allowed access by the manager	Accessing adolescents via intermediary person; no voluntary person for participation		2 interviews with 12-14-year-old girls; talkative; questions too much art-oriented; no relation to spatial aspect		Nothing to analyse	Guaranteed from the beginning	Yes; more detailed explanation to the manager than to adolescents	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; here irrelevant for the profile of the adolescents	No
Secondary school	Hip-hop trainings	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood (immigrant origin, low social status, some have schooling problems, ...)	Official allowed access by the director	Relatively difficult: no trust established; not easy to motivate them to talk during their trainings (their free time but devoted to dance)	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; Observation: notes taken at first; quick saturation by meagre content to observe	Individual; organised by their professor; hip-hop dance-oriented questions; adolescents not much disturbed by audio record	Rich exchanges with school sports and art professors			Yes; explained in detail more to sports professor (hip-hop instructor) than to adolescents	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; we explained our interest in their practices, creativity in contrast to the neighbourhood issues	Yes, during their dance trainings
	Fine arts workshops	Low relevance: too much art oriented in controlled setting (school) and not relevant adolescents' profile; **excluded**		Relatively easy: discussions during workshops	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; Observation: notes taken at first; quick saturation by content not appropriate to my research purpose					Yes; explained in detail more to arts professor than to adolescents	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; here irrelevant for the profile of the adolescents	No

Here we did some participant observations during fine arts workshops and adolescents visits to Lyon museum of fine art. Finally, we decided to exclude these activities since the social structure of adolescents was of no relevance to our study. Simultaneously, we started first observations during hip-hop trainings where adolescents from the school and some other from the neighbourhood come to dance. During our observations we conversed with a sports professor and due to the specificity of the activity we just observed or had a few exchanges with a few adolescents. Our position in the corner of the sports hall and their trainings at the tatami mat was a barrier for much informal discussions in this context. However, we organize first individual interviews. It was impossible to interrupt their activity to organize collective interviews while later they left the sports hall quickly. All interviews were conducted in the sports hall. Field issues of the fieldwork practices within the peripheral neighbourhoods are summarized in Table 11 (page 147).

In this phase much time was spent on gaining access to different youth multipurpose centres and on participant observation within cultural activities of adolescents (aged between 11 and 13) from social centre in the **remote neighbourhood**. First, we needed to contact managers of each *youth multipurpose centre* separately[120]. Organizing meetings with each manager to explain our research interest and data collection methods was time consuming. We negotiated our participation in some cultural (including a few visits to cultural institutions) and larger leisure activities during a week, on Saturdays and on school vacations as well as conducting interviews with those adolescents who were willing to participate in our study. They regularly sent us their schedule of weekly and vacation activities so that we can plan our participation. On one hand, the advantage of these institutions was that the protocol has been less strict (e.g. parents' signed authorisations for interviews were not needed) which gave us more flexibility and less official atmosphere for interviews. In this phase we started with the first participant observations during various leisure activities and informal exchanges with adolescents during their free time spent in these centres. On the other hand, despite less strict access to adolescents, to exchange informally with adolescents (aged between 11 and 14 or even certain 15-year-old boys) appeared to be very challenging and time consuming since they remained mainly among themselves concentrated on their activities or on discussions with youth coordinators. Developing their confidence to participate in deeper discussions rather than short exchanges

[120] In total there are six youth multipurpose centres: four in two nearby urban policy neighbourhoods and two elsewhere in the municipality. In our research we considered only four youth centres situated in two officially distinct urban policy neighbourhoods. However, we have not treated the small neighbourhood with one youth centre separately since much local structures and facilities that these adolescents use are situated either in the bigger neighbourhood or nearby in the municipality.

during their activities was very hard to accomplish even with our regular presence in certain centres (twice a week). Simultaneously, organisational changes within one of the youth centres and less time we spent there forced us to renegotiate our role and data collection. Further, the attitude of the manager and the assistant manager of one of the youth centres, their special procedures towards adolescents and highly controlled conditions for meeting adolescents and no possibility to participate in their activities led us to exclude this site from the fieldwork. More time during our observations was spent in the informal exchanges with managers and youth coordinators than adolescents. The type of activities did not provide much content for the observations. However, in these situations we could observe and understand very friendly and family-like relations between youth and their coordinators, brief and superficial discussions with most of the coordinators and adolescents' curiosity about our work but also mistrust to engage in the interviewing process. With each new youth coordinator that assisted in different youth activities within the youth centre (around 3 to 4 per centre or more) we needed to introduce ourselves and our research yet again. Extremely rarely have we been introduced to adolescents by youth coordinators or allowed to actively take part in the activities. By the end of this phase we abandoned taking fieldwork notes since this created an even deeper distance between us and adolescents and we found this to be ethically inappropriate. Despite all these challenges we conducted the first interview with one boy (15 years) that gave an impression to be more accessible than younger peers. However, during the interview (interview guide not used) we noticed he felt uncomfortable and the interview was interrupted by the activity. This is a good example to clarify the conditions in which we organized many interviews with these adolescents (in phase 3). An organisation of group interviews in the nearby room with closed doors (not in the one the activity took place) affected adolescents' behaviour (initially very talkative they become silent), usually looked at the floor or towards their friends when they answered questions[121] and some felt uncomfortable with the use of a voice recorder. We did not even think about individual interviews since we quickly understood that this is uncomfortable for all adolescents aged between 11 and 14 and some 15-year-old individuals. So, to avoid these awkward situations we decided that in phase 3 we will conduct (what we did) several interviews in the room where the activity took place. Usually something or someone would interrupt the interview. In all cases adolescents were much disturbed if the questions followed the interview guide.

[121] The exception was one group of young girls, but the content of these short interviews did not provide much content for the analysis (phase 3).

Within the *social centre* we participated in some activities (e.g. going to the cinema, museum, discussions about a film with the coordinator) organized for the adolescents aged between 11 and 13. These activities enabled participant observation since we aimed at informally exchanging with the adolescents before conducting interviews. Finally, this age group has been excluded from the research since the presence of adolescents oscillated greatly (especially visits to institutions) and they showed difficulties in entering discussions about their experiences within organized activities.

By the end of this phase we reoriented our focus on a group of 17-year-old adolescents from the social centre. This was a group that represented the members of journalism project with members who, from their early age, enrolled in social centre's activities. We participated in their improvisational theatre workshop in the centre where we were easily integrated by the comedian who organized it and where we were accepted by adolescents who allowed us to play with them. Also, the first interview was conducted (and recorded) in the social centre with three female members of the group after their collective activity within journalism project. Again, we realised that the usage of the questions from the interview guide (or asking questions one after another) make atmosphere more formal and we have not managed to grasp the information from the context. This forced us to repeat meetings with them (and other volunteered groups) in the next phases. Main youth coordinator suggested this group for our research, introduced us to them and initiated the first interview. Also, in this phase (and in the phase 3) we communicated with only two youth coordinators that facilitated our access to adolescents.

To broaden the scope of the fieldwork in this suburban context we started participant observations of adolescents' cultural activities organized in local junior high school within the context of cultural-art project and in their visit to the local theatre. This choice was strategic in that this site should have enabled us to gain access to more adolescents from this neighbourhood and to establish trust with those already met during our participant observations on other sites (youth centres). The access to adolescents was difficult and no informal exchanges took place during these observations. Much was discussed with two professors. For a summary of field issues in the remote neighbourhood see Table 12 and Table 13 (pages 151 and 152).

We also tried to gain access to urban culture centre and multimedia library (both situated outside the neighbourhood) since these were presented to us as two locally important stakeholders for youth cultural activities in the neighbourhood. These institutions have been recommended to us by other youth coordinators at the beginning of this phase. Despite official demand, these institutions did not answer to our demand for a meeting.

Table 12: Field issues in remote neighbourhood in Phase 2

Site		Field issues										
			Access		Data collection methods				Ethical issues			
		Study relevant site (research purpose related)	**Access to site**	**Access to adolescents**	**Participant observation**	**Interviews**	**Informal exchanges**	**Documents/ Materials**	**Protection of informants' anonymity**	**Explanation of purpose of study**	**Sensitive topic**	**Shared personal experiences with informants**
Social centre	Group aged 11-13 (visits to cultural institutions)	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; all of immigrant origin; low relevance: adolescents age and irregularity of presence in the activities; **excluded**	Allowed access by main youth coordinator	Difficult: no trust established; not easy to motivate them to talk during activities	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; Observation: notes taken at first; quick saturation by meagre content to observe	Not organised; this age group needs informal exchanges that we did not establish since more time needed in gaining confidence and situation without organised activities that took their whole attention	Rich information from two youth coordinators	Local press and leaflets found in cultural and socio-educational institutions	Guaranteed from the beginning	Yes; explained in detail more to youth coordinator than to adolescents	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; not possible to discuss spatial constraints directly with them (indirect conclusions)	Yes, during their collective practices in social centre
	Groupe aged 17 (improvisational theatre and youth project)	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; all of immigrant origin; engaged in the social centre for a long time		Relatively easy: reserved but willing to exchange; showed interest in our research and accepted us during the first activity	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant	One group interview (girls as informants): when interview guide was not followed conversation has been more spontaneous and information rich					"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; we explained our interest in their practices, creativity in contrast to the neighbourhood issues	

Table 13: Field issues in remote neighbourhood in Phase 2 (continued)

Site		Field issues										
		Study relevant site (research purpose related)	Access		Data collection methods				Ethical issues			
			Access to site	Access to adolescents	Participant observation	Interviews	Informal exchanges	Documents/ Materials	Protection of informants' anonymity	Explanation of purpose of study	Sensitive topic	Shared personal experiences with informants
Youth centre 1	Free time, cultural activities (including multimedia library visit)	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; all of immigrant origin	Access granted by the manager of the centre	Relatively difficult: no trust established; not easy to motivate them to talk during activities	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant	One interview (2 boys 15-17): not stress by audio recording; no spontaneous discussion; strictly responded to my questions; we needed to manage awkward situation between keeping conversation live and thinking of questions to ask	Important information from managers; limited or no information from youth coordinators	Program of centre's activities + leaflets	Guaranteed from the beginning	Yes; explained in detail more to the manager than to adolescents	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; not possible to discuss spatial constraints directly with them (indirect conclusions)	Yes, during their collective practices in the youth centre
Youth centre 2	Cultural activities (visit to Opera house)	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; all of immigrant origin; low relevance: adolescents age and normative discourse; **excluded**	Strongly controlled access to adolescents despite the authorisation of general manager	Difficult to know their opinion; their words represent normative discourse of the centre	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; Observation: notes taken at first; quick saturation by irrelevant content	One interview (2 girls 12-13 years): agreeable, but too formal by content and place it was conducted in	Information about institution and not adolescents; limited	Program of centre's activities		Yes; explained in detail more to the manager than to adolescents		Yes, during visit to Opera house
Secondary school	Cultural-art project (visit to local theatre)	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; exclusively of immigrant origin	Access granted by professor of art and director	Relatively difficult: no trust established; not easy to motivate them to talk during activities	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant		Important information about local cultural institutions and adolescents	Cultural-artistic project		Yes; explained in detail more to the professor than to adolescents		Yes, during school workshop and visit to local theatre
Youth centre 3	Cultural activities (urban culture centre) + educational workshops	High relevance: all adolescents are from the neighbourhood; all of immigrant origin	Access granted by the manager of the youth centre				Important information from managers; limited or no information from youth coordinators	Program of centre's activities + leaflets		Yes; explained in detail more to the manager than to adolescents		Yes, during their collective practices in the youth centre and urban culture centre

Purposeful sampling of sites. By the end of this phase we have had various sites and potentially future groups of adolescents to interview and to participate in their collective cultural practices. The main sites (institutions) and secondary sites (events, cultural institutions) vary as well as the types of cultural activities, (in)formal access to the site and adolescents, adolescents' profiles and their relevance for our research, and many other elements among the sites. Following the specificities of purposeful sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994), we applied various types of sampling strategies.

At the beginning of the phase, in order to assure the quality of sites useful for our research our strategy of sampling was based on a defined *criterion* (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 28): sites needed to be (1) socio-cultural and/or educational institutions enabling the first contact with youth population within cultural activities (dance, theatre, museums visits), and (2) situated in urban policy neighbourhoods. Simultaneously we applied *opportunistic* sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994) which unexpectedly helped gain access to adolescents in different suburban areas.

At the end of the phase, we succeeded in reaching a variety of sites, activities, and informants. Situations were quite complex, and sites were scattered in various suburban areas with no visibility about the informants' engagement or no relevance of the practices and informants themselves. In relation to spatial and time feasibility of our fieldwork we preferred various sites located in one or two suburban areas. We confirmed and disconfirmed sites (Miles and Huberman 1994) so that we kept two suburban areas already chosen in Phase 1 and cultural activities primarily in socio-cultural and youth centres or, eventually, in schools where the latter enabled us to establish a first relation to adolescents or develop relationships with them. We started having more information on spatial influences from these two suburban areas and developing the network of individuals and institutions purposefully or unexpectedly. Also, certain sites and social structure of adolescents did not correspond to our research interest which imposed to think of (dis)confirming them for the study.

Phase 3: Fieldwork consolidation and data collection

Since we were a single researcher to do the fieldwork in these neighbourhoods at a time, an evolution of data collection process in both neighbourhoods was not equal. Much time was spent in a remote neighbourhood than in a peripheral one. There are two reasons for this. First,

remote neighbourhood is spatially far bigger than peripheral neighbourhood. Second, in peripheral neighbourhoods we had access to spatially dominant culture practice among local adolescents – hip-hop dance. It was a little bit easier to capture the stakeholders (institutions) included in the organisation of this activity. However, parallel fieldwork practices in both neighbourhoods and encountering similar difficulties in accessing adolescents and gaining their confidence, demanded much of our patience and adaptation to situations and informants. Thus, here we introduce sampling strategies for sites and adolescent groups. Also, for both neighbourhoods separately we explain (1) the challenge in gaining access to various youth groups and building trust, (2) the roles of institutions and intermediary persons and their influence on our relationship with adolescents and their trust, (3) the challenges in collecting data, and (4) the development of the relationship with other local stakeholders important for youth cultural practices. The most important field issues in relation to different sites are summarized in Table 14, Table 15 and Table 16 (pages 157, 166 and 167).

Purposeful sampling of sites and youth groups. In this phase purposeful sampling has been applied to choose the sites that may provide more opportunities for participant observations and access to adolescents willing to participate in our research.

Main **sites** (socio-educational institutions) for participant observations have been already accessed in the previous phase. Peripheral neighbourhood site has been chosen on the basis of the *criterion* - a site as a part of activities of a followed youth group. In the remote neighbourhood a network of sites has been developed according to the *criterion* – a site as a part of activities of a followed group, and *maximum variations* – sites related to various youth activities (e.g. multimedia library, urban culture centre, municipality arts workshops, local park). A difference in sampling of sites depend on the specificity of youth cultural practices: in peripheral neighbourhoods, practices were centred around hip-hop dance while in remote one the cultural practices were diverse. This does not exclude the existence of other cultural practices in both neighbourhoods. However, adolescents met in peripheral neighbourhood are dominantly, if not only, engaged in hip-hop dance which is the consequence of different factors but mainly of their passion for dance. In the remote neighbourhood, hip-hop dance groups existed but we failed to meet them. Also, adolescents were more engaged in the institutions' activities than in the specific cultural practice itself.

In the peripheral neighbourhood we followed the same **group of adolescents**. But in this phase, we adopted *opportunistic* sampling – to take advantage of unexpected situations and adolescents willing to talk, and *snowball* sampling – a leading male member who proposed new

contacts for more information (the same for phase 4). In the remote neighbourhood we choose new youth groups through *snowball* sampling – youth coordinators and/or street educators who proposed certain youth projects and adolescents' groups; *opportunistic* sampling – to take advantage of observed situations and newly met adolescents, and by the end of this phase, *homogenous* sampling – focusing on the adolescents' groups already met and/or willing to participate in interviewing. All those strategies of purposeful sampling have been applied parallelly in different social situation, different sites and with various youth groups.

Field issues in the peripheral neighbourhood. In this phase data were collected in the sites in and outside the neighbourhood. These sites are those that the groups of young hip-hop dancers, met in the previous phase, which were used for their collective dance practices. Here we discuss some important field issues (Table 14, page 157).

*Gaining access to various youth groups and building trust***.** Building adolescents' trust, gaining necessary information and organizing meetings with those aged between 15 and 16 was challenging and time-consuming task during the whole phase. These boys did not behave unfriendly towards us, but we needed a longer period to reach more informal exchanges with them and reach information about the spatial context. Despite being warmly accepted by their sports professor, our parallel activities in both neighbourhoods limited our deeper engagement with these young boys. We succeeded in conducting the first interviews, but we were not satisfied with the information we got. We attempted to reach more spontaneous, group and social context-related information about their practices. For that we needed more time.

In general, those under 18 needed longer periods of time to get accustomed to our frequent presence, to informal discussions, and to voice recording during interviews (for some). To organise meetings with these young people took a long time (sometimes a month or more) or they had given us unclear information about events to participate in or possibilities to meet each other. By the end of this phase, we have been much more easily accepted by these adolescents, but our meetings have been always organized by a 19-year-old member and a leading hip-hop figure in the neighbourhood. He enabled us access to local hip-hop association where the adolescent boys dance parallelly to school trainings.

Roles of institutions and intermediary persons and influences on a researcher-adolescents relationship. In our research of adolescents from low-income environments such as the aforementioned neighbourhoods, the role of institutions and intermediary persons between us and adolescents was crucial. We had no prior knowledge of the neighbourhood and no contacts with groups of adolescents. As we opted for more active participation in observation and

gaining more information, we needed to build adolescents' trust. Adolescents' sports professor, who was also their hip-hop instructor, had the main role in building trust and enabling access to the adolescents. This was possible thanks to the professor's close relations with this group of dancers since she has also had a role of a friend and a parent. However, during fieldwork we opted to overcome the adolescents' acceptance to participate in research because of their professor and to gain their trust on our own. Gradually, we have succeeded in accomplishing that but group's leading members (19-year-old adolescents) were constantly an intermediary person for our meetings.

Challenges in data collection. In this phase data have been collected through participant observations, informal exchanges and individual or group interviews. Dominant situations for the observations were the adolescents' hip-hop trainings and some school hip-hop related events. Very quickly we understood that these situations cannot provide many elements on their complex collective practices. These observations were useful in informal exchanges with these and newly introduced adolescents, for the analysis of built environment and materiality of the neighbourhood and for spatial and institutional mapping of their practices.

Within the observed situations our role has been *overt* (Adler and Adler 1987) – we have either been introduced by someone or introduced ourselves as a researcher. We *passively participated* (Spradley 1980) with fewer possibilities to spontaneously exchange or to take up a role in activities since they were actively involved in hip-hop dancing during trainings and dance performances. While at the beginning of Phase 2 we took fieldwork notes during observations, in Phase 3 we opted for more exchanges with adolescents to gain their trust and information. Additionally, *taking notes* engendered the feeling of distance and our position of dominance that is in contradiction with the research goal. We aimed at reaching a *moderate participation* but our limited presence on fieldwork, limited variety of situations and time-demanding development trust with adolescents did not enable us to do so. Also, many activities happened outside of the neighbourhood which we understood gradually in the following phases of the fieldwork. Our seminal idea, important for deeper understanding and richer information, was to create a peripheral membership (Adler and Adler 1987) with these adolescents. A lack of time and limited presence which influenced slow building of adolescents' trust did not enable us to engage with this youth group. Differences in quality relations and time for gaining trust of those aged below 18 and those over 18 are flagrant.

Table 14: Field issues in peripheral neighbourhood in Phase 3

Site			Field issues										
			Study relevant site (research purpose related)	**Access**		**Data collection methods**				**Ethical issues**			
				Access to site	**Access to adolescents**	**Participant observation**	**Interviews**	**Informal exchanges**	**Documents/Materials**	**Protection of informants' anonymity**	**Explanation of purpose of study**	**Sensitive topic**	**Shared personal experiences with informants**
In the neighbour-hood	Sports hall (secondary school)	Hip-Hop trainings	High relevance: passionate group of dancers		Building trust and confidence, gaining information, and organizing meetings with those 15-16 years old challenging and time demanding	Researcher's role: overt, observer as participant; passive to moderate participation; situations of observation more useful for informal exchanges and building trust	Individual interviews: 2, semi- structured, audio recorded; some aged 15-16 may be disturbed by recording; individual interviews with 15-16 years old more formal and need "ice-breaking"	Sports professor; partially with adolescents	Some leaflets	Guaranteed in Phase 2	Done in Phase 2; with built trust more information about the study are provided to the informants	"social housing estate youth"	Yes, youth hip-hop trainings and performances
	Sports hall (primary school)	Hip-Hop trainings within youth hip-hop association	High relevance: various young people groups (age, gender, hip-hop style dance)	Gained access through one of group members			Individual and group interviews: non-structured, not audio recorded, rich content and spontaneous atmosphere	With different adolescents					
Outside the neighbour-hood	Performance hall	Hip-hop contest; school artistic (dance) performance	High relevance: part of institutional network for youth hip-hop practices	By following male hip-hop dancers' activities									

In this phase we struggled to organize a group interview. Reasons for the failure are different. Either much time was needed to gather all boys, or they did not have much time for group interviews during their hip-hop trainings. Individual interviews, conducted in previous and in this phase, have been carried out during their trainings in secondary school. They have been rather spontaneous and pleasant, yet distant. Shortly after these interviews from the phase 2 the inappropriateness of the interview guide to the context and youth practices was discerned and we were able to ask more open and dance-oriented questions. We had richer discussions during a few spontaneous and unexpected exchanges which were non-recorded because someone would feel uncomfortable with the recording or we would start a collective discussion spontaneously with those over the age of 18 and we were reluctant to interrupt their vivid descriptions.

Creating relationship with other local stakeholders. In this research context our focus was strongly oriented toward dance and adolescents who, living in social housing in the neighbourhood, encountered diverse restrictions and experiences, life difficulties in the neighbourhood. This limited our direct contacts with local cultural institutions important for our research. However, during this intensive phase and diverse exchanges we were able to meet various local, cultural, social and education stakeholders oriented to youth and thus understand the context better and collect information about youth practices from different sources.

Field issues in the remote neighbourhood. Remote neighbourhood's fieldwork activities were complex in this phase in terms of chosen sites, groups of adolescents and types of cultural practices. Here we have provided an overview of important field issues specific to this neighbourhood (Table 15 and Table 16, pages 166 and 167).

Gaining access to various youth groups and building trust. In this suburban context, a variety of sites (socio-educational and a few cultural institutions) enabled us to gain access to different adolescents' groups and cultural practices. The way of accessing these was different. First, our access to adolescents via institutions was a logical entrance point due to no prior contacts in the neighbourhood. However, this meant that we were split between the leisure and cultural services proposed to adolescents aged 11 to 14 and those aged 15 to 17. We discovered gradually and sometimes quite accidentally diverse youth projects around which adolescents (15 to 21 years) were gathered. In general, to access adolescents 11 to 14 and gain their trust as well as the trust of some groups of 15+, more focused on leisure time spent in the neighbourhood, demanded a lot of our patience, longer time, and a search for intermediary persons such as youth and socio-cultural coordinators, school professors and street educators.

However, not each site and group of adolescents could be equally accessed. We received unequal support in group of adolescents and establishing their thrust and of their coordinators which was time-consuming activity.

Within a *social centre* the access to the groups was enabled gradually and through different situations or youth coordinators proposed them to us directly. In total we met two groups from the social centre created around socio-cultural projects, one joined group[122] and one youth association. Even though, these groups needed some time to develop confidence, they were more easily accessible and with time we organized meetings directly with them. This was mainly the case because all youth activities of these adolescents were organized by two coordinators who have had close relations to them; and since they were engaged in the projects they chose to participate in, it was a bit easier to meet them regularly[123]. These adolescent groups were collaborative during fieldwork, yet the process of building their trust had been "a slippery ground". By this we mean hazardous changes in adolescents' personal moods, changing behaviours toward us as researchers (unkept promises for meetings) and engagement in our research process which meant we needed to constantly nourish relationships with them (e.g. through our presence, contacting them by SMS, etc.).

In three *youth multipurpose centres* we made six efforts to gain access and build adolescents' trust. As in the case of the social centre, youth practices demanded our long-time presence and an intermediary person in order for us to gain the trust of adolescents. This process was extremely exhausting and stressful. Several elements made these centres specific and had an influence on the quality of our relationships with coordinators and adolescents during the whole phase: (1) youth coordinators did not directly organize youth activities (e.g. in many cases they could not give us exact information about the activity or the whole youth projects), (2) there was an extreme rotation of coordinators among the centres and within the projects (e.g. one youth project changed three coordinators), (3) many of them did not know who we were and why we were there (there was a lack of communication within the staff of the centres), (4) adolescents were authorized to freely come and go during their free time in the centres (with an exception of group work on projects) which has engendered a lack of our regular contacts and

[122] In our research, *joined youth groups* to socio-educational institutions are those that were not enrolled in regular activities but spent much time in the public space. These groups were noticed by street educators that helped them reach social centres and to be engaged in some collective practices to have meaningful time. This was exclusively a female group. In youth multipurpose centres we met two groups (one female and one male) dancing hip-hop in the public space. The process of integration was the same. Once these groups reached the institution, they are engaged only in their projects and do not participate in other institutional activities.

[123] We need to underline that there were no groups in both neighbourhoods that showed regularity. Fluctuation in number and adolescents' moods was something we lived through in our fieldwork practices.

longer discussions with adolescents. Finally, it was not possible to provide information about followed groups since by the end of this phase we failed in following a group but just diverse cultural practices of lower importance for our research. This site was excluded from our youth groups analysis but serves for general understanding of the role of institutions in access to diverse services for the young immigrant boys and girls.

In this phase we started our collaboration with *street educators*. They appeared very useful since they were very professional and usually not from the neighbourhood which allowed them to be more distant when it came to the local population and, at the same time, closer to isolated groups in the public space. We got official access to collaborate with them to reach some groups of adolescents, easier to access, for informal exchanges and interviews. Despite our collaboration and time spent in the public space with them, we did not have time to seek adolescents and to develop trust. Not having an institution directly where to meet made us doubt this approach. However, much came to light about the adolescents and the spatial constraints of the neighbourhood.

In the case of *secondary school*, a long time and an intermediary person were needed in gaining access to adolescents. In this case the intermediary person was a school professor of art who enabled us a primary access to this site. The advantage was that the professor was a coordinator of cultural-art project which enabled an access to a group of 13-year-old adolescents and to adolescents aged between 11 and 14 during school art workshop. After several observations in school and in the local theatre we abandoned the idea of interviewing the group. Despite being aware of the lower relevance of this site, we hoped to reach some adolescents for interviewing. However, after previous experiences of interviews within school contexts, and adolescents' low interest in the imposed project we *excluded* the group from our research.

By the end of this phase we got access to adolescents' (aged between 11 and 15) art in the *town hall organized art workshops*. This small group of adolescents passionate about manga accepted us easily. We did participant observation during a local gallery visit and conducted group interviews. However, we *excluded* this group from the research since they (except for one girl) were not from the remote neighbourhood.

Roles of institutions and intermediary persons and influences on a researcher-adolescents relationship. Due to the diversity of sites in the neighbourhood we met various intermediary persons: youth coordinators (social centre and youth centres), a local school professor, and street educators. All intermediaries, except the professor, have been engaged with adolescents in various social situations during leisure activities and have had closer, friendly, "family-like"

relationships. However, the intermediary roles of the most important persons in our research varied greatly which affected our access to and the trust of adolescents.

- *Two youth coordinators from social centre*: (1) introduced us and our research to each new adolescent group during their collective practices; (2) kept us updated quite regularly about various events groups participated in so that we could organize our observations and access to adolescents; and (3) initiated the first interviews with adolescents and later allowed us to organize other interviews directly with adolescents.
- *Heads/managers of youth multipurpose centres*: (1) usually briefly introduced us to a youth coordinator in charge of a group or project we chose to participate in; and (2) in some centres they advised us about other collective practices that they thought we would be interested in.
- *Youth collaborators in youth multipurpose centres*: (1) accepted our presence in adolescents' collective activities; (2) rarely proposed related groups to meet or situations to participate in.

Some of managers and youth coordinators in youth centres appeared very unfriendly and limited our access to adolescents despite the top managers authorisation.

Challenges in data collection. We mainly did participant observations and several individual and group interviews with adolescents. Also, we collected culture-related and other documents locally distributed revealing social life and general cultural practices (institution-related) and conducted interviews or exchanged informally with various social and cultural stakeholders from the municipality. In several situations we used smartphone application "Shazam" to identify music adolescents were listening during various sport and cultural events which they participated in. The application was helpful since the music we heard frequently was unfamiliar to us, and, in many cases, adolescents did not have time or were not willing to talk with us about the music.

In every site we did participant observations, we took on an overt role as a researcher. Whenever possible we introduced ourselves as a research from a marketing field. Sometimes we were labelled adults and by adolescents either as a journalist or as a sociologist. The overt role should have influenced certain groups, if not majority of adolescents to distance themselves from us and, thus, to impose longer time to build trust and exchange with them. From the beginning of this phase of fieldwork, we have decided not to take notes during fieldwork. The reasons were ethical and very practical (our limited possibility to participate in the activities or to exchange with informants).

In all observed situations our participation varied from passive – mainly in secondary school and youth centres - to moderate participation – mainly in social centre[124]. In each site our participation ranged from passive to moderate depending on the type of activity, the relationship adolescents-researcher and the role of intermediary person. In general, participant observations helped us understand local social-cultural network and spatial dimension of one part of adolescents' cultural activities. Since building trust with adolescents was a challenging task, we could not follow their collective practices spontaneously during their leisure activities. Also, many activities happened outside the neighbourhood that was not possible to manage as a single researcher or to certain activities we did not have access to. We chose those where we gained easier access to adolescents and that were more relevant to participate in. Finally, in many situations, observations did not provide interesting information about the group's collective practices.

To gather more information on adolescents' individual and collective cultural practices, in their leisure time, we aimed at conducted interviews. Group interviews were privileged but when that was not possible, we conducted individual interviews. The interviews with adolescents are specific in the following: (1) first interview was always very formal and informants were distant, while during other meetings the atmosphere became more relaxed (in case we had more than one interview); (2) organising interviews was a time-consuming task (e.g. sometimes we needed 2-3 months to organise them) with unpredictable and changing number of participants; (3) more "ice-breaking" was needed in interviews with younger adolescents (aged between 11 and 14) or who have had a less passionate activity or who were less locally engaged in collective practices; (4) more spontaneous and richer in terms of explanations and anecdotes were the interviews with adolescents aged 17 and over; (6) interview guide questions were formal, less spontaneous, activities and contexts were not appropriate which led to its reformulation and integration in discussions on activities adolescents have participated in. At the very beginning of this phase we realized that the interview guide was not very relevant since fieldwork has shown a necessity to: (1) adapt questions in terms of their age, type of collective cultural activity and level of informants socio-cultural engagement in the neighbourhood; (2) a need to reorient our research focus on spatial vulnerability and youth group cultural practices within spatial constraints.

[124] When passively participating in observations, we have not had many opportunities to be included in activities and/or to exchange more with adolescents (e.g. school rehearsal in the local theatre, hip-hop training, radio workshop, etc.). In the case of our moderate participation, we participated in activities such as fund-raising activities, board games, playing cards and ping-pong, children animation programme, improvisational theatre, etc.

A depth of information and repeated interviews with adolescents' groups were strongly affected by informants' age and a level of group's engagement in cultural activities. That is, the richest data we have collected from those aged 17 and over, and from those groups personally motivated to participate in certain activities. In the case of adolescents aged between 11 and 14 from youth centres that were not specially motivated to participate longer and to invest themselves fully in a cultural activity, we encountered difficulties either to informally exchange with them about the activity(s) and their tastes or to organize individual/group interviews.

Creating relationship with other local stakeholders. Various cultural stakeholders were met but here we introduce the most important for our research. Meeting and exchanging with these municipality stakeholders (actions mostly oriented towards adolescents) and participating in the events they organized during this phase was more important in understanding the context.

First, from the beginning of this phase we have attempted to gain official access to adolescents spending their out-of-school hours in *local multimedia library* situated close to the neighbourhood. This cultural institution was like a hub for the adolescents from the neighbourhood. Since we have not succeeded in gaining access, from the institutions, we have participated in local cultural events organized in the library and conducted several observations of youth activities either alone or by accompanying youth groups.

Second, *local theatre* and *urban culture centre* represent two crucial stakeholders in various cultural and educational actions with adolescents. Local theatre, located out of the neighbourhood, collaborated closely with local schools in organizing various cultural-art projects and visits to the theatre. Urban culture centre, located far from the neighbourhood, was engaged in various cultural-artistic projects in the neighbourhood collaborating either with school or with socio-educational institutions (social centre and youth centres) and with other cultural institutions such as multimedia library and local music school, situated in underprivileged area. We have not succeeded in gaining access to youth activities within these institutions[125], but, like in the case of the local library, we have carried out participant observations at these sites.

Leaving fieldwork in both neighbourhoods. Leaving fieldwork in both deprived neighbourhoods was a result of objective circumstances and our personal constraints. Firstly, socio-educational institutions started their summer vacations. Since younger adolescents were excluded from our focus, we did not aim at following their activities outside the neighbourhood.

[125] An exception was a music school, but we understood that adolescents from the neighbourhood usually do not spontaneously undertake classes there in their leisure time. Few adolescents from the neighbourhood take classes despite financial incentives they had (the same as with the art workshops).

Secondly, certain adolescents left with parents to their countries of origin, older adolescents were looking for part-time jobs and as many of them told us the neighbourhoods would become empty. We noticed that there were not many adolescents too meet in the public space. Also, a period was imposed to us, so we decided to leave the field. However, we kept relations with the groups of adolescents that we met in the social centre (remote neighbourhood) and adolescents from peripheral neighbourhood. Aiming to meet certain members of these groups to gain the necessary information we decided to continue interviewing without participant observations in the period after summer vacations.

Phase 4: Residual data collection

Purposeful sampling. The groups or individuals have been chosen by applying *homogenous sampling* (Miles and Huberman 1994) focusing on the accessible groups and groups with which a confidence was developed. In some cases, a *snowball sampling* was used: a member of a youth group would suggest other members we had not previously met during fieldwork. Also, here we focused on a *criterion* sampling: adolescents from these two neighbourhoods and engaged in collective cultural practices.

Field issues. Field issues here were different from those we encountered in two previous phases, that is in relation to our limited fieldwork activities (Table 17, page 168).

Access to various youth groups and building trust. In this phase interviews were organized directly with adolescents or by one member of a group as intermediary person between us and newly met adolescents. Yet, organizing interviews also took some time but less than in the previous phase. We kept the contacts with adolescents through SMS. Intermediary persons in both neighbourhoods were boys aged 18 and over or 20 and over who were highly engaged in the groups' collective practices and/or local community.

Data collection methods: challenges and opportunities. In this phase data were collected through group or individual interviews with new members aged between 19 and 22, and members we had already known. In terms of depth of data collected during this phase and group dynamics (in group interviews), these interviews were the richest and the most spontaneous. In this phase, we succeeded in conducting unexpectedly long desired collective, in-depth and spontaneous interviews with 19-year-old girls, the content was guided by our questions and their anecdotes. In all interviews' discussions were quite relaxed and we succeeded in reaching questions about spatial constraints. However, in this phase we did not meet all the adolescents

since there were always some personal or professional constraints (some were students, some had part-time jobs, while others had some family or personal tasks). For the members from peripheral neighbourhood interviews were conducted at certain places in the neighbourhood, while the adolescents from peripheral neighbourhood chose places elsewhere in the municipality or Lyon.

Between this and the next phase we took a longer pause to analyse the data and prepare primary results from analysed data to discuss with the adolescents.

Phase 5: Post-fieldwork practices

Before re-establishing new meetings with adolescents in this phase we maintained the contacts with them by sending them regards for the end of year holidays. That was one of the possible ways to show them we have appreciated their collaboration and that we did do not forgive them. We sent several SMS texts messages to the key members of the groups since we could not contact all members of each group or did not have telephone numbers of all adolescents.

Purposeful sampling. We have chosen two youth groups from peripheral neighbourhood and one group and one individual from a remote neighbourhood. Sampling strategies we applied in this phase are the following: *homogenous sampling* (Miles and Huberman 1994) focusing of accessible and adolescents with whom we developed trust (e.g. it was more challenging to meet all the members from the peripheral neighbourhood), and *criterion* sampling - adolescents from these two neighbourhoods and engaging in collective cultural practices or local community.

Field issues. Organising interviews in this phase was less time consuming. The content of these interviews was targeted since we aimed at precising some aspects that we maybe did not understand well. Focus has been on the meaning of their collective cultural practices in response to spatial constraints. Finally, we succeeded in meeting the leading members of the two groups to discuss how we analysed the data. They confirmed our conclusion. However, we could not reach other members since certain did not respond to our request to evaluate data together. Here we captured the interest of hip-hop dancers and their willingness to co-create research to better present their creativity through dance and respond to spatial constraints. Summary is provided in Table 18 (page 168).

Table 15: Field issues in remote neighbourhood in Phase 3

Site		Field issues							
		Study relevant site (research purpose related)	Access to adolescents	Data collection methods				Ethical issues	
				Participant observation	Interviews	Informal exchanges	Documents / Materials	Explanation of purpose of study	Sensitive topic
Social centre	Within centre: 3 groups (mixed, aged 16 to 22, in two projects and youth association)	High relevance: young people from the neighbourhood; engaged in different cultural and social projects in the centre or neighbourhood	At the beginning: via youth coordinators; indirectly: through local network of actors and events; later: via members of groups themselves	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; moderate participation (Spradely 1980) situations of observation more useful for informal exchanges and building trust	4 group and 2 individual interviews, semi- structured; much "ice-breaking" needed at the beginning of the Phase, spontaneous exchanges;	Rich information from youth coordinators; diverse, spontaneous but not deep information form adolescents	Local press, cultural programs and leaflets, socio-educational institutions programs	Depending on the group the purpose has been explained in more or less details	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; interest in their practices explained; creativity in contrast to the neighbourhood issues
	Joined group (girls, aged 15-16)				2 group interviews: much "ice-breaking" needed				
Youth centre 1	Free time, cultural activities (mostly 11 to 14 years old; some boys 15 to 17 years old)	Moderate relevance (see methods herein)	Difficulty in establishing confidence	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; more passive than moderate participation (Spradely 1980) in cultural activities; more time and revised researcher's role needed for richer informal exchanges	2 group interviews (girls aged 12, and boys ages 15 to 17); difficulties in organizing interviews; interviews without projective techniques with age group 11-14 do not provide needed information; difficulties in informal exchanges; more time and revised methodology needed	Rich information from professor, street educators and cultural managers; important information from some managers of youth centres; no important or any information from youth coordinators and very limited depth of information from adolescents		No details explained due to difficulty in creating trust and motivating adolescents to participate	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; not possible to discuss spatial constraints directly with them due to their age and lack of built trust (indirect conclusions)
Youth centre 4	Free time, cultural activities (mostly 11 to 14 years old)	Moderate relevance (see methods herein)	Access easily gained, but trust has not been developed		5 group interviews (boys and girls separated) and 1 individual interview (aged 12 to 13); interviews without projective techniques with age group 11-14 do not provide needed information; some groups of boys and girls disturbed by audio recording; difficulties in informal exchanges; time and revised methodology needed				
	Joined group (girls, aged 15-16)	High potential, but low real relevance (see methods herein)	Extremely difficult access and no trust developed		Neither informal exchanges nor interviews				

Table 16: Field issues in remote neighbourhood in Phase 3 (continued)

Site		Field issues							
		Study relevant site (research purpose related)	Access to adolescents	Data collection methods				Ethical issues	
				Participant observation	Interviews	Informal exchanges	Documents/ Materials	Explanation of purpose of study	Sensitive topic
Art workshops	Free time, drawing workshops (adolescents aged 11 to 15)	Low relevance: adolescents out the area (except one girl); irrelevant content; **excluded**	Easy to gain access and their interest in research	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; passive participation in cultural activities; less content to observe	3 group interviews, audio-recorded, spontaneous, discussions drawings-oriented;	Rich art-related discussions	Local press, cultural programs and leaflets, socio-educational institutions programs	No details explained	"social housing estate youth" not easy to explain to the adolescents; irrelevant for the group
Secondary high school	Cultural-art project (adolescents aged 13)	Moderate relevance: adolescents from the disadvantaged area, but formal procedure to gaining information; **excluded**	Difficult access and no gained youth interest in research	Researcher's role: overt; observer as participant; more passive participation (Spradely 1980) in cultural activities; more time and revised researcher's role needed for richer informal exchanges	Neither informal exchanges nor interviews				
	Art workshops								
Street educators	Various sites in the area	High relevance: great intermediary role between us and adolescents in the areas; **excluded**	Late involvement in research process; no access gained to young people						
Youth centre 3	Free time, cultural activities (mostly 11 to 14 years old)	Moderate relevance (see methods herein)	Difficult access and no gained youth interest in research						

Table 17: Field issues in Phase 4

Urban policy neighbourhood	Site		Field issues					
			Access to adolescents	Interviews	Ethical issues			
					Protection of informants' anonymity	Explanation of purpose of study	Sensitive topic	Shared personal experiences with informants
Peripheral	Sports hall/Hip-hop association			Group interview (2 boys, aged 16); audio recorded;	Guaranteed from the beginning			Yes, hip-hop training
	Multipurpose hall in Neighbourhood centre		By a leading member of male hip-hop group	A newly met group's interview (female group, aged 19, various dance styles); audio recorded		Yes, but not in detail (more in next phase)	"Social housing estate youth"; we explained our interest in their practices, creativity in contrast to the neighbourhood issues	Yes, hip-hop training
Remote	Social centre	Group 1		Group interview (2 boys, aged 18); audio recorded;				No
		Group 2 and 3	By a leading member engaged in two groups	3 newly met members interviewed separately; young men 19+; audio recorded		Yes, in more details	Social housing estate youth: we explained our interest in their practices, creativity in contrast to the neighbourhood issues	No

Table 18: Field issues in Phase 5

Urban policy neighbourhood	Field issues			
	Site		Interviews	Ethical issues
				Protection of informants' anonymity
Peripheral	Municipality park	Female hip-hop group	Group interview (female group, aged 19, various dance styles); audio recorded	Guaranteed from the beginning
	Multipurpose hall in Neighbourhood centre	Male hip-hop group	Group interview (3 boys, aged 15-16); individual interview (leading member); audio recorded	
Remote	Social centre	One group	two group interviews (1 boy, 1 girl, aged 18); audio recorded	

Providing detailed presentation of our fieldwork development we aim to demonstrate the pathway we took to reach and sample the most relevant groups of adolescents and local socio-educational institutions. The focus on local socio-educational institutions is important as a way of gaining access to adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods (out of the school context) that reveals their crucial role in enabling and fostering collective cultural practices of local adolescents we study in our dissertation.

Conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter we have presented the data collection methods we applied in our research. In line with our epistemological position (Table 7) privileging spatial approach in understanding collective cultural practices (youth microcultures) of adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods. For that purpose, a multi-sited ethnography allowed us to recognize and interpret similarities and differences of youth microcultures in two urban policy neighbourhoods. Also, by following different groups of adolescents (youth microcultures) we reach the opportunity to understand their differences, but to understand how similar spatial constraints, consumption restrictions, and the role of local socio-educational institutions we recognized in both neighbourhoods affect and determine youth microcultures. Participant observations, individual and group interviews, secondary data, fieldwork diary helped us in reaching spatial perspective of youth cultural practices which is crucial for the interpretation.

By spatially approaching youth collective cultural practice (microcultures), we keep this focus in our data analysis and interpretation that we present in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Methods of data analysis and interpretation

In this chapter we present the analysis and interpretation of our ethnographic data. As any ethnographer, we are faced with an amount of diverse and 'unstructured' data stemming from multiple data sources applied in our ethnographic research.

To analyse qualitative data entails the understanding of a studied phenomenon and an interpretation of collected data in an attempt to reach the meaning that is created through social relations (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012). In the search of meaning, a researcher focuses on the context or environmental elements that influence studied actors' behaviours and on the situations and experiences important to them (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012). In our interpretation, adolescents' experiences and visions of their cultural practices are interpreted through the spatial perspective acknowledging the constraining and empowering dynamics of their social space (urban policy neighbourhood).

This chapter opens with an introductory discussion on the characteristics of our ethnographic (qualitative) data interpretation presented in the *first section*. The *second section* provides much clarification on our process of coding of ethnographic data and a creation of conceptual categories. The chapter concludes with discussion on validity criteria we applied in our research.

Section 1: Ethnographic data interpretation

> *"It is a central assumption of ethnography that, in order to understand what people are doing and why, one needs to understand the meanings involved: how they interpret and evaluate the situations they face, and their own identities."(Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 168)*

In an attempt to provide an interpretation of a studied phenomenon an ethnographer meets several challenges. First, ethnographic fieldwork results represent a significant amount of data that are usually unstructured – i.e. they are not organized in relation to analytical categories that researcher develops (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Accordingly, an ethnographer is

exposed to enormously rich information that needs to be analysed. The analysis of ethnographic data

> *"involves, simultaneously, the development of a set of analytic categories that capture relevant aspects of these data, and the assignment of particular items of data[126] to those categories." (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 161)*

Ethnographic data stemming from multiple sources demand rigorous but creative treatment – *interpretation* (Spiggle 1994). Multiple data sources and methods used in ethnographic research are important since they help in revealing different perspectives of consumers' experiences or situations under study. Heterogenous (observational and verbal) data stemming from diverse resources (and from diverse informants and situations) serve to represent a multi-layered and multivocal interpretation (Arnould 1998). Accordingly, the interpretation of ethnographic data attempts to reveal cultural meanings based on individual experiences captured through observational and verbal data (according to Geertz 1973 in Arnould and Wallendorf 1994).

Second, ethnographic multiple methods provoke *disjunctures* or differences that allow ethnographers to reach different layers of meanings (Arnould 1998). Diverse individual experiences and observed situations serve ethnographers in providing a meaning of a type or a group of behaviours specific to a studied context (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). In other words, ethnographers search for the relations between different facts trying to understand the phenomenon in its totality and its dimensions (Laplantine 2010). In so doing, they provide a representation of a studied culture (Arnould 1998). For Geertz (1973) doing ethnography goes beyond the usage of multiple methods of data collection during fieldwork and comprises a researcher's intellectual enterprise in providing a *thick description*. Thus, by describing culture, an ethnographer describes its elements (i.e. behaviours, events, process, and institutions). Ethnographic interpretation aims to recognize the meaning of actors' flow of behaviours (social actions) through which a culture is described (Geertz 1973).

Third, a representation of cultures and their written ethnographic descriptions are never neutral. They are shaped by theories that a researcher employs and by his/her general knowledge and applied language (Laplantine 2010) which call for his/her intellectual and moral responsibilities towards those who are represented in writings (Van Maanen 2011). This imposes a researcher to ethically treat informants' words through provided (written) interpretations. Thus, a challenge of ethnographic interpretation presented in final writings is to find a just representation of actors' point of view of experiences (*emic*), and interpreted cultural meaning

[126] Items refer to transcription of interviews, descriptions in fieldnotes, extracts from various documents, etc.

or provided representation of a given experience by ethnographer (*etic*) (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994) – i.e. to manage interpretations provided by actors themselves (internal perspective), and by a researcher through scientific discourse (external perspective) (Hill 1993).

For Van Maanen (1979) first-order concepts are facts that stem directly form ethnographic research, while second-order are theories used by an ethnographer to analyse and interpret data. In written interpretations of a studied culture the ethnographer needs to guide a reader towards an understanding of what the phenomenon is by foregrounding actors and their views (Geertz 1973).

Finally, the ethnography is always descriptive (Geertz 1973; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Indeed, it describes a studied culture (i.e. flow of behaviours or actions) as distinct from other cultures (or human behaviours).

Iteration process and data interpretation. An interpretation is "*playful, creative, intuitive, subjective, particularistic, transformative, imaginative, and representative*" (Spiggle 1994, 500), and, especially in ethnographic research, is a holistic and illuminating process (Spiggle 1994). The analysis of ethnographic data and their interpretation rely largely on the researcher's intellectual enterprise in understanding the meaning of a studied phenomenon, his/her interpretation or transformation (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012). Indeed, the process of interpretation is the search for a meaning of a studied phenomenon through abstract conceptualizations (Corbin and Strauss 1990; Martinet 1990; Spiggle 1994). Developing analytical categories and models in ethnographic research is "*a mysterious process*" with no real guidance to prescribe to ethnographers (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 162). However, they often rely on their creativity and the use of multiple data sources (e. observations, interviews, printed documents, audio and video material) and an understanding of relationships and regularities across different cases (Arnould 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). When an ethnographer provides a description (written interpretation) of a studied phenomenon certain theories are employed, as well as his/her general knowledge and applied language (Laplantine 2010). To provide an understanding of the phenomenon s/he relies on iterative process between real life events and provided meanings (Laplantine 2010). Through, scientific point of view (applied theories) the ethnographer "*make sense of the data*" (Hill 1993, 59). Reaching theories through ethnographic interpretation demands

> *"an iterative process in which ideas are used to make sense of data, and data are used to change our ideas. In other words, there should be movement back and forth between ideas and data. So, analysis is not just a matter of managing and manipulating data. We must be prepared to go beyond the data to*

develop ideas that will illuminate them, and this will allow us to link our ideas with those of others; and we must then bring those ideas back to test their fit with further data, and so on. This relationship between data and ideas is at the heart of grounded theorizing." (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 159)

This iterative process in making sense and changing ideas resulting from ethnographic fieldwork practices that impose an ethnographer to be reflexive during the whole process of data collection and analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Also, the iterative process of understanding is often represented through *hermeneutical circle*[127] which comprises "*the back and forth specific-general-specific movement of interpretation*" which in ethnographic research appears through the iteration between "*elements of data and entire body of data in creating an interpretation that is ever more complete*" (Arnold and Fischer 1994, 63).

A creative, reflective, and iterative character of interpretation has guided our ethnographic data analysis and interpretation to provide theoretical insights into studied youth collective cultural practices and spatial influence of urban policy neighbourhoods on these. We provide more explanation in the next section.

Section 2: Ethnographic data analysis: coding process and categorisation

Data analysis comprises various procedures or series of operations to manipulate – dissect, reduce, sort and reconstitute - qualitative data (Spiggle 1994)[128]. Qualitative data analysis is an iterative[129], continuous and parallel process to data collection (Miles and Huberman 1994; Corbin and Strauss 1990). The iteration process appears among various sources of collected data, and between data analysis and data collection during the whole qualitative research process (Corbin and Strauss 1990) Despite its continuous character, a more concrete form of data analysis starts with taking analytical notes (memos) and reducing or braking whole amount

[127] We do not rely in total on hermeneutics, so we do not provide much explanation about its development as a theory and philosophy. Rather, we focus on what is relevant to hermeneutical circle as iterative process of importance for grasping the meaning in ethnographic research.

[128] A researcher uses technical (e.g. transcriptions, splitting text, etc.) and intellectual operations during analysis (i.e. intuitively made groupings, substitution of certain term by others) (Paillé and Mucchielli 2012).

[129] The iteration process is inherent to qualitative data analysis where the phases of data analysis and collection follow each other during the research process (Corbin and Strauss 1990; Spiggle 1994).

of data into its constitutive parts (Miles and Huberman 1994; Spiggle 1994). In the case of ethnographic data analysis, a researcher initially seeks *analytical concept(s)* that may help

> *"…to make sense of what is going on in the case or cases documented by the data. […] The aim, though, is not just to make the data intelligible but to do so in an analytical way that provides a novel perspective on the phenomena we are concerned with, builds on previous work, and/or promises to tell us much about other phenomena of similar types." (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 162)*

A search for novel perspective is very challenging for a researcher and rewarding for the scientific and practical knowledge. In so doing, during the process of data analysis a researcher aims to reach the meaning of the reality and people's experiences but, above all, to recognize analysing concepts or categories for theoretical insights. Appearing concepts may arise from informants or from the ethnographers who attempt to provide those that may relay the visions or phenomena unrelated by the informants (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). In so doing, a researcher relies on his/her general knowledge and personal experiences or adapts the existing concepts in theory.

While certain phases in data analysis process are already recognized by researchers, no exact and exhaustive guide for data analysis and interpretation is offered (Spiggle 1994; Saldaña 2016).

Subsection 1: Process of coding

Qualitative data analysis starts with the process of coding which refers to data reduction process and comprises "*selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming data that appear in written-up field notes or transcriptions*" (Miles and Huberman 1994, 10). That is, through the process of coding units (or portions) data are classified or labelled into categories (Spiggle 1994). These labels are codes that provide a symbolic meaning of collected data, more specifically of the units of data (of different sizes such as a word, a sentence, a paragraph) (Miles and Huberman 1994; Miles, Hubeman, and Saldaña 2014). While certain researchers define their *units of analysis* from the beginning of the research, others just categorize a portion of data "*on the basis of its coherent meaning – its standing on its own*" (Spiggle 1994, 493). In our data analysis, we opt for the second approach to define units in the initial phase of data coding process.

A creation of codes is a highly creative, subjective and a playful process (Spiggle 1994; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Paillé and Mucchielli 2012) relying on the reflexivity of a researcher during the whole process of analysis and data collection. That is, some guidelines are offered (Miles

and Huberman 1994; Strauss and Corbin 1998) but much depends on the researcher's analytical capacities, theoretical and contextual knowledge in relation to a studied phenomenon. The whole process relies on a her/his reflection and manipulation of different types and sources of data (e.g. field notes, transcriptions from interviews, photographs, and official documents). Thus, coding is "*a data condensation task that enables you to retrieve the most meaningful material, to assemble chunks of data that go together, and to further condense the bulk into readily analysable units*" (Miles, Hubeman, and Saldaña 2014, 73). The sources and types of data in qualitative, especially in ethnographic research, are various and can all be coded (Corbin and Strauss 1990). In our research, interview transcriptions, notes from the observations and about informal exchanges, texts from the fieldwork log, contents of official documents (e.g. cultural programs, leaflets, local newspapers) and some photographs were coded.

In qualitative research, data analysis is parallel to data collection which affects the content of further data collection (Miles and Huberman 1994). Data analysis demands a researcher to go back and forth between data analysis and new data collection – to follow the iterative process of data analysis (Spiggle 1994). Indeed,

> *"[t]he carrying out of procedures of data collection and analysis systematically and sequentially enables the research process to capture all potentially relevant aspects of the topic as soon as they are perceived." (Corbin and Strauss 1990, 6)*

During our fieldwork practice, we returned several times in the field in order to collect data form sampled groups of adolescents.

In the initial phase of coding process, the researcher goes across collected data attempting to find recurring behaviours, situations or meanings (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994), and is confronted to a higher number of concepts (Point and Voynnet-Fourboul 2006). These initial codes may reflect *emic* perspective or *etic* (researcher's) understandings of a studied phenomenon. These are the provisional codes that enables us to continue with data collection and further interpretation (Spiggle 1994). In this phase of our data analysis, the coding process is partial and rudimental, and takes a form in the first round of coding (see next subsection). Here we aim to recognize various aspects of data that allowed us to proceed into more focussed process of coding.

Coding for categories and theoretical models. After the initial coding a researcher starts the phase of categorisation that goes beyond categories related to meanings that stem from context (fieldwork) and provides abstractions by *"[grouping] previously identified categories into more general, conceptual classes*" (Spiggle 1994, 493). In that sense, coding is the interpreting

act (Saldaña 2016). Also, this phase of coding refers to *open coding* (Strauss and Corbin 1998) – i.e. an inductive way of coding that is context-sensitive which starts with analytically choosing concepts that represent collected data. In this phase, a researcher seeks for similarities and differences by constantly comparing data (i.e. events, actions or interactions) enabling a proposal of conceptual labels (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Thus, coding is *heuristic* since it enables creating links between categories (Point and Voynnet-Fourboul 2006; Saldaña 2016).

The categories and subcategories are integrated in that the researchers recognises conditions, contexts, strategies (actions) and consequences which take form in *axial coding* (Corbin and Strauss 1990). Finally, theoretical coding brings the abstraction to its highest level enabling a researcher to find a core category (construct) around which all others oscillate and are related to (Strauss and Corbin 1998). During the last phases of our data analysis, once the main analytical concepts are developed, the core theoretical construct has appeared providing a sense to our data analysis by relying other concepts and enabling further interpretation.

In summary, in this subsection we introduce a theoretical coding that starts with the qualitative data collected from the field or that analytical ideas stem from data themselves (Point and Voynnet-Fourboul 2006). Our data analysis relies on this approach where the concepts appear during the process of analysis and are found to be theoretically relevant (Spiggle 1994). Accordingly, we align our coding process with the *inductive coding* where codes stemmed from the context itself and the process of analysis, rather than they were predefined (Miles and Huberman 1994). Yet, a purely inductive development of concepts is somewhat rare since a researcher relies on *"[t]heoretical ideas, common-sense expectations, and stereotypes*" allowing "*to pick out surprising, interesting, and important features in the first place*" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 165).

Subsection 2: Process of coding of our ethnographic data

Our data analysis and interpretation phases overlap with the data collection employed during our fieldwork. In so doing, we have remained flexible about and engaged reflexivity on gradually emerging meanings and theoretical concepts from the collected data. Data analysis and interpretation in our research attempt to reach theoretical concepts that, when related, create theoretical insights into empirical data and represent lives and consumption practices of adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods.

Unit of analysis. The important element of theoretical coding is an effort in defining a unit of analysis that a researcher comes across constant data comparisons that enables him/her to recognize a critical incident or "*an idea, or a set of ideas which can be isolated from the rest of the qualitative data and which has a certain cohesion*" (Point and Voynnet-Fourboul 2006, 64). According to the authors, the size of portions of analysed text are different or irregular since they reveal the meaning or ideas. Sorting and comparing critical incidents guide a qualitative researcher towards analytical concepts (Corbin and Strauss 1990).

In our analysis, the unit of analysis is a sentence or several sentences that reflect spatial constraints, consumption restrictions or collective (creative) cultural practices. However, we encountered a challenge to keep this unite stable through whole data analysis, especially in the transcribed verbal data from adolescents' interviews. Sometimes we need to take a whole paragraph or a long portion of transcribed group interview as a unit of analysis to grasp the meaning and assign the code. We made such decision since during group interviews a member who was explaining or describing a situation or event was frequently interrupted by their peers. In other cases, we needed to ask diverse questions to make conversation fluid which demands us to analyse longer portion of transcribed interviews.

Process of coding. The process of our ethnographic data analysis has been influenced by and affected our data collection. Here we explain the phases of our coding process and reaching the main concepts that enabled us to explain adolescents' cultural practices in urban policy neighbourhood.

Initial phase of coding (Phases 3 and 4 of fieldwork)

In the intensive phase of our fieldwork (phase 3) and the navigation between two suburban contexts (i.e. several sites and groups of adolescents) less time left to officially organized, sort, group and classify the data. However, we were analysing daily our fieldwork log, purposefully sampling new informants and sites. Accessing groups of adolescents, motivating them to talk and grasping diverse information about their collective and/or individual practices was time consuming. Also, collecting information on spatial constraints or their consumption restrictions was impossible in the phase 3 due to the low trust development that came late in this phase with several groups.

After constant comparison among collected data (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and a reflection on similarities among observed situations and specificities of adolescents' cultural practices, at the end of this phase, we decided to focus only on long-lasting or newly created adolescent groups

inspired or passioned by their collective cultural practice. That is, all cultural practices that are organized in schools, imposed by educators (and not much interesting adolescents themselves) and do not comprise dominantly adolescents from these neighbourhoods were excluded from our data analysis.

We refined our *cases* for the qualitative analysis (Miles, Hubeman, and Saldaña 2014) as groups of adolescents gathered around certain cultural practices, organized in the *local socio-educational institutions* in the neighbourhoods or supported by these institutions, that we recognized in the field; and *sites* as classified into *main sites* (i.e. socio-educational institutions in peripheral and remote neighbourhoods) and *secondary or temporary sites* (i.e. public space in the neighbourhoods, local events, local cultural and other institutions and facilities, or other sites outside the neighbourhoods used for the collective cultural practices).

This helped us to reduce a great amount of unsorted data we had and that referred to diverse and heterogeneous youth cultural practices in different institutions without any relationships among them. Here lies our first step towards further official coding process.

In the phase 4 we continued collecting data from the groups and met a new one or new members that allowed us to enrich our data about adolescents' collective and individual cultural practices. In this phase, we still oscillated between collective (within the group) and individual cultural practices during our discussions with adolescents for different reasons. In some cases, we could not meet all the members at once, while in others, members provided us with very "poor" information (i.e. without many descriptions or provided anecdotes) or we still needed to build trust. This imposed us to continue data collecting in the phase 5.

First round of coding (Fieldwork, phase 4). In the initial phase of coding we opted to organize data as they were collected and to try to sort out certain sense which may lead us to theoretical insights without a previous focus on specific concepts (categories)[130]. For this purpose, a coding manual of Saldaña (2016) about diverse coding methods, possibly used in the same time during data analysis, was helpful to our data analysis. In this phase we started organizing our data in NVivo 11 by using two groups of coding methods: (1) grammatical_such as *attribute coding* and *simultaneous coding*, and (2) elemental_such as *descriptive*, *In Vivo* and *process coding* (Saldaña 2016). Each type of coding allows the sorting of very heterogeneous ethnographic data. *Attributive coding* foregrounds descriptive information of sites, demographic

[130] The reason for this may also be found in our theoretical reorientation at the beginning of phase 3 from focus on consumer vulnerability to spatial constraints and from art-related to space-related cultural practices. This is done, as explained in Chapter 2 in this part, due to the irrelevance of seminal theoretical grounding for our actual study context.

characteristics of informants, and data format. Also, we *simultaneously coded* certain portions of transcribed interview texts that had more than one meaning. By applying elemental methods in our coding process, we were enabled to grasp meanings (codes) useful for further coding process. *Descriptive coding* technique was used mainly for our field notes and some documents that enabled us to sort out: types of youth cultural practices and their specificities, social issues (e.g. spatial stigma, discrimination, social norms), some social and material aspects of life in the suburban spaces, types of institutions and services proposed to adolescents in the neighbourhood (and nearby) among other descriptive elements of youth cultural practices, institutions and social and material dimension of these suburban spaces. *In Vivo coding* was very helpful to capture the expressions of adolescents that reflect their collective cultural practices and lives in the neighbourhoods. *Process coding* was useful for some portions of text referring to adolescents' individual or collective actions in relation to cultural practices, the neighbourhood (social space) and some other life events. This information was very rich but without any specific and well recognized concepts.

Second phase of coding (Fieldwork between phases 4 and 5 to mid-phase 5)

In this phase between two data collection practices, we spent much time recoding our data in the search for categories that may appear from previous codes.

Open coding. In this phase of data coding process, we continue comparing data by looking for more similarities and differences between main sites (i.e. main socio-educational institutions for youth cultural practices) and groups of adolescents. The comparison has led towards certain practical (fieldwork-related) and theoretical decisions. In relation to our empirical data, first comparisons have shown the irrelevance of all adolescents' cultural practices we participated in or purely observed during Phase 3 in youth multipurpose centres in remote neighbourhoods. These were totally different groups of adolescents than all others we met during our fieldwork. So, by foregrounding collective aspect of youth cultural practices, we could not find the similarities between these and other groups of our informants from both neighbourhoods.

With these comparisons, the first concepts (categories) that had a status of provisional categories appeared (Spiggle 1994). Also, there are codes that did not fit into emerging conceptual categories. They are kept as they were originally coded to support our general analysis of the studied phenomenon. Also, some of these codes are important for reaching

practical solutions in relation to youth collective cultural practices in both urban policy neighbourhoods.

In this phase the categories that more clearly appear are those that reflect material and social difficulties within youth cultural practices, individual and collective practices as resistance to life difficulties in the neighbourhoods, adolescents' creativity as response to the life in the neighbourhoods (e.g. youth passivity and 'lack of things to do'), adolescents' search for collective agency and solidarity, and utopic spaces for improvement of their lives and consumption practices, and microcultures (i.e. small-group collective cultural practices). These recognized ideas in empirical data are rethought in relation to an additional literature review for defining leading concepts. In this phase the scholarships that helped us sort out *dominant concepts* are:

- *Critical spatial theory* (Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja, Michel Foucault, Kevin Hetherington) and related issues such as socio-spatial inequalities, social stigma, economically marginalized spaces, utopic spaces, creative resistance; and spatial dynamics: empowering and constraining; and
- *Consumer vulnerability literature* (Stacey Menzel Baker, Ronald Paul Hill, Bige Saactioglu and Canan Corus, Kathy Hamilton) and related issues such as consumer vulnerability, spatial constraints (material and social), limited access to goods and services, coping strategies, social stigma and social and market exclusion.

Constant comparisons, additionally collected data and the review of the literature led us towards a conclusion that sampled groups of adolescents' collective cultural practices, in local socio-educational institutions, represent specific microcultures (Hannerz 1992; Fine 1979). However, we have understood very early that our data could not support an interpretation from this theoretical perspective[131]. Also, consumer subcultures literature does not correspond to our informants' collective practices since these are not pure communities of consumption. Yet, these microcultures reflect alternative modes of consumption.

Third phase of coding (Fieldwork, mid-phase 5)

The final phase of our fieldwork resulted in a residual data collection and the evaluation of our primary conclusions about adolescents' collective cultural practices. At the same time, we advanced with our data analysis by reducing number of categories and attempting to establish

[131] Theoretical triangulation is advised to ethnographers – when one theory cannot fit the phenomenon or exhaust the meaning of the data, other theories may be applied (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

their subcategories and relations between them by following the idea of *axial coding* and finally *selective coding* (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Continuous reading, rereading of data and their comparisons revealed complex relations of spatial influences and adolescents' collective practices as a response to these. Our perspective of interpretation changed from purely youth collective cultural practices analysed as a form of purely leisure, consumption practices to youth microcultures as coping strategies in managing spatial constraints. That is, adolescents' cultural practices are interpreted through spatial perspective as collective challenges of and creative response to material scarcity and multiple deprivation they experienced in deprived neighbourhoods.

Axial coding. Through iteration between certain and whole data, data and literature, and comparison of youth cultural practices (their types, meanings, organisation and financing) in these neighbourhoods and other urban spaces[132], we sorted out *three spatial dynamics* (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) relevant for these deprived neighbourhoods: constraining, protecting and empowering dynamics. These spatial dynamics are in relation to *concepts* that shape our theoretical understanding of youth cultural practices:

1 *Constraining spatial dynamic* refers to a category of (1) *spatial vulnerability* (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) that reflects *spatial constraints* (i.e. social and material deprivation; spatial stigma; youth passivity and delinquency; dependence on local social institutions) and comprises a subcategory *consumption restrictions* (i.e. dominantly limited financial resources; the lack of variety and accessibility of services; lack of information, and local social norms) which refers to adolescents' consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002b; Botti et al. 2008; Martin and Hill 2012; Hill and Sharma 2020);

2 *Empowering spatial dynamic* has *two aspects.* First is *protecting* expressed through the category of *(2) institutional support* (material, social, organizational, financial) and dominant cultural practices in the neighbourhoods (e.g. hip-hop). Second is purely *empowering* that comprises a category of (3) *emancipating space* (local social and other institutions) understood as spaces of alternative consumption and creative resistance (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997), a category of (4) *collective coping (creative) strategies* expressed at the level of *youth microculture* (Hannerz 1992)

[132] Concerning our research objects as important French society social issues, I, as a foreign researcher, spent much time talking to my French friends, acquaintances, and university professors in order to understand better my empirical data. Despite finally developing a much better understanding of the specificity of the French society, where I live and work now, I will not be able to provide a complete French vision of the studied phenomenon. Also, during the whole process I made a comparison between the French context and my country of origin, in order to understand the role of government, institutions and the importance of cultural institutions in both societies.

through *collective resources and control* (consumer resources-control interplay against spatial vulnerability) (Hill and Sharma 2020) expressed through collective knowledge (resources) and collective control (cultural experiences), and a subcategory of *utopian ethos (ideologies)* caused by spatial constraints, supported by emancipating spaces (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997) and aiming youth life and consumption improvement or more social and market inclusion.

Selective coding. In the final phase of coding, we have recognised that the central category in our ethnographic research is adolescents' *collective coping strategies* represented through their *microcultures* and creative resistance The central category relates to all other categories and subcategories recognized in the previous phase of coding.

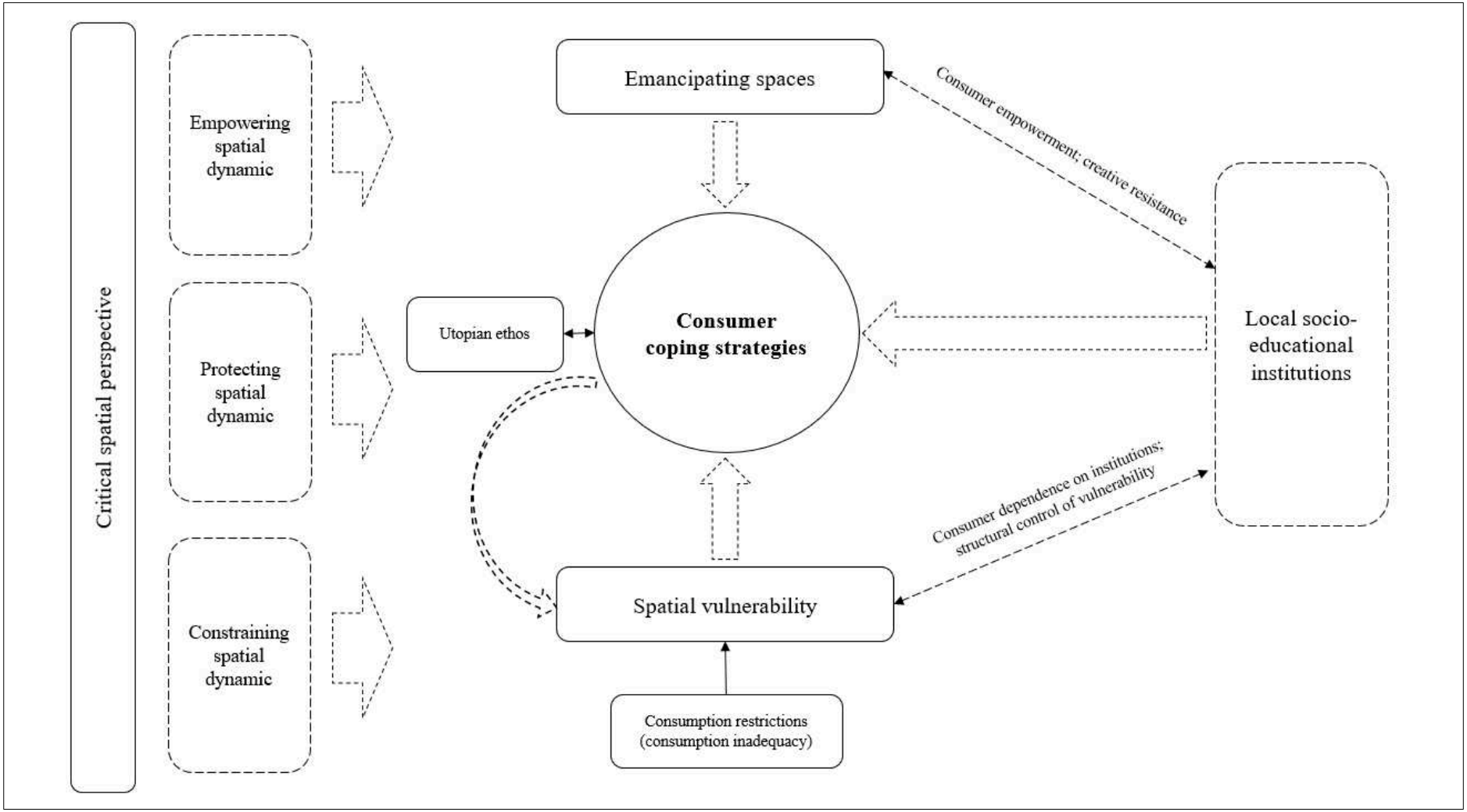
Coding in order to grasp theoretical insight or to sort theory from the empirical data urges a researcher to make his/her theoretical framework understandable. In order to solve this problem an explanation of theoretical statement is advised (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Also, researchers opt for explanation of the coding process to make the process of reaching concepts and theories clearer. Accordingly, we relied on above-mentioned theories and concepts while coding our qualitative data.

In this section we portrayed our process of coding for theoretical insights about our research on youth collective cultural practices in urban policy neighbourhoods. The result of this process of coding are relations between our main category and other analytical concepts. This helped us establish a theoretical framework of our ethnographic data interpretation (Figure 5, page 183).

Section 3: Criteria of validity

Scientific research, be it positivist or interpretivist, needs to provide a trustworthiness of produced results. Researchers within the interpretive paradigm usually face the remarks about their works as "*undisciplined*" and as being engaged "*in 'merely subjective' observations*" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 289). The ability of a naturalistic inquiry, including ethnographic research, to provide trustworthiness of data and to follow the criteria of validity as the positivist research does, has received much criticism (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Corbin and Strauss 1990). In the context of ethnographic interpretation, to reach objective interpretation of meaning may be an elusive enterprise (Holt 1991). Yet, interpretivist scholars developed alternative criteria of evaluation of validity more suitable for qualitative, naturalistic inquiries (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Wallendorf and Belk 1989; Corbin and Strauss 1990). The techniques presented below

Figure 5: Theoretical interpretation model of our ethnographic data



are the ones we used in our ethnographic study to respect the criteria of validity.

Credibility. This criterium comprises the ability of a researcher to justify that the representations s/he provides in the interpretations correspond to a studied reality (Wallendorf and Belk 1989). Techniques to assure credibility are various (Lincoln and Guba 1985). In our research we relied on several techniques to make our interpretations credible. We opted for *prolonged engagement* with our informants. Despite a limited time that we had for an intensive fieldwork practice we prolonged our contacts and repeated interviews with adolescents. Also, within the limit of multi-sited ethnography we have been engaged in as many as possible *participant observations* in order to capture the situations and informants' relations. Yet, many youth collective cultural practices were happening outside the neighbourhoods. Thus, a pertinence of this technique is ambiguous.

Further, we relied on the *technique of triangulation* of *sources* (informants and data) and methods[133]. Also, a *disjuncture* between data from different methods opens a discussion on credibility of data sources and made conclusions (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). Approaching different group of adolescents (i.e. age, gender, practices, and institutions), cultural managers, professors, and youth coordinators has been very rewarding for the understanding of youth collective cultural practices and capturing adolescents' views. This variety of sources of data are helpful for our study, since a lot of time was needed to build trust with adolescents, and sometimes some of them provided incomplete information (purposefully or not). Also, official statistics on urban policy neighbourhoods and diverse reports, online newspapers and some local newspapers helped us discern macro constraints and dominant spatial constraints of these neighbourhoods.

Reaching theoretical insights from ethnographic or other qualitative empirical data call for collaboration of a researcher with other scholars (Corbin and Strauss 1990). During our data collection and analysis, we have relied on exchanges or *debriefing with peers* (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Wallendorf and Belk 1989). First, we nurtured constant discussions, from data collection to our final interpretation of data, with one psychologist, who has had a rich working experience in one deprived neighbourhood in Lyon agglomeration. We reached general confirmations of our final interpretations in relation to financial difficulties of local populations, the role of local socio-educational institutions for young population, and the role of cultural practices in dealing with spatial vulnerability and fighting against adolescents' social exclusion. Second, by constantly seeking to gain a deeper understanding of our data, we succeeded, yet a

[133] Much of these have been described previously in the data collection process.

bit late in our research, to meet a sociologist who worked for a long time in urban policy neighbourhoods. Our discussions have justified our focus on spatial vulnerabilities (and relied constraints), and adolescents' access to mainly local or nearby services we recognized through our fieldwork. Also, our discussions, as well as our collected data, excluded the concept of youth subcultures in interpreting *jeunes des cités* in general and from our research. Finally, constant, rich and inspiring discussions we have had with our external examiner during the whole process of data collection and analysis helped in understanding the influence of materiality of social space, consumption restrictions, and the role of adolescents resources and controls over spatial constraints, that, indeed, our collected data reflect well.

Finally, we used *members check or evaluation* to understand our inferences and seminal interpretations we made. This was very useful since our conclusions have been confirmed by the most engaged groups and individuals. Yet, not all youth groups wanted to engage in these meetings.

Transferability. In an attempt to provide data generalisation or their application in other contexts or settings, scholars ask themselves "*[h]ow can one determine the extent to which the findings of a particular inquiry have applicability in other contexts or with other subjects (respondents)?"* (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 290). In ethnographic research, especially in-site, if a researcher opted for the transferability s/he would need to apply the same methods and techniques for comparing (Wallendorf and Belk 1989).

In our multi-sited ethnography research constant comparisons are provided across sites and groups (Wallendorf and Belk 1989), and purposeful sampling is used while following groups of adolescents and their cultural practices in local socio-educational institutions. In so doing, we reduced groups of adolescents and diversity of cultural practices that brought out certain types of youth consumer practices and institutional (and social) support similar across sites and deprived neighbourhoods. Despite spatial constraints that may have local specificities, chosen adolescent groups across sites have shown similarities whenever related to dominant spatial constraints and local institutions.

Dependability. An ethnographer needs to be able to answer the question to which extent her/his interpretation of a studied reality or consumer practices *"was constructed in a way which avoids instability other than the inherent instability of a social phenomenon"* (Wallendorf and Belk 1989, 70). Indeed, these authors suggest observing situations or phenomena over time in order to capture and explain changes since social reality is changeable. In our research, despite limited time, we extended our observations as much as possible and we returned to collect additional

information or do members' check with certain groups. In so doing, we understood some changes in group cultural practices, members' structure, organisational or financial problems, appearance of new groups and an increased interest in our research among certain adolescents. This helped us understand how our interpretation captured a social phenomenon in a chosen moment that continues to evolve independently.

Confirmability. A qualitative researcher should be able to clarify how s/he provided an interpretation in an 'objective' way or to provide the records s/he kept that enable understanding of his/her interpretation evolution. Among certain techniques, keeping a reflexive journal is one technique often used among ethnographers (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Wallendorf and Belk 1989). During our ethnographic research, we have kept a fieldwork diary, and as our understanding of the phenomena and contexts evolved, we gradually integrated our questions and doubts about possible theoretical grounding into it in order to support our interpretations. Also, debriefing with peers helped in confirming conclusions and emerged theoretical insights (see credibility criteria).

Despite all these adapted criteria to evaluate trustworthiness of a research process, it is difficult to gain in transparency of qualitative research which is *inconsistent to interpretivist paradigm* (Holt 1991). That is, a research instrument is a researcher and the evaluation of the research is idiosyncratic (done by a reader or reviewer) which leads to epistemological problems of objective approach of trustworthiness of researchers' interpretations (produced text) (Holt 1991). According to the authors, qualitative research validity should be better judged by its ability to provide an insight into a studied phenomenon.

Integrity. This is a criterion added by Wallendorf and Belk (1989) since the lack of integrity may appear through a conflict between informants and the researcher. We have been confronted with the adolescents' fears or shyness to participate in research or with the information about normative behaviour of the adolescents from deprived neighbourhoods. We have faced this challenge by providing all anonymity to all informants, taking photos of very few adolescents, longer fieldwork presence and building trust with groups (especially adolescents under 17 years of age), and assuring transparency and accessibility of our recorded discussions for their parents.

Finally, as many ethnographers, especially of foreign background, an introspection of a researcher is very important during fieldwork (Minowa, Visconti, and Maclaran 2012). In relation to the difficulty to access adolescents and build trust, we enhanced our reflexivity during the whole process of data collection, analysis and interpretation. In addition to economic

difficulties, we tried to understand how they feel and see their position within French society since many of them were born in France but are of immigrant origin and living among immigrants mainly. In so doing, we analysed our personal position as a foreigner in France but being aware of our different social, economic and spatial position in the society in contrast to our informants. Also, coming from a country of an economy in transition, rising poverty, and a lack of strong policy interventions towards adolescents helped us develop an additional vision to the one of French scholars of this social and spatial phenomenon – urban policy neighbourhoods and their youth.

In this section we presented the techniques we applied to assure the criteria of validity of our ethnographic research. Some of these techniques have been defined before data collection (e.g. members check, informant's anonymity), while others have been developed spontaneously during the research (e.g. debriefing with the psychologist and sociologist).

Conclusion of the chapter

Chapter 5 introduces the process of our ethnographic data analysis and interpretation. We presented the process of our data coding through its interrelatedness to the phases of data collection since theoretical concepts emerged through our iterative process of data collection and analysis.

Conclusion of Part Two

In part two, we presented our epistemological position, methods of data collection, and the process of data analysis which brought out the theoretical interpretation of our ethnographic data.

Our epistemological position which privileges spatial approach to studied subjects oriented our data collection strategy and data interpretation. Our data are purposefully collected in urban policy neighbourhoods as spaces of constraints, consumption restrictions, and real or potential social and market exclusion. Thus, to understand spatial dynamics, both constraining and empowering, and young consumers' collective cultural practices a parallel analysis on spatial dynamic and consumers' practices, during whole process of data collection and analysis, was imposed on us.

After the explanation of data collection and analysis, we were able to open the next chapters with our results.

PART THREE: RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction to Part Three

In the chapter of applied methodology, we provided a longer description of our fieldwork development. We believe it is important to shape the sensitivity of our research context that consequently shapes the meanings of our data.

In this part we presented the results of our ethnographic data analysis and their interpretation through the spatial perspective (Marin 1973; Lefebvre 1974; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997) – i.e. an impact of social space and the role of local institutions on adolescents' collective cultural practices in two urban policy neighbourhoods in our research. Through such perspective, a constraining spatial dynamic (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) revealing spatial vulnerability is recognised (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Youth microcultures are understood here as young consumers' *collective creative agency* or *collective coping strategies* in dealing with spatial vulnerability. These deprived neighbourhoods also comprise emancipating spaces – local socio-educational institutions – revealing empowering spatial dynamic (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) and institutional support for young consumers' alternative consumptive practices and creative resistance to constraining spatial dynamic.

Three chapters in this part are organized by following these two spatial dynamics – constraining and empowering. The *sixth chapter* reflects constraining dynamic of urban policy neighbourhoods in our research and young consumers' collective responses to this. It is divided into two sections. It opens with a portrayal of diverse structural factors (e.g. rising poverty), spatial constraints (e.g. limited variety or lack of services; youth passivity and delinquency; lack of opportunities), and some local populations' specificities (e.g. social norms; dominant youth lifestyle). Thus, combined structural (macro) and local (neighbourhoods) constraints and specificities shape spatial constraints that affect spatial vulnerability of local young consumers. Spatial vulnerability reveals consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008) and dependence on of local institutions (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

In the *seventh chapter* we introduce young consumers' collective cultural practices reflecting youth microcultures. Here microcultures' leading utopian ethos that has guided them towards collective agency, to assure alternative ways of accessing services, consumption experiences and to challenge spatial vulnerability they experience daily is portrayed. A dominant part of this section is devoted to the portrayal of youth microcultures' *collective knowledge and*

experiences as a collective resource and collective control (Hill and Sharma 2020) to challenge spatial vulnerability.

The *eighth chapter* introduces empowering spatial dynamic that is manifested through and enabled within emancipating spaces (Soja 1996) – i.e. local socio-educational institutions and their institutional networks of partners in and outside both urban policy neighbourhoods. These are spaces of young consumers' alternatives for consumptive practices, their collective creative resistance, and adolescents' openness to other social spaces and encouraged changes of local youth cultural practices through youth microcultures (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997).

Chapter 6: Spatial vulnerability and its impacts on young consumers' lives and practices

"It is said we are visible minorities; me, I would say that we are the invisible majority!"[134] *(TV France 3, 2017, a report on "quartiers", a resident of remote neighbourhood)*

Instead of understanding adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods[135] as *a priori* vulnerable category, we acknowledge the importance to explore "*their life worlds*" (Baker and Gentry 2006, 325) to understand their collective creative agencies in and outside of these neighbourhoods. Any person may experience vulnerability from different reasons and in different situations and moments of their lives (Baker and Gentry 2006; Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014). However, environmental or structural constraints (e.g. spatial concentration of low-income population, unequal distribution of resources, and lack of diversity of services) may cause consumers' feelings of lack of control over their lives and consumption practices. Even these vulnerabilities may be multiple and challenged or changed over time depending on how consumers come to control situations and resources they have (Hill and Sharma 2020).

Relying on our observational and verbal ethnographic data, in this chapter we portray social spaces of two urban policy neighbourhoods that affect lives and consumptive practices of our young informants. Also, official statistical data help in clarifying socio-spatial contexts of these urban policy neighbourhoods. Here, we combine empirical with statistical data in order to provide an insight into spatial constraints and life struggles of local populations of consumers. In line with adopted critical spatial perspective of young consumers' agency we emphasize (1) broader social (macro) and spatial (local) forces, and (2) social and material aspects of these neighbourhoods that affect adolescents' access to services in and outside the neighbourhoods. Consequently, this shapes their consumptive and cultural practices[136].

[134] Our translation.

[135] For simplicity reasons, we continue using the English word Urban policy neighbourhoods (used in theoretical part) for French term "*quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville ».*

[136] Whenever in our data interpretation, especially chapter 7 and chapter 8, *cultural* and *consumption* experiences/practices are *separated* it results from our empirical data. *First*, within youth collective cultural practices this separation simply means that certain youth collective practices are more focused on consumption or access to services (e.g. go to cinema, seaside weekends, visits to theme parks, going to dance performances), while

A combination of these forces and aspects of social spaces indicate dominantly *constraining dynamic* of urban policy neighbourhoods (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) that results in a *spatial vulnerability* affecting young consumers from these neighbourhoods (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016), yet differently. Spatial vulnerability is manifested here through various consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008) that cause adolescents' consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002a; 2005). However, urban policy neighbourhoods are also lived spaces of *protecting dynamics* stemming from rich local social relations, socio-educational institutions' support to young consumers' practices and shared social norms that feature adolescents' social space and context of leisure and cultural practices (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).

This chapter is organized in three sections. In the *first section* we briefly portray constraining structural (social) factors that affect adolescents' consumption and their daily lives in suburban deprived neighbourhoods. In the *second section*, we portray physical environment and materiality of deprived neighbourhoods that condition adolescents' general leisure and cultural practices. In the *third section,* we focus on similarities of social spaces influences of both neighbourhoods that result from consumers' daily practices, local social norms, negative or ambivalent feelings about their neighbourhoods. All these influences affect young consumers' daily and consumption practices.

Section 1: Spaces of consumers' multiple disadvantages and structural constraints

Approaching social space of French urban policy neighbourhoods critically, acknowledges diverse *consumption restrictions* for young consumers from these urban spaces depending on material, social and cultural specificities of these social spaces (Hill and Stephens 1997; Botti et al. 2008). Also, young consumers from these urban spaces, due to spatial constraining dynamics and widespread consumption restrictions, are more likely to *experience market and/or social exclusion* (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b).

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others are more oriented towards creative processes (e.g. dance trainings) or cultural experiences (e.g. adolescents interest in meeting artists and professionals; participating in workshops to learn dancing). However, consumption experiences are never totally separated from cultural experiences. *Second*, adolescents aged 11 to 14 that use services of local socio-educational institutions, are more interested in consumption experiences (i.e. fewer collective projects and long-last engagement in cultural practices) in and outside the neighbourhood.

Officially these spaces are *spaces of higher concentration of low income population* (ONPV 2017). Statistical data provide the first glimpse into broader social and structural constraining factors that affect social spaces of two urban policy neighbourhoods in our research recognized through our empirical, both verbal and observational, data. In this section, relying on empirical and secondary data, we provide an insight into structural constraints that consequently affect local, spatial constraints and shape young consumers' practices.

Our informants are the residents of two urban policy neighbourhoods (UPNs) situated at the peripheries of Lyon agglomeration that are officially recognized by urban policy (fr. *Politique de la Ville*) and determined as the neighbourhoods of policy priority interventions – i.e. those urban spaces that comprise dominantly or exclusively large-scale (mostly high-rise) social housing with concentration of low-income and usually immigrant population[137]. Observational and verbal, but statistical data too, reveal two deprived neighbourhoods. *Deprived* may be a suitable term since a deprivation depicts

> *"a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs" (Townsend 1987, 125).*

Being classified as deprived space has much to do with its conditions - "*physical, environmental and social states and circumstance*"- than just with resources affecting specific life circumstances (Townsend 1987, 125). Specificities of two neighbourhoods in our research are officially recognized (Table 19, page 197; Appendix 3 and Appendix 4, pages 457 and 458). We name these neighbourhoods according to their locations in Lyon agglomeration as: *peripheral* and *remote neighbourhood*[138]. Here we provide a brief insight into main urban, social and demographic characteristics of two neighbourhoods revealing multiple disadvantages of people living in these suburban spaces[139].

Location, distance, and public transport connections. Peripheral and remote neighbourhoods are situated in the different suburban areas of Lyon agglomeration and are, thus, separated from the city itself by one of ring roads. Peripheral neighbourhood is situated relatively closer to the

[137] Official data from ONPV (fr. *Observatoire National de la Politique de la Ville*) and statistical data provided by INSEE (fr. *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*) are used here to clarify and portray social reality of two Urban policy neighbourhoods.

[138] Presented criteria herein serve to delimit our research context based on socio-spatial perspective and to avoid confusions with other ambiguous terms and elusive explanations of these deprived neighbourhoods.

[139] A heterogeneity of French *banlieues* and *quartiers prioritaires* (ONPV 2017) reveals a complexity of deprived French (sub)urban neighbourhoods and a difficulty to classify them according to a single criterion. To give more meaning to this typology, we have crossed general information on *quartiers prioritaires* (Table 19) with statistical data relevant for both neighbourhoods in our research and their encompassing towns which are then related/compared to Lyon agglomeration (Appendix 3 and Appendix 4, pages 457 and 458) in order to situate socio-spatial features into a larger urban context. Only from such perspective we can understand the meaning of numbers, rates, etc. in terms of social and economic situation, especially in relation to rising poverty.

nearest metro station in comparison to the remote neighbourhood that is quite far from its nearest metro station. It is not situated far away from the local town hall and is relatively near to the downtown of the Lyon agglomeration. However, estimated time that local population needs to reach the downtown by two means of transport (tramway and metro) is about 35 minutes. Remote neighbourhood is situated further from its local town hall and further from the Lyon agglomeration downtown. With the construction of a line of tramway about 10 years ago, this UPN is more easily connected with the agglomeration. However, estimated time by two means of transport (tramway and metro) is around 45-60 minutes.

In terms of *number of residents* and *surfaces*, two neighbourhoods differ greatly. Remote neighbourhood has around five times more residents than the peripheral one (21966 residents in comparison to 4759) and in terms of surface is four times bigger (146ha in comparison to 36ha). Peripheral neighbourhood has lower rate of municipality population (12.28% of municipality population), while remote neighbourhood represents an important part of its municipality (27.73% of municipality population).

These are the neighbourhoods of *social housing* classifying them in a category of deprived (or even segregated) spaces of urban policy interest and interventions due to the deterioration of their built environments and their stigmatizing and isolating effects on local populations. By simply looking at physical spaces of peripheral and remote neighbourhoods, differences are evident. The latter is characterized by concentrated large-scale high-rise social housings, while the peripheral neighbourhood has a smaller number of these high-rises, yet social housings and deteriorated buildings characterize the space.

Poverty or living at the *threshold of poverty* is present in these neighbourhoods. Statistical data on this issue (Appendix 3 and Appendix 4, pages 457 and 458) do not say much alone. Such statistics follow what Donzelot (2007) calls *relative geography* – i.e. a comparison of deprived neighbourhood statistics with encompassing town (municipality) and agglomeration. From that relativist perspective, we may understand that income and poverty related situations defer between these two neighbourhoods. In the case of peripheral neighbourhood[140], whole municipality has a lower rate of poverty and income based on benefits than the municipality of remote neighbourhoods. However, poverty rates in both neighbourhoods are slightly less than 50% and the rate of population whose income is based on benefits varies between 25 and 27%

[140] Beside low social diversity, an important concern of urban policy makers is a tendency to intensify income differences between segregated neighbourhoods and encompassing towns.

for remote and peripheral neighbourhoods consequently. According to ONPV (2017) these neighbourhoods have generally faced an increase in employment in the last 5 years, but still the rate of unemployment is above 42%.

These two neighbourhoods are the spaces of higher concentration of *foreign or immigrant populations.* 2.5 times more immigrant population lives in peripheral neighbourhood than in its municipality (and 3.4 times more than in Lyon agglomeration), while in remote neighbourhood there is 1.5 times more immigrant population than in its municipality (and 2.8 time more than in Lyon agglomeration). Peripheral neighbourhood situation reflects the specificity of segregated neighbourhoods (a great social difference in comparison to other urban areas) – i.e. it is situated in more advantaged environment, but their main challenge is a low level of socially mixed population (ONPV 2017). Concerning the origin of our young informants from both neighbourhoods: all of them who we met during our fieldwork are French citizens of foreign origin or immigrants (born in ex-French African colonies and came as children with their parents to live in France).

Official reports and statistical data convey structural (macro) forces – i.e. rising poverty level, educational and life opportunities, and spatial stigmatization that shape social spaces of two deprived neighbourhoods revealing a spatial concentration of social inequalities (Avenel 2010). In such social and spatial conditions, consumers' daily and consumptive practices are dominantly affected. Here we rely on verbal and observational data from our fieldwork in order to portray two most important structural constraining factors for consumers from these two neighbourhoods: economic restrictions of low-income population, and social inequalities and spatial stigmatization.

Subsection 1: Economic restrictions of low-income population

Deprived neighbourhoods have appeared in academic and public discourse as (sub)urban spaces of higher concentration of low-income populations and their rising unemployment (Avenel 2010; ONPV 2017) where material deprivation and local populations' lack or/ limited financial resources shape their daily lives and consumption. During our fieldwork exchanges with adolescents from both neighbourhoods, the issue has not been approached easily and they complained less or not at all about economic restrictions. Local young population in both neighbourhoods faces economic restrictions due to limited financial resources of their families

Table 19: Classification of two neighbourhoods according to official criteria (ONPV 2017)

Typology of urban policy neighbourhoods in their environment			
Description	**Label**	**Peripheral**	**Remote**
These are explained through (1) a quality of and a period of housing construction and (2) neighbourhood position in urban space (with information on social housing, size of urban space, etc.). [1]	*Social housing neighbourhoods*	+	
Different issues included in this typology: educational, demographic, and economic (income) criteria are mixed in order not to discriminate population only in terms of poverty level. Better vision may be obtained when compared to data at the agglomeration level [2]	*Segregated neighbourhoods*	+++	
	Large disadvantaged neighbourhoods		+++
Due to the lack of data on economic activities in these areas, this typology is focused on the employment and social benefits [3]	*Neighbourhoods in stall*	+++	+++

[1] more on living conditions indicators in ONPV (2017, 17); [2] more on social cohesion indicators in ONPV (2017, 23); [3] more on employment indicators in ONPV (2017, 29); Signs + to +++ correspond to graduation from the least to the strongest belonging of the area to a typology.

Sources: « Observatoire national de la politique de la ville, rapport 2016 » (ONPV 2017); Système d'information géographique de la politique de la ville : https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/

(Botti et al. 2008) so that their consumption choices are systematically restricted. Our empirical data reveal that in certain families of our informants either a mother does not work or there are more than three children in the family which imposed consumption restrictions and an adolescents' adaptation to such situation. Other examples portray situations of some immigrant families where fathers who came to France with higher education degree finished working low qualified jobs. Also, in some immigrant families, mothers are educated but they dedicated their time to raising their children, fathers do low qualified jobs, or mothers live alone with children

or suffer from certain illnesses that limit their possibilities to work. No story is the same, yet economic restrictions are very similar.

To sum up, a lack of or limited financial resources of the local population have been a *sensitive issue* during our fieldwork practice. A negative image of urban policy neighbourhoods in the French society urged us to carefully approach the issue during the exchanges with adolescents, to analyse broader spatial and social context, and to cross-reference the information from different sources (e.g. not to rely only on adolescents but on adults' words too).

Making priorities and alternative ways to face economic restrictions. Our informants are very conscious of their financial difficulties but are not angry or helpless about their situation. Rather, they have a moderate view of their material deprivation. Some of them timidly evoke how receiving benefits helped them to access services that otherwise they could not do. Kofi (19 years, peripheral neighbourhood) explains how he succeeded in reducing an enrolment fee at a local dance association (from 15 to 5 euros a year) thanks to receiving benefits. As any adolescent, our informants from both neighbourhoods dream about travelling and experiencing something new out of their social space. Travel expenses appear to be, among other restrictions, an important obstacle for adolescents to have broader consumer and social experiences (K. Hamilton 2009). Adolescent girls (19 years, peripheral neighbourhood) emphasize this during our discussions on travelling organized by school:

> Faoulat*: If the travels were too expensive, my parents too, they refused directly!* [laugh]
>
> Manola*: It must be financially accessible….*
>
> Faoulat*: Travels too expensive, yes, that's it …*

Travels organized by socio-educational institutions[141] are more financially accessible for them as Mohamed and Leila (both 17-year-old, remote neighbourhood) precise:

> Mohamed*: Ah, traveling?! It is a little more expensive, but it is reasonable!*
>
> Leila*: Yeah, it's reasonable.*
>
> Mohamed*: What is reasonable for us, it may seem really, really cheap for other people, you see!"*

On the other hand, when it comes to consumption that cannot be directly or fully covered by benefits, young consumers have learned to *make priorities*. Mohamed (17 years, remote

[141] ***Socio-educational institutions*** in our study refer to associations and institutions (managed by local authorities), established in (sub)urban areas with the purpose of enabling access to cultural and various leisure activities, sharing values of solidarity among others, supporting social actions of local population, etc. We do not enter into their specificities, organisational structure, etc. Rather we focus on their role as an intermediary stakeholder in youth microculture activities.

neighbourhood) emphasizes a need to be rational: "*Well, it depends on what ... We cannot afford extravagant things either, you see? Concerning people from the neighbourhood I mean*." Other examples will come up later in the text, but our informants' consumption choices were usually carefully thought through. Also, many of them have shown a respect to their parents and do not demand more than they can afford. So, they adapt and make priorities, especially for their cultural practices.

Also, our informants are often forced to find *alternative* ways of covering expenses for their practices. Sometimes alternative *demands reliance on local or personal social relations* when financial resources are reduced (Fol 2010; Hutton 2016) For example, discussing the prices of concerts tickets as restrictions Fabrice (21 years, remote neighbourhood) explains:

> *"Yeah, it's an obstacle … let's not deceive ourselves … but, me, as I say, I always told to myself that … if I like something and I want to do it, I'll do everything possible! I'll do all to do that stuff! All! I'll give the money, I'll figure out something! I'm someone that may be determined! This is not a problem! …. Yeah, this is an obstacle! When you realize you like an American artist you say to yourself "he tours in Paris". You find out that a ticket is 100 euros or more. You need to pay train ticket to go there, a return one. You need, if you don't have a family …. For me it's ok, I have a family in Paris; this is a bit like second Africa there; I joke! That is to put up, it's also, there you go, … you need to pay 100 euros more… I say this is a big obstacle! But when there are French artists, it's ok! If you pay 20 euros, 37 euros, it's ok even if it is a bit expensive, but it's ok because when you pay a theatre ticket it's within this range…"*

Fabrice's words indicate to which extent various expenses may be cumulated and limit young consumers' participation in consumer culture and in gaining cultural and social experiences (Hamilton 2009).

In other cases, alternative ways to cover expenses have led young consumers to undertake certain *illegal actions*. Kofi (19 years, peripheral neighbourhood) reveals one such situation he and his peers experienced:

> *"… Or sometimes when the train …. Well, you cheat! When you take the train you stay, what, an hour in the toilette because you don't want the ticket inspector to see you. There are many things like that, you see! We are not proud of it, you see, but these are the things we have to do because we have no money! ... You get around the things!"*

Kofi's words allude how low-income family context affects young consumers' practices. It has been especially emotional for us to hear the tone of his voice when explaining the situation that has revealed his personal disagreement with such action but a justification of not having other

options but to do so if they want to participate in different activities out of their neighbourhood and Lyon agglomeration.

Adolescents we met in the peripheral neighbourhood have developed a self-mockery about themselves in terms of their economic restrictions, and it has been easier to talk to them about this issue. Kofi, one of the leading members of a male group of dancers, illustrates how he and his peers from the neighbourhood tried to face the material deprivation (Townsend 1987) and economic restrictions (Botti et al. 2008) they faced individually and as a group scarifying already small family budget:

> *"You know, well, we, we were ... we must have been, what, 12 years old when we started* [hip-hop] *... well, a year after we started dancing, well it became a little serious, you see! So, well, we were a little tired of not having the room! And we had to be 12 years old and ...* [smiling] *Me, my mother, she gave me no pocket money, but I saved up a little bit from time to time, you see,* [smiling] *... I succeeded after, what, 6 months, to have minimum 15 euros! And we were 6 like that, to have 15 euros each! And the first thing to think of, well, it was to gather this money to buy a rug because we wanted to dance!" (Kofi, 19 years)*

Such discussions have been realized with the adolescents over 18 years old either taken on for permanent jobs (only three of them from peripheral neighbourhood and of whom two are local youth coordinators and one is shop assistant) or being students doing part-time (e.g. homework assistance in local socio-educational institution) or seasonal jobs (e.g. assistant in mail sorting office). So, for those younger than 18, a financial situation is more difficult, especially for those who, like Kofi, do not have pocket money for consumption or to provide what is needed for microcultures activities: "*... for us it's better now! Because we are older! We work a little! Well, we can finance our things, you see*" (Kofi, 19 years, peripheral neighbourhood).

Sometimes adolescents' comments allude to their marginal role in consumer culture society due to limited economic restrictions (Hamilton 2009). Our discussion with a group of hip-hop dancers (all boys, 16 years) from peripheral neighbourhood revels this exclusion:

> Fares*: Me, I like … yes, I like go to La Part-Dieu* [shopping centre; to shop cloths]
>
> [...]
>
> Karim*: Very often, that's it … when you have [financial] means …*
>
> [two other boys]: *Ah, yes, yes*
>
> Karim*: … of course, you want to consume!*
>
> Fares*: We like to eat!*
>
> [two other boys]: *Aaaah* [sound of agreement]

Youcef, Fares: *We like to go sit down and eat!*

All young consumers do participate in consumer society, but not to the extent they would like. When making priorities and looking for alternatives our young informants have expressed maturity and adaptation to economic restrictions they accepted very early as 19-year-old girls (peripheral neighbourhood) explain:

> Faoulat*: For me, I'm fine, I gained early in maturity. I wasn't overly choosy since they said no;*
>
> Manola*: But we weren't really sad since it wasn't accessible, because we finally got used to. Sometimes we improved ourselves, but in the other way!*
>
> Faoulat*: And sometimes, we anticipated! 'No, madam, we don't want it!'* [All girls burst into laugh and joke inaudibly]

Mehdi (20 years, remote neighbourhood), a boy defining himself not as a typical representative of the local youth population, explains financial scarcity as a matter of adaptation to the family situation:

> *"Honestly, no! … we lived, there were five of us in the house with … we were living during several years with less than 2000 euros while there were five of us and we never complained. We have always had an opportunity to go on holidays. Ok, that was Algeria, but … we have always had an opportunity"*

Insufficient financial resources of adolescents' families do not lead them to live in total poverty and helplessness but affect their consumption and cultural practices in the way that they seek alternative ways to finance and access services while adapting themselves to restricted consumptive practices.

Subsection 2: Social inequalities and spatial stigmatization

A higher number of families living on benefits and the rising unemployment of local populations in both neighbourhoods, although different, indicate social inequalities that these consumers experiences through their daily and consumptive practices.

Social inequalities. Adolescents' economic restrictions allude to social inequalities local populations face daily. Living in urban policy neighbourhoods is a constraint for them since they feel socio-spatial inequalities (Lefebvre 1974; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) and spatial stigmatization (Donzelot 2009; Avenel 2010) due to a spatial concentration on low-income and immigrant population. By simply entering these neighbourhoods, their physical space (architecture, lack of cultural institutions and various services and retail stores) introduces

social differences between local populations and encompassing towns and other urban spaces of the agglomeration.

Our fieldwork practice acknowledges that two neighbourhoods are not ethnically homogenous. However, what affects any person outside these neighbourhoods is the over-represented immigrant or immigrant-origin population (i.e. African and Arab origin). During our research, the majority of adolescents, we met or interviewed, in peripheral neighbourhood have been of black origin followed by Arab-origin population, while in remote neighbourhood the situation was the opposite. In certain situations, during fieldwork practice, in both neighbourhoods we, as a researcher, were the only or among few persons of origin other than those of ex-French colonies (usually from Africa).

In both neighbourhoods, adolescents understand the spatial concentration of immigrant populations as social exclusion of low-income individuals and families. In general, young boys and girls avoid talking about socio-spatial inequalities. The feeling of difference and exclusion is more present among older peers (aged 18 and over) from remote neighbourhood than from the peripheral one. Adil (21 years, remote neighbourhood) a student in a prestigious Business school, who left the neighbourhood for his education in one of the best high schools in Lyon and frequently comes back to participate in youth association activities, explains it directly and simply:

> *"We'll say, no, you're not in the neighbourhood because you're Arab or you're black! You're in the neighbourhood because you don't have money!"*

Also, built environments of these neighbourhoods, especially their social housing and its high-rises shaping the spaces of low-income or poor and usually immigrant population, reflects social inequalities and isolation:

> *"That's a social difference. Because there are many people who say that Lyon 6 is the district of "the rich"." […] "It's, well, precisely, uh ... I've … I've seen it. That's the fact that ... for example, the buildings are not like here big… big… big sticks with lots of social housing. Over there it's … when you … there's only … let's say … the executives who live there. It's not really like us, what, … "the immigrants". It's not … there's no … it can … There must be one or two, but there is not much while here we are almost all gathered here …" (Ibrahim, 17 years, Algerian[142] born, remote neighbourhood)*

Social inequalities have become spatial inequalities from which usually immigrant populations concentrated in low-income urban environment suffer. This spatial concentration reveals urban

[142] Origin is not always mentioned in our interpreted data but in the cases when it points to socio-spatial inequalities of local populations from Urban policy neighbourhoods.

segregation sociologists already recognized and that is manifested through the lack of social diversity (i.e. contacts between social classes) and have been accompanied by lower education level of majority of the local population. Such situation has led and still leads towards unequal education and further life opportunities and increasing social isolation:

> *"Social capital, cultural capital of Bourdieu! On the contrary, if they do not have long studies it is because their parents did not bring them to museums etc. Even if they have money, they do not necessarily have cultural practices ... No! It's wrong! It's wrong! Again, it's wrong! It's because they have no money, they stay among themselves! They have no idea, the new rich people, generally, they will move to the beautiful neighbourhoods, they will put their children in the right institutions and these children even if they have no cultural capital, which is wrong, these children in contact with children of parents who have this cultural capital they will socialize, they will adopt this culture, they will have this information, even if they [their parents] did not take them to museums they would go out to museums." (Adil, 21 years, remote neighbourhood)*

Adil's words demonstrate how intertwined social and spatial inequalities affect local young populations' life opportunities and their cultural practices (e.g. their diversity, access to services).

Again, we recognize that being destined to live in urban spaces of low-income and immigrant-origin population limit adolescents' chances for grater social and market inclusion of many adolescents from these neighbourhoods. In such context, our informants search the consumption alternatives, and social and institutional support from their social spaces.

Spatial stigma. Public stigma of these urban policy neighbourhoods and especially of their younger populations affects our informants' lives, yet differently. Male adolescents from remote neighbourhood are more concerned with the stigma than those from peripheral neighbourhood. Indeed, negative image of these spaces and their populations - created through national media (ONPV 2019) affects lives of the local population (Avenel 2010). We take an example from our empirical study. The news from remote neighbourhood are covered in the local town newspaper where various topics (not only negative ones) are presented and information on local young population and their creative practices can be found there. But who outside this neighbourhood reads this newspaper so that the positive image may be shared?

Too much media focus has been made on the issues that portray "illness" of these neighbourhoods and not real daily problems of local populations as emphasized in the words of Ibrahim (17 years, remote neighbourhood):

"You turn on the TV one day .... Where there are surveys, there are always the same topics: neighbourhoods, suburbs, the drug, all that. There are never real problems! It's always one problem, but from several points of view ..."

From Ibrahim's words one may understand that local population voices are not really heard, at least not as they should be. In that sense, there is a homogenized and generalized vision of local populations' problems. Accordingly, stereotypes appeared in the society that adolescents from remote neighbourhood express through terms such as "cliché neighbourhood" or "neighbourhood of a bad reputation" indicating a negative view of their social space created around youth violence or drug dealing. Adolescents are aware of the situation and express their helplessness vis-à-vis that negative image their neighbourhood has in the media and society and how they are discriminated by that:

Ibrahim*: … when we talk about breakage and theft … people refer directly to the* [remote neighbourhood] *while there is ... in* [remote neighbourhood] *there is not only people like that!... It's not actually, we're not all uh ... not all like that in* [remote neighbourhood]. *There are good persons ... There are some ...*

Mohamed*: Whatever we say uh ... the amalgam, it will be ... irreparably done in fact.*

Ibrahim*: That's it.*

Mohamed*: There is no alternative for uh ... yeah, for those who want to get out of it and uh... to avoid this kind of things they actually ... Unfortunately, we will always be associated uh ... that is ... to this kind of things. (Mohamed and Ibrahim, 17 years, remote neighbourhood)*

"Learned helplessness" of our informants does not relate to the lack of or limited financial resources (Rabow, Berkman, and Kessler 1983) but to negative, stigmatized and discriminating image of the neighbourhood. This negative image coupled with geographical and economical marginalization of remote neighbourhood and its population cause either their strong feeling of local identity or a desire to leave it permanently.

Mix of spatial stigma, a lack of social heterogeneity and a marginalized location of suburban deprived neighbourhoods in larger urban context have increased local population's real or perceived social exclusion (illustrated below):

"Here, we are stigmatized, shut away. So, I think it's good to be interested in us. Even though most information is highly broadcasted, I think it's still good that people are starting to take an interest in us. Because there was a time, you said to someone [Town] *or* [remote neighbourhood], *he said bah bah bah .... I would never go there, I'm scared, I'm scared!" (Ibrahim, 17 years, the remote neighbourhood)*

> *"Well certainly, there is not much to do in* [Municipality], *it's true, I understand, but that it is a dangerous neighbourhood, that should not be approached, that it is a sensitive area ... it is not a no man's land!" (Mehdi, 20 years, the remote neighbourhood)*

Mohamed emphasizes what many other adolescents have not expressed directly and that *"[i]t's a source of discrimination too … the place where we come from, do you realize?"* (Mohamed, 17 years, remote neighbourhood).

Ibrahim's and Mohamed's words correlate to Cortéséro (2012) who acknowledges the ethno-racial issue of deprived neighbourhood. Spatial/urban issue on these neighbourhoods is not only the issue of social inequalities, but also of shut immigrant population from ex-colonies away (Cortéséro 2012). This is exactly what Ibrahim expresses here. Also, the local population is very sensitive to the various ways of its stigmatization or discrimination that exist. Any stigmatization towards deprived neighbourhoods' populations and stereotypes created around them have provoked the mistrust and fear of the local population (Marlière 2005, 2008; Avenel 2010). Groups of adolescents, highly involved in neighbourhood's local youth projects, have been very careful in providing information to journalists.

In contrast to remote neighbourhood, the adolescents we met in the peripheral neighbourhood have not emphasized spatial stigma but a lack of life opportunities they have by living in these neighbourhoods. They are also aware of spatial stigma towards deprived neighbourhoods and their populations, but they have managed this constraint through dance:

> *"Well, I, I ...* [long break] *That, I think, we all have it a little, you see! But we manage to pass it over, you see! Because ...* [long break] *it's true I'm from a neighbourhood ... I think dance has opened my mind; you see! So, well, sometimes, there are even us that say "Ah, I will not go there because they will think I come from a neighbourhood!" You see!... at first, I thought like that, but that's not the case anymore, you see!" (Kofi, 19 years, peripheral neighbourhood).*

Boys and girls, younger or older adolescents from peripheral neighbourhoods have passed over the feeling of spatial stigmatization. A passionate involvement in hip-hop dance is a part of consumers' strategies in dealing with spatial stigma and the lack of opportunities.

In sum, limited economic resources of many families, their social distance or social exclusion, and spatial stigma affect young consumers' lives and cultural practices. These structural issues manifested in spatial concentration of low-income and immigrant-origin reflect *constraining spatial dynamic* of urban policy neighbourhoods (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Consumers from these spaces search for alternatives when their consumption choices and life opportunities are restricted affecting their daily and consumption practices imposing their

adaptation, diverse coping strategies, and search for a support. Figure 6 (page 206) summarizes concluding remarks.

Figure 6: Constraining macro forces, consumption restrictions and adolescents' coping strategies

Structural/macro forces	Specificities	Consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008)	Young consumers' resources (Hill and Sharma 2020)	Young consumers' control (Hill and Sharma 2020)	Consumers' coping strategies (Hill and Stephens 1997)
Low–income population (increasing poverty)	No extreme poverty; significant rate of local population living on benefits	Economic restrictions (lack of financial resources); temporary and permanent restrictions	Individual (higher education for a few; part-time or permanent but low paid jobs); Interpersonal (impoverished or local social capital); structural **	Individual (passion; personal involvement); Interpersonal (reliance on local youth coordinators/professors) ; structural **	**Emotional**: self-mockery; **Behavioural**: alternative access; illicit actions
Socio-spatial inequality *	Higher presence of immigrants (immigrant origin) population; built environment (social housing); lack of social (class) diversity	Social restrictions (spatial and social distance from French middle class and its norms of consumption) (e.g. museums)			
Spatial stigmatization	Negative and homogenized image of neighbourhoods (national TV and press); public discourse and fear;				**Behavioural**: adaptation to situation (both neighbourhoods)

* Much is evident through the local (neighbourhoods) constraints in relation to materiality, services, life opportunities, etc.
** We explained them through local services and their access

Section 2: Neighbourhoods' built environment and materiality

Both neighbourhoods in our empirical study have their environmental and material characteristics. These are determined by the distance between the neighbourhood and downtown of Lyon, and the neighbourhood's surface affecting greatly the materiality of the neighbourhoods which shapes consumers' lives and consumptive practices. In this section we portrayed both neighbourhoods' built environments and materiality emphasizing physical space and local services and facilities accessible to adolescents and their leisure, especially cultural, practices. We only focus on social housing estate, the materiality of public space and services and facilities proposed to young population (cultural, socio-educative and sports). Also, we briefly depict private sector services (for daily use and/or leisure purposes): bars, fast food, pizzerias, retail shops, bakery shops, markets, pharmacies, churches and/or mosques, etc. Education institutions are not in our focus but may be mentioned whenever their sports halls are used by the young population. Our observational data help us in presenting environmental and material aspects of these neighbourhoods.

Subsection 1: Built environments

Referring to the words of Ibrahim (17 years, remote neighbourhoods) about social inequalities manifested through the concentration of social housing cheap high-rises, then one may have an idea about the visual aspects of these spaces. Indeed, when we approached both urban policy neighbourhoods for the first time, we noticed different urban environments in comparison to their surrounding areas. These neighbourhoods' contrast with nearby urban spaces, but for different reasons. Both are surrounded by houses of residential areas of their municipalities and by modern small buildings. The peripheral neighbourhood contrasts encompassing urban spaces by deteriorated condition of its social housing complex, while the remote neighbourhood is distinguished by numerous social housing high-rises that dominate its environment (Photo 1 and Photo 2, page 208).

With the first steps made in both neighbourhoods, we noticed two totally different physical environments. ***Peripheral neighbourhood*** is a small neighbourhood of social housings in a very bad condition – i.e. deteriorated facades, grey coloured large housing units (a few of them high-

rises), homogenized style of architecture that makes space somehow “sterile”, impersonal or simply resembling a group of unified identical buildings of lower quality (Photo 3, page 209). Such environment does not leave a visitor/an outsider in doubt that local families live in financially very difficult situation or poverty. Further, a highway runs the length of the neighbourhood and crosses its space separating it into two parts (Photo 4, page 209). While two sides of the neighbourhood are surrounded by town park and houses of town residential area respectively, the third side lays next to the one of agglomeration ring roads. Those environmental specificities may be seen while approaching the area – i.e. by 5-10 minutes walk from the nearest tramway stations or directly by local buses that cross the neighbourhood.

Photo 1: Peripheral neighbourhood in its encompassing town

Photo 2: Remote neighbourhood in its encompassing town

Photo 3: Social housing in peripheral neighbourhood

Photo 4: Highway crossing in peripheral neighbourhood

From the beginning of our fieldwork we were inspired by cultural expression of consumers, including street art (e.g. graffiti writing). We found no spontaneous graffiti drawn by adolescents or other youth art in the public space and local adolescents do not talk about graffiti at all. What can be seen in the public space are some painted walls (fr. *fresques*) of entrance halls to several buildings or colourfully painted facades of drop-in day-care centre.

Materiality of this small peripheral neighbourhood is rather deteriorated and characterised by the scarcity of services and facilities for local population. One plausible explanation for this is that it is geographically well situated into the municipality(town) so that the neighbourhood population may use different nearby services and facilities (ONPV 2017). *A priori* it is the case, but in reality, the situation needs to be nuanced. Our fieldwork demonstrates partially this statement in the case of our young consumers – i.e. they generally use cultural services provided by school or local socio-educational institutions. Pertinent question, thus, would be: What kinds

of town services and facilities does young population from peripheral neighbourhood use? How do they access cultural institutions in the town?

The peripheral neighbourhood is characterised by the following *services and facilities*: basketball playground, small football ground, hip-hop choreography centre, tobacco store, pharmacy, post office, grocery shop, bakery, social centre, a catholic church, etc. (Photo 5 to Photo 8, pages 210 and 211). Visually, all facilities and social housing buildings are in a very simple tone, in grey-white shades with signs of aging and deterioration of living spaces. Only recently established choreography centre in the neighbourhood and school sports hall right next to the neighbourhood contrast the rest of the area through their modern shapes and materials.

The neighbourhood material deprivation, especially for youth cultural practices, is alleviated by nearby cultural, sports and social services and their facilities (e.g. neighbourhood centre[143], social centre[144], local performance hall, swimming pool, football stadiums, sports halls, etc.). Also, the neighbourhood's population has access to the town mosque near the neighbourhood, nearest market (minimum 5 to 10 minutes walk), a greengrocer's shop near the neighbourhood, two nearby retail shops, a supermarket and a McDonald's (further from the neighbourhood). Generally, these services require time – at least 5 minutes on foot depending on the part of the neighbourhood one lives in. To reach the nearest supermarket and McDonald's a car or public transport service is needed or one needs to walk for more than 20 minutes.

Photo 5: Local grocery shop, butcher shop and drop-in day-care centre

[143] See Glossary
[144] See Glossary

Photo 6: Basketball court

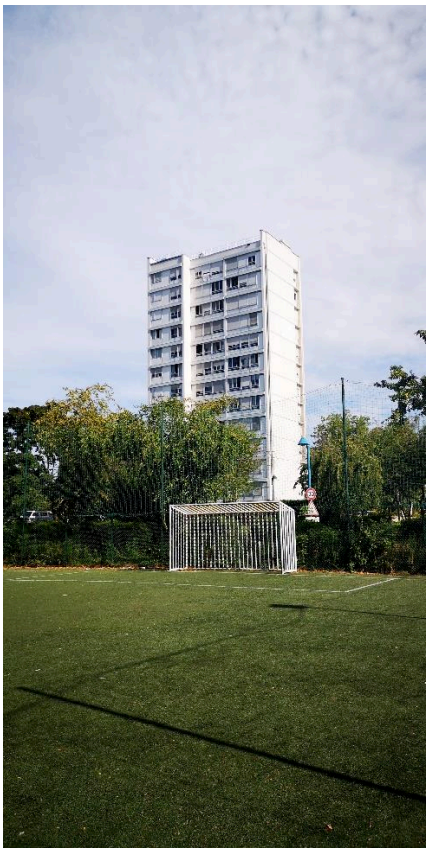


Photo 7: Football field

Photo 8: Hip-hop choreography centre

The remote neighbourhood has four times larger surface than the peripheral one and is specific for a high concentration of social housing high-rises (Photo 9 and Photo 10, page 212). However, recent urban space renovation that started before our fieldwork marks a progressive improvement in quality and aesthetics of the urban environment. For example, several high-rises have already been demolished and several others are expected to follow the example. The whole space around the local market, retail store, cultural institutions and one part of the

tramway line in the neighbourhood is renovated (and still in the process) (Photo 11, page 213). Slowly, neighbourhood environment takes on modern shapes with new smaller buildings and coloured facades. However, in the background of these renovated buildings (including some cultural institutions) are still old, grey-white social housing high-rises. Further, from the direction of Lyon downtown the neighbourhood is easily approached by metro and tramway. According to the words of the local population a tramway line that was introduced ten years ago made this neighbourhood "less remote" and the population less excluded.

Photo 9 and photo 10: Social housing high-rises in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 9

Photo 10

Here we have not noticed spontaneous graffiti in public space created by adolescents. Our informants have not been attracted by such way of creative expressions. Street art is institutionalized. That is, socio-educational institutions in collaboration with artists out of the

Photo 11: Part of newly renovated subarea of remote neighbourhood

neighbourhood and leading town cultural institutions set artistic projects up in the public space and make youth population participate in painting building facades (Photo 12 and Photo 123, page 214). Visual expression of street art in the neighbourhood is framed and supervised by local authorities through local institutions.

Remote neighbourhood as a large space has different *services and facilities*. After some time spent in the neighbourhood, we have noticed that the materiality of that space that may be explained as *lower or insufficient* in comparison to other urban spaces (taken a variety of services and facilities)[145]. There is an over-representation of public services in the neighbourhood of which mostly socio-educational institutions (e.g. one neighbourhood centre, three youth centres and one social centre used for various leisure activities and homework assistance) and numerous sports facilities (e.g. swimming pool, main football stadium, several sports halls of local primary or secondary schools used for various sports – football, tennis, handball, volleyball, etc., various small sports grounds). Cultural institutions are rare, and few have recently been established in the neighbourhood (public cinema and a music school). Further, remote neighbourhood has several fast-foods, one, pizzeria, three bars, two pharmacies, two small groceries, one retail shop, three bakery shops, two hairdressers, two

[145] We have no intention to compare remote to peripheral neighbourhoods since their surfaces and geographical locations in Lyon agglomeration are different.

tobacco shops, one post office, local market twice a week, 4 butcher's shops, one catholic church and one mosque, etc. (Photo 14 to Photo 18, pages 214 to 216). However, usually local population shop in a big retail store six tramway stations away from the neighbourhood (around 25 minutes by tramway).

Photos 12 and 13: Painted walls in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 12

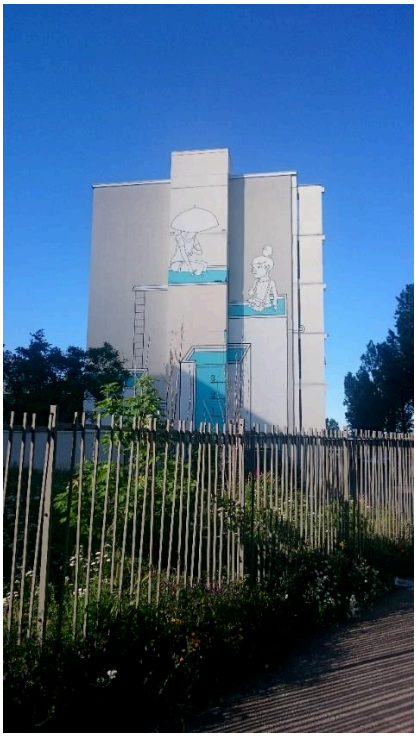


Photo 13

Photos 14 to 18: Some services and sports facilities in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 14: Main football field

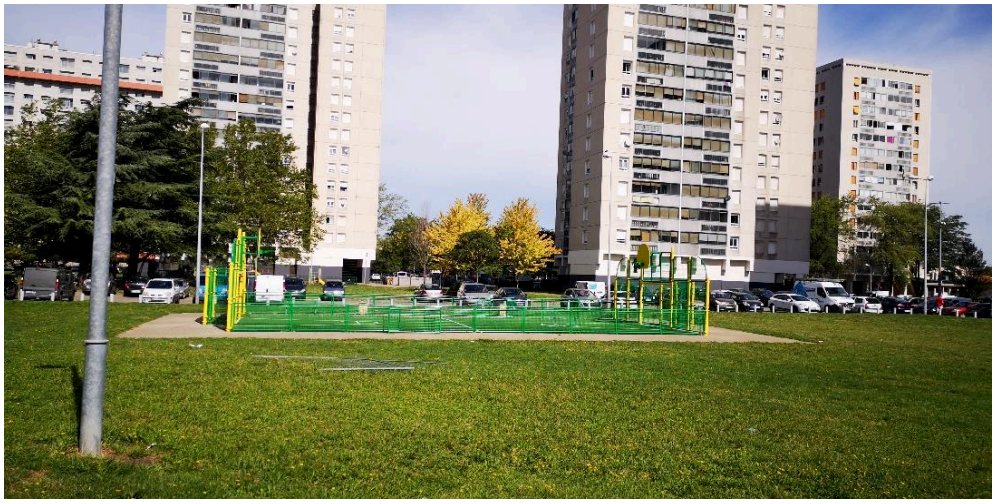


Photo 15: One of basketball courts

Photo 16: One of a few local bars

Photo 17: One local bar, pizzeria, fast food, pharmacy, and grocery shop

Photo 18: Local market

Aesthetic contrasts exist between renovated parts of the neighbourhood and the rest of the area in terms of colours, shapes, and facades of buildings. Also, significant visual contrast exist between local (and nearby) cultural (Photo 19 and Photo 20, page 217) and socio-educational institutions (Photo 21 and Photo 22, page 217 and page 218) – shapes and facades and their locations in the space. Cultural institutions are concentrated alongside tramway line, of grey colours but with modern lines and facades with windows and doors protected by metallic grid.

This list of local services and facilities is just a hint of materiality of the remote neighbourhood. Indeed, local young population (children and young adolescents aged between 11 and 14) frequently use various socio-educational services (usually for leisure activities and homework assistance). Starting from high school, many adolescents are not present in local social institutions and their activities (this is recognized as one of the problems for cultural service of local authorities). Also, this neighbourhood, even during the process of urban renovation, does not provide various consumption and social experiences that adolescents and young adults need.

Adolescents are usually very modest in criticizing the quality and availability of services in the neighbourhoods. They admit sporadically that certain local facilities lack quality (e.g. local swimming pool that has limited capacity), the availability of certain services is limited (e.g. limited number of places in local socio-educational institutions) or some services lack accessibility (e.g. no youth and culture centre, no place for Street Work Out, etc.).

Photo 19: Cinema in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 20: Music school in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 21: One of three youth multipurpose centres in the remote neighbourhood

Photo 22: Social centre in the remote neighbourhood

In sum, both neighbourhoods face material deprivation, yet differently. Living conditions and physical space are more deteriorated in the peripheral neighbourhood than in the remote one (i.e. the latter is under the process of renovation and investment in the improvement of built environment). Relying on and adapting Townsend's (1987) list of criteria of material deprivation, we summarized the most visible signs of deprivation of the environment, location and housing (external aspects) in these two neighbourhoods (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Material deprivation of the neighbourhoods

	Deprivation of housing	Deprivation of environment	Deprivation of location
Peripheral neighbourhood	Poor external paint work and decoration; important number of apartments without balconies	Certain subareas close to ring road (noise and possible air pollution); lack of at least one public cultural institution	No supermarket within 10 minutes' walk or 20 minutes (by tramway + walk)
Remote neighbourhood	Poor external paint work and decoration of certain buildings; high-rise (around 15 floors); many without balconies	Close to industrial area – petrochemical complex and possible air pollution; few cultural institutions; lack of local business	Too far from downtown for young population (despite good connection by public transport); too far from the frequently used shopping mall and McDonald's (around 45 minutes by tramway)

Subsection 2: Local services and places used for youth practices

As briefly described in the previous subsection, deprived neighbourhoods are characterized by scarce or limited materiality. Private sector services (sports, cultural, artistic) are almost or

totally inexistent (excluding grocer's shops, pharmacies, bars, fast food, etc.) in both neighbourhoods. In terms of public services these neighbourhoods differ greatly. The peripheral neighbourhood has almost no public services (one social and no cultural services), while the remote neighbourhood has an omnipresence of public services for youth through socio-educational and sports institutions and facilities. Such differences cannot be compared, but simply explained through neighbourhoods' closer or farther locations from the municipality or Lyon downtown concentrated services.

During our fieldwork practice we have been concerned with services offered to adolescents in socio-educational and cultural institutions for their cultural practices[146]. Despite the differences between two neighbourhoods, certain similarities in terms of materiality have been revealed: (1) *youth-oriented services in the neighbourhoods* and (2) *quality and multipurpose character of used places*.

Local youth-oriented services in the neighbourhoods

Young consumers from both neighbourhoods rely dominantly on local public services and facilities – i.e. socio-educational institutions and sports associations - for their leisure practices. Cultural institutions (public or private) are extremely rare in these neighbourhoods.

There are few services in the **peripheral neighbourhood**. Among youth-oriented services in the neighbourhood, there are a social centre (i.e. an offer of activities for children, adolescents, or young adults) as public socio-educational institution, and a private hip-hop (choreography) centre. Apart from these two centres, other municipality cultural services are situated out of the neighbourhood. Among them, a multimedia library is the most used cultural service by local adolescents. Further, the hip-hop centre is one of the most involved cultural stakeholders in the local youth cultural activities. Beside their classical lucrative offer of dance classes, the choreographers from the centre are engaged in the artistic projects of the town – i.e. teaching hip-hop dance and choreography in different municipality public schools. However, the choreography centre has no direct contact with adolescents from the neighbourhoods other than within dance workshops organized in the nearest secondary school to the peripheral neighbourhood. That is, our group of adolescents do not undertake dance practices in the choreographic centre as their consumers.

[146] We acknowledge the importance of sports services and local facilities for young, especially male population, but this is excluded from our focus of research and is not relevant for youth microcultures we describe later in the text. However, throughout the interpretation certain information about the issue may appear.

In the **remote neighbourhood**, there are different sport facilities and a variety of sport activities offered by the local associations or clubs in the neighbourhood and in the municipality. Services designed for young population in the neighbourhood are mainly offered in the social centre (with two complexes) and three youth multipurpose centres. These institutions provide a similar offer – i.e. various leisure activities and consumption practices which attract many parents and adolescents. Children and adolescents benefit from homework assistance, leisure activities during a week and various excursions during holidays. However, not all adolescents from the neighbourhood can enrol due to the limited capacities of these institutions. Further, among several municipality cultural services in the neighbourhood, two of them have been recently established: the local cinema and a music school. However, children and adolescents from the neighbourhood dominantly use the multimedia library (as in the case of peripheral neighbourhoods).

Social centres in both neighbourhoods and youth multipurpose centres in the remote neighbourhood play an important role in providing homework assistance and various leisure activities (e.g. going to the swimming pool, cinema) during a week and visits and short excursions during school holidays (e.g. visiting museums, swimming in the nearest lakes, skiing in the Alps)[147]. Groups of adolescents most involved in social and cultural projects have received organisational and financial support of the centre. Beside the institutions' defined programs of youth activities, they try to provide access to services that adolescents are interested in.

Observational and verbal data indicate that *local socio-educational institutions* differ from cultural institutions in that their youth coordinators are usually known to the local young population (in many cases they are originally from these neighbourhoods), and they frequently go out into public spaces to meet children and adolescents, and to offer them leisure activities. This is a way in which some adolescents from the remote neighbourhood started their leisure activities in the local social centre. Services offered by these institutions are very affordable to adolescents or sometimes free for those from families receiving or living only on benefits. In the case of special youth projects, these institutions are engaged in helping them find various sources of financing[148].

On the other hand, *cultural institutions*, private or public, have no direct contact with the local young population. In order to offer their services to adolescents they require intermediary

[147] More in the next chapters.
[148] More in the next chapters.

institutions – schools and socio-educational institutions. In the peripheral neighbourhood, private hip-hop centre collaborates closely with a local school. In the remote neighbourhood town theatre, multimedia library and music school collaborate with local schools and socio-educational institutions around various cultural projects. Often, these projects undertaken by the theatre, multimedia library and private urban culture centre are centred around hip-hop dance, rap music and writing slam. Further, private cultural institutions' offer is not financially accessible to many adolescents from the neighbourhoods.

Quality and multipurpose character of used places

The places that local socio-educational and cultural institutions use for youth practices differ due to their (1) *permanent or temporary character*, (2) *equipment* and (3) *activity-specific or multipurpose character*. These impressions have stemmed from our observations of youth collective cultural practices and various events organized in both neighbourhoods.

In both neighbourhoods, for majority of youth activities with local population socio-educational institutions use their *permanent* places which are usually *multipurpose*. They have a limited number of rooms as well as different age groups' activities which require institution's adaptation, spatial and time organisation, and the usage of the same space for various activities. In the remote neighbourhood, the social centre has more rooms than youth centres. Also, their rooms are purposefully built for their activities, while many of youth centres use other local facilities (e.g. local multipurpose hall or neighbourhood centre). For example, in the social centre the main room is used for adolescents writing sessions, youth association meetings, film projections, hosting of local events and theatre classes. In youth centres, permanent multipurpose places have been used for playing board games, cooking and crafts workshops, educational sessions, playing baby-foot or ping-pong, or homework sessions.

Depending on the type and content of youth projects, socio-educational institutions use the places of other public institutions for youth *temporary* activities (short-term projects). Youth multipurpose centres use local sports halls for hip-hop dance trainings (basketball or martial arts halls), multipurpose room of the local radio for writing and reading slam workshops, or music school rooms for music workshops during spring/autumn holydays. If there are not enough local cultural institutions with their own space for the activities (e.g. for hip-hop dance trainings) local sports halls may be a good solution for adolescents from both neighbourhoods, especially during cold months.

During participant observations, we noticed that the *equipment* for various activities is limited to essential (and not necessarily of low quality) which is related to the multipurpose character of the places and the type of activities that do not demand to be very equipped. For example, girls who dance hip-hop relay that hip-hop is omnipresent in the deprived neighbourhoods since it does not require practising. Further, socio-educational institutions usually have sufficiently spacious room(s), removable chairs and tables, equipment for projecting sounds and images and lap-tops. That is, these are very simple in terms of equipment and decoration, and with temporarily presented youth creations (e.g. drawings).

Looked from the outside these socio-educational institutions are usually very neutral single-story buildings. Many youth centres are not easily accessible since there are *no signs* either in public spaces or on the facades of their buildings. Similar situation appears with many local sports associations in both neighbourhoods and youth hip-hop association in peripheral neighbourhood – i.e. since they use school sports hall and are not owners of these places, there are no signs in public spaces.

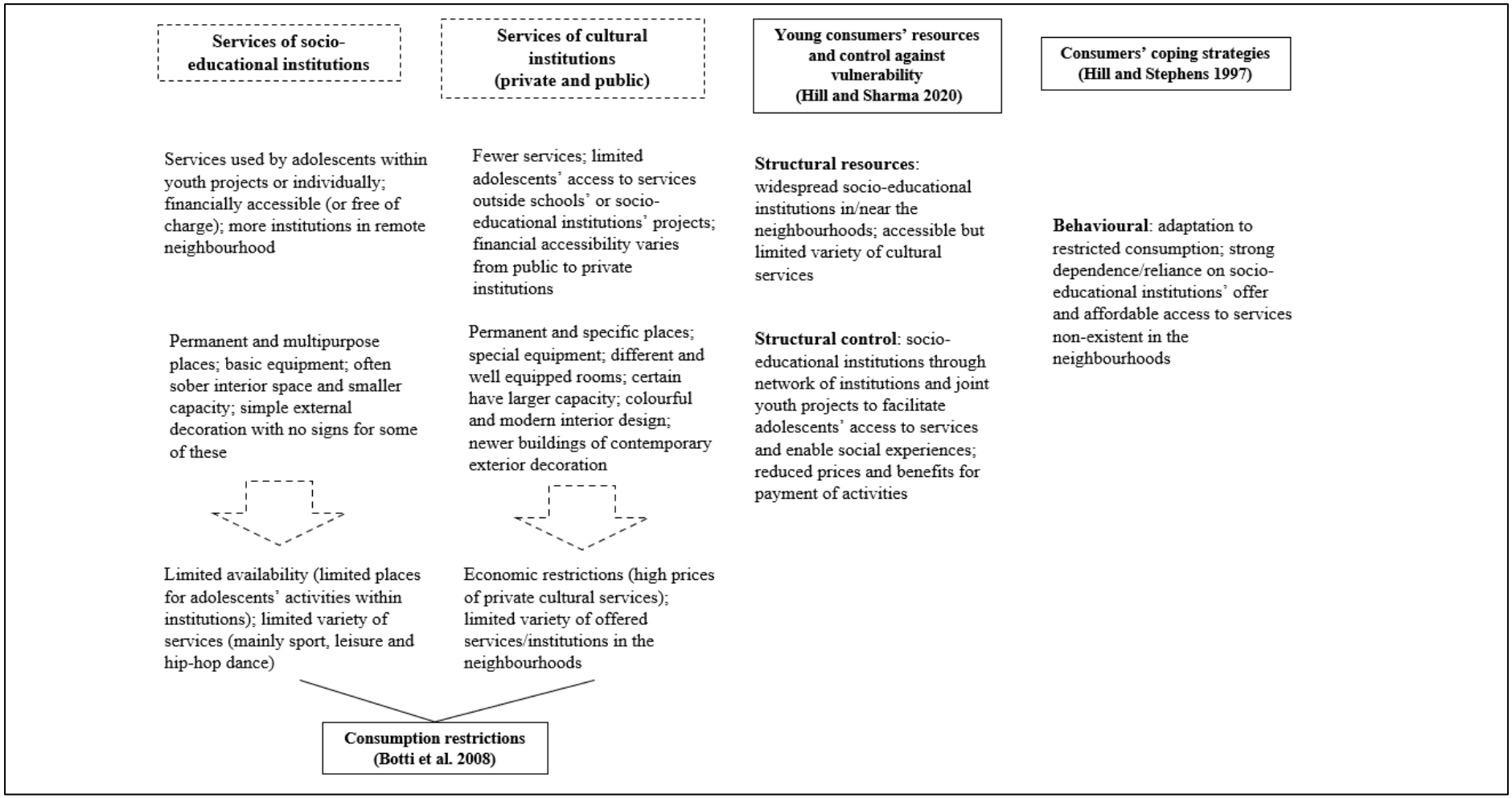
Our observations indicate fewer cultural institutions in the neighbourhoods and their completely different character: they are permanent, used, organized and equipped for their main purposes (e.g. music school rooms are for playing instruments or organizing small concerts; multimedia library is for reading, group work, small performances and events, film showings). For example, different various dance halls (including the ones for small performances), places to relax, eat and drink can be found inside hip-hop choreography centre in peripheral neighbourhood. The design is contemporary: combination of wood, concrete and windows of grey, black colours combined with some hot colours (red, orange). People can find various leaflets for hip-hop and other cultural events in the municipality and Lyon agglomeration. Other example is music school in the remote neighbourhood of similar contemporary style and a combination of materials and colours inside. There are various halls for various musical activities, there is also a small performance hall, coffee machines and tables in one corner to relax. Further, municipality multimedia library is situated near the remote neighbourhood and various local cultural and youth activities (for children and adolescents aged between11 and 15) have been organized in collaboration with this institution. The design is similar with less vivid colours, but with a lot of day light, separated digital space (with computers), learning space, projection room, etc. Here there are no coffee machines in the entrance hall. Such institutions may organize their activities in other places (other local institutions or public space) as a part of local cultural

events. Finally, these places contrast with places used by socio-educational institutions in design, purpose, visual exterior and interior aspects.

Adolescents, that we met during our fieldwork within socio-educational institutions, have not been active users of these cultural institutions and their services. Some exceptions exist. In the case of peripheral neighbourhood, some young male dancers have used the services of the hip-hop centre through temporary project involvement. In both neighbourhoods, young populations use services of the multimedia library (e.g. to do their homework or use computers). Two boys have attended slam writing workshops in multimedia library simultaneously to their activities in the social centre in the remote neighbourhood.

In sum, ethnographic data interpretation in this section indicates material scarcity of our two urban policy neighbourhoods – i.e. there is a general lack of services and the lack of cultural institutions and a limited variety of cultural services offered to local young population (Figure 8, page 224). This scarcity is alleviated partially through different leisure (including cultural and sports) services offered by local socio-educational institutions. They have a role to alleviate (1) a lack of variety of services to propose to adolescents, and (2) widespread economic restrictions for many young consumers from these neighbourhoods (Botti et al. 2008). In addition to economic restrictions of many families, limited availability of leisure services for adolescents, and a lack of variety of services, especially cultural, are the factors through which spatial vulnerability shaping adolescents' cultural practices is manifested (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). In such a spatial context, adolescents are dependent on socio-educational institutions' offer and reduced prices which contribute to young consumers' practices as institutional, structural resource and source of control of this spatial vulnerability caused by material scarcity (Hill and Sharma 2020). Supporting adolescents' control of spatial vulnerability local institutions contribute to their collective coping strategies.

Figure 8: Built environment and materiality influences on consumption restrictions and youth coping strategies (improved Figure 6)



Section 3: Local social issues and consumers' practices

Young consumers' practices are conditioned by social space, not only its materiality, but also by populations leading norms about social relations and consumption practices, by mundane reality in the deprived neighbourhoods, and by local youth passivity and illicit practices. These social spaces as lived spaces (Lefebvre 1974) reveal how scarce materiality of deprived neighbourhoods is related to young consumers' usage of locally available services, to local social norms and consumers' practices, to local youth passivity and delinquency, and other social and spatial issues.

During our fieldwork practice in both neighbourhoods we recognized certain social and spatial issues, consumers' practices and leading values that shape our informants' practices. Informants' views of their consumptive practices and local social norms, and their relation to socio-educational institutions are completed with our observations and exchanges with adults in the field. When it comes to the accessibility of cultural and other services, and the opportunity to reach greater life opportunities, then lived spaces are sources of constraints and consumption restrictions. More so, they are a source of restrictions. Otherwise, for young informants these are not exclusively constraining spaces – i.e. neighbourhoods' specific social norms (e.g. sharing, solidarity) and similarity in lifestyles and leisure practices reflect the elements of protecting mechanism: spatial similarities in adolescents' lifestyles and certain cultural practices (including consumption) (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Also, *close social relations with youth coordinators* manifest protecting spatial dynamic stemming from local socio-educational institutions' support for consumptive and cultural (creative) practices. Among different social and spatial issues we portray in this section: (1) *local institutional support to young consumers'* access to services; (2) *lack of consumption and life opportunities*; (3) *constraining influence of youth passivity or delinquency*; (4) *local social norms* affecting daily and consumptive practices; (5) *consumers' feelings of difference and discrimination*; and (6) *consumers' ambivalent relation to social spaces*.

Subsection 1: Local institutional support to access services

Statistical data and our exchanges with youth coordinators, professors, and cultural managers indicate a difficult financial situation of local populations in both neighbourhoods. Words such as high unemployment or population that receives benefits are the words used instead of poverty (or extreme poverty) and are accompanied by the examples of provided leisure services with lower prices for adolescents (or entire families). Indeed, this portrayal coincides with a recognized new poverty stemming from the systemic unemployment, living on benefits, and having limited social relations outside the neighbourhoods (Wacquant 2008; Paugam 2013).

Our discussions with adolescents about limited economic resources have come after we spent some time in the field and built trust (with the groups of adolescents we collaborated the most). Taking seriously this sensitive issue and focusing on avoiding harm being inflicted on young consumers (Baker and Gentry 2006) we approached economic restrictions very carefully, indirectly and progressively with the most confident groups through informal discussions about prices of services and goods of importance for their consumptive practices (travelling, doing sports, going to concerts, realizing collective cultural practices) and through contextual inferences in relation to the prices of local cultural and leisure services offered to adolescents.

Financial constraints of families from these neighbourhoods are coupled with their different cultural backgrounds and limited knowledge of the French society. Certain adolescents (18+) describe the situation as difficult for those whose parents are low-qualified workers and where some of them did not speak French when they arrived in France. However, all young consumers we met during our fieldwork speak excellent French (born in France or in some of ex-French colonies); some were in the process of gaining their high school diplomas (all have succeeded in it during our fieldwork) while several of them are students (management, law, foreign languages, etc.) or on work/study training programs. Adolescents try to succeed in their lives through education since this is their parents' priority. Differences exist among them. Our informants attempt to reach more information about social and cultural life, social norms, and different services outside the neighbourhoods and for what they rely on socio-educational institutions' support. Kofi (19 years, peripheral neighbourhood) acknowledges that a neighbourhood centre helps families having access (cultural and financial) to different cultural and social experiences (Hamilton 2009).

Young consumers have learned to rely on local socio-educative institutions and sports associations for more access to diverse services (Fol 2010; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). In both neighbourhoods many adolescents take the advantage of local networks of *socio-educational institutions' services* (i.e. to travel, visit different places in Lyon and nearby areas, or simply to enjoy various leisure activities out of the neighbourhood for a small amount of money. Such institutions are more frequently present in the urban spaces of low-income and low-educated population (Crépin and Le Jeannic 2000). In the remote neighbourhood, many adolescents (usually aged between 11 and 14) are enrolled in these institutions to enable themselves leisure practices that are not expensive and thus accessible to them. Similar situation is with the local youth hip-hop association for dance training (peripheral neighbourhood).

Due to the limited economic resources, different cultural background and the lack of parents' abilities to inform about/afford them access to cultural and sports services outside the neighbourhoods (or life opportunities), our informants rely on various local sports, cultural and leisure services subsidized by local government[149]. They are accessible physically and financially to them. The words of Mohamed, Leila, Sofia and Inès (17 years, the remote neighbourhood) reveal a situation similar for many of their peers from the social centre:

> Mohamed*: Well, especially my mother, I know that the social centre at the time wasn't expensive and she knew it, because my mother NEVER pays too much for anything, because at the time we were 8 children, 8 boys, it was hard! So, if she left me and my brothers at the social centre it was for a good reason - it was cheap!*
>
> Leila*: Yeah ... the same for me.*

Leila lives also in a large family. Both her and Mohamed's mother aimed to find them leisure activities and a homework assistance. Social centre is an institution that offer both services. Also, it offers leisure services (e.g. excursions, visits) and allows adolescents to have different cultural and consumption experiences than with their families. Sofia and Inès (17 years, remote neighbourhood) illustrate this:

> Sofia*: Well it's an entertainment actually, we have … with the centre in fact … we discovered places we did not know.*
>
> Inès*: Yeah.*

[149] This is an omnipresent situation among adolescents in both neighbourhoods. However, they have access to other services out of the neighbourhoods that we failed to analyse during our fieldwork practice.

Sofia*: That we might not have necessarily go with the family, in fact. That is, for example we did a lot of family outings, we went everywhere, eh! There were places where we might not have gone with the family and, in fact, with the centre we discovered a lot of things.*

For many of these adolescents, the lack of access to various services out of the neighbourhood (e.g. going to theme parks, using sports and other leisure facilities, visiting destinations abroad) are tightly related to their lack of or limited economic resources or parents' inability to provide them information about the services or life opportunities out of the neighbourhood. Indeed, local social centre or youth centres may be the only way to access various leisure and cultural services for many adolescents from the remote neighbourhood:

I know ... most of the time because [Youth Centres] *offer cheaper activities! It's more for that! Maybe there are some cases [of different motives] ... it's exceptional. Because* [Youth Centres] *offer the cheapest activities. That's all! I think it's everything and even personally I went through* [Youth centre] *because they offer cheap activities..." (Mehdi, 20 years, the remote neighbourhood)*

For many young informants from the remote neighbourhood the enrolment in some of local social-educational institutions has been a logical and possible way to participate (partially and alternatively) in consumer society - when it comes to having various social and marketplace experiences - and/or life opportunities (e.g. visiting various cultural institutions, meeting professionals, reaching information for youth projects).

Similar situation is in the peripheral neighbourhood where social centre and neighbourhood centre enable adolescents' access to different cultural and leisure service. The lack of financial resources of adolescents' families has oriented them toward local financially and physically accessible services. A story of Kofi (19 years) illustrates the situation:

Kofi*: Yeah, there is a* [football club], *where I played football when I was little, but I was going only to trainings, because I didn't have my membership card. You see, … on Saturday and Friday…we played football with other teams. Well, I couldn't because I had no money to pay my membership card, so I didn't continue the football. And, what was accessible, the dance was accessible, the room* [150]*was 15 euros per year! For a year, you pay only 15 euros, you see!*

Sonja*: That's what you told me! In fact, it's the town hall that lent you the sports hall?*

Kofi*: Yeah, it's the town hall that lends the hall and .... Before knowing the people, I knew, well I paid only 15 euros a year! When I started dancing, I paid 15 euros a year. Even for that, I had help that allowed me to pay 5 euros! You see!*

[150] *Room* means a sports hall of primary school used for various sports outside school hours. Local authority authorised local youth hip-hop association to use the sports hall twice a week (excluding weekends and holidays).

Like adolescents from the remote neighbourhood focusing mostly on local sports facilities, and activities proposed by socio-educational institutions, Kofi and his peers participate in activities financially accessible and mainly located in the neighbourhood. Even within chosen activity a choice of less expensive options is imposed. Many of them, like Kofi, have trained dance on a daily basis out of local private choreography centre. The most important limiting factor is the lack of financial resources. Kofi compares enrolment fee of 300 euros in choreography centre to 15 euros or less in local dance association and gives example of his large family (similar case for some other adolescents):

> *"That's it! Because, well, you can't pay 300 euros .... Well, we in the neighbourhood, we are a family of five. My little brother, he will dance! Imagine my little sister dancing? We are three, if we pay 300 euros each? Over there?! It's impossible, you see!"*

Local services play an important role in alleviating social and material deprivation (Townsend 1987) that low-income consumers may experience (Hamilton 2009). However, not all adolescents from the neighbourhoods benefit from these services in the same way. Through our exchanges and observations, we have recognized **three groups of adolescents** in terms of their **relations to local socio-educational institutions:**

1 The *first group* is comprised of *our informants gathered in youth microcultures* – i.e. they participate in different *collective, creative cultural practices* (e.g. hip-hop dance, amateur journalism, solidarity projects) proposed by local socio-educational institutions. These groups of adolescents are enrolled in local institutions (i.e. they participate in different weekly and holiday activities) or are associated to them (i.e. they participate in only one activity/project which institutions support). Membership structure of these groups may change over time, and groups comprise mainly adolescents older than 15 years, and last over different periods of time.

2 The *second group* is composed of adolescents who rely on local socio-educational institutions *for consumption practice*s and have an occasional access to cultural, sports or other services in and outside the neighbourhoods. Also, institutions attempt to provide an educational content of these practices (e.g. project with local music school or multimedia library). Adolescents' participation is temporary and experience-oriented, irregular, and with no group or microculture character. Collective cultural practices are always imposed and organized for the purpose of short-term projects. Adolescents aged between 11 and 14 from social centre and youth centres (the remote neighbourhood) belong to this group.

3 The *third group* of adolescents have *no relations to local socio-educational institutions*[151] -*i.e.* they do not use services offered by these institutions. They mainly spend their free time in neighbourhoods' public spaces and prefer to go to shopping malls for branded sports clothes shops (e.g. Nike, Lacoste). The structure of these adolescents is very diverse, but adolescent boys are more visible in public spaces. Some of these adolescents may undertake illicit behaviours (drug use or dealing). Yet, materialism is not something new or extraordinary among impoverished younger populations (Chaplin, Hill, and John 2014).

Subsection 2: Consumers' limited life opportunities

According to our informants, both deprived neighbourhoods are spaces of limited life opportunities. It does not merely mean a life in poverty and experienced spatial stigma but a limited success in education and professional life or limited access to diverse social and cultural experiences. Cortéséro (2012) acknowledges this lack of opportunities as part of the meritocratic dynamic of contemporary society providing unequal individual access to opportunities. Lack of opportunities is something that bothers our informants more than simply the lack of financial resources and scarce materiality of the neighbourhoods. However, there are the nuances in what they understand as life opportunities and how they try to manage this and find solutions[152]. For adolescents, the opportunities are generally related to reaching of mid- or long term life experiences (e.g. avoiding passivity in free time in the neighbourhood, developing dance skills, improving knowledge on journalism and media, participating at hip-hop battles, finding seasonal or part-time jobs, finding accurate information for trainings, internships, succeeding in finding a decent job). Thus, from a leisure time perspective, opportunities are manifested though accessed services or cultural/social experiences that they cannot reach or have in these neighbourhoods. From a broader perspective, opportunities are related to education success or access to jobs in the case of certain adolescents[153].

Our informants express a need to find life opportunities since for many of them counting on families is not enough. Many of them attempt to develop or enrich social capital beyond the

[151] Reasons for this non-participation in local socio-educational institutions are various. During our fieldwork practice we did not interview these groups of adolescents since it was time-consuming, and our data collection methods needed to be adapted or totally changed for this purpose.

[152] We have no ambition here to develop a discussion on job opportunities since we focused on adolescent population and some young adults within local microcultures. Indeed, generally young adults have shown much sensitivity to this issue.

[153] More about this in next chapters.

neighbourhoods. Two brilliant boys from the remote neighbourhood have started "hitting the road" by reaching excellent school results and avoiding a destiny of "local youth at risk" – i.e. educational deprivation (Townsend 1987), drug dealing, social isolation in the neighbourhood, etc. Other adolescents from both neighbourhoods look for life opportunities, but their strategies vary among groups/microcultures and between two neighbourhoods[154].

Explanations of hip-hop dancers from peripheral neighbourhood about their passion for dance and its influence on their personalities, cultural experiences, artistic skills and engagement in local dance activities helped and continue helping them in reaching life opportunities. Dance helped them to go out from the neighbourhood and expand their social relations through seeking social and consumption experiences, and fostering their challenge of scarcity of life opportunities in the neighbourhood – i.e. certain parents are not able to orient adolescents in educational process; many of them were not serious or even bad students as they indicate; majority of these adolescents are of immigrant origin. For example, male adolescent dancers have already reached certain opportunities thanks to their school sports professor*:*

> Youcef*: There was Madam* [Professor];
>
> Karim*: There was Madam* [Professor] *… she opened all the doors for us!*
>
> *(Youcef and Karim, 15 and 16 years respectfully)*

They acknowledge that the professor supported them to find financing for dance classes or travel to hip-hop battles, to attend different dance performances, to learn deciphering dance performance messages, to reach short period youth jobs to finance dance classes and in many other life situations. For young boys from the neighbourhood, especially those from immigrant families, the possibilities for life success and consumption experiences come from outside of the neighbourhood – i.e. through adolescents' developing social capital beyond the neighbourhood.

In the remote neighbourhood adolescents are usually gathered around local social centre services to reach consumption experiences, especially when they are younger. When they become older and more engaged in youth projects (aged between 16 and 17) they aim to find the information for more professional engagement such as seasonal or part time jobs or internships. Young informants from this neighbourhood are more concerned with the lack of life opportunities as an important obstacle for local young population. Fabrice (21 years) indicates difficulties in finding part-time jobs during holidays despite an intermediary role of

[154] More about this in next chapters.

town hall alluding to inequality in accessing these jobs because they (adolescents from the neighbourhoods) do not have someone to support their demands. Also, some informants from the remote neighbourhood acknowledge the importance of reaching accurate and right information to participate in the local youth activities or for life opportunities. Thus, the social centre has a special role in their lives: from homework assistance for some of them, when they were younger, to different values, visions and experiences outside the neighbourhood, when they were getting older, providing them with information about jobs and trainings whenever possible.

Subsection 3: Youth passivity and delinquency

Our fieldwork practice reveals that life trajectories and cultural practices of adolescents from both neighbourhoods are heterogeneous. Thus, not all adolescents here are delinquents or violent as media used to stereotypically present them. Youth passivity and delinquency is a sensitive and overwhelming issue for our informants and local youth coordinators, professors, or cultural managers.

Beside the conflicts between adolescents and the police, some burnt cars in the public spaces, these neighbourhoods are not dangerous spaces as generic image from the media may portray them. During our fieldwork practice in these neighbourhoods we have not felt being in danger. However, we assisted during conflict between adolescents (mostly aged between 13 and 15) gathered around a rapper, and the local police forces that tried to make them leave the place. The situation was tense. In general, the policemen are frequently present in the remote neighbourhood and adolescents do not react well to them:

> Wafa*: We throw stones at them, but it's not us, huh. It's the young people!*
>
> Nour*: Basically, when there is the police, well, ...*
>
> Rania*: Nobody likes them!*
>
> Wafa *(with intonation): We do not like, we do not like!*
>
> Nour*: … They disturb the young people! ... they* [Young people] *throw stones to, basically, tell them to leave, … to leave ....*
>
> Wafa*: ... to leave them [young people] alone ....*

Media still focus on the conflict issue between adolescents and the police. Talking about the adolescents form remote neighbourhoods Wafa (15 years) says: "*We have a bad reputation because when cops arrive, we throw stones at them*."

Despite these conflicts, the problem of local young population is broader, and our informants and different local stakeholders are concerned with it. That is, youth issue is manifested through a socially isolated (deprived) adolescents or young adults that faced an early school drop-out and are without education, some of them spend much time in the public space and others are engaged in illicit activities (drug consuming and dealing). Our informants usually introduce this issue indirectly as a part of life in a neighbourhood (fr. *quartier*): "*we are in a neighbourhood…*" (Kofi, 19 years, the peripheral neighbourhood) and "*we live in a neighbourhood...*" (Mohamed 17 years, the remote neighbourhood). Youth issue as socio-spatial problem of these neighbourhoods is multidimensional:

- Some adolescents spend free time passively in the public space or "hold the walls" (fr. *tenir les murs*) causing their *social isolation*; and
- Others tend to express small violent behaviours or, are even engaged in drug use/dealing resulting in *youth delinquency*.

By listening to our informants, we understand that they are very much concerned with youth passivity or "holding the walls" in public space of the neighbourhoods. This is a temptation for all adolescents, dominantly boys, since they associate this directly to the bad behaviours of older peers (drug use and dealing) affecting younger peers to stay in the neighbourhood without a life goal and meaningful activities. Our informants collectively challenge this through their cultural practices – i.e. either by following their passionate activity (e.g. hip-hop dance) or by relying on local socio-educational institutions to foster their creative resistance and provide them life and consumption opportunities. Yet, these adolescents do not feel disdain for their socially deprived peers since their friends are among these young people.

Our young informants depict social isolation of certain young population as caused by (1) the lack of their personal involvement (agency) in the local institutions to challenge it, and (2) the lack of right and accurately shared information on opportunities to adolescents in the neighbourhood. They are all, in both neighbourhoods, aware of the lack of "things to do" in social space, and the lack of opportunities which explains an easy slide into passivity or illicit behaviour.

Boredom in these neighbourhoods is a daily atmosphere for adolescents if they are not engaged in some local institutions. It is strongly affected by various consumption restrictions (i.e. limited financial resources and a variety of services in the neighbourhood) (Botti et al. 2008) resulting in young consumers' dependence on locally accessible services. Mohamed (17 years, thee remote neighbourhood) explains this:

Sonja*: When you said "boredom", do you think there are a lot of young people who are bored?*

Mohamed*: Of course it's, it's, … it's something eh. The people, … the youth is most bored in the neighbourhoods it's unfortunately because uh ...*

Sonja*: Do you have an idea why?*

Mohamed*: Because ... hum* [...]. *how to say ... It's not the same as in other regions for example. Because there are fewer ... Quite simply, fewer things to give them. There is less to give them and there is less for them to discover.*

In the remote neighbourhood summer holidays are periods of great boredom for adolescents when there are not many things to do (i.e. many families travel to their countries of origin and many local institutions are closed), and older adolescents face difficulties in finding part-time jobs that can help them earn money and avoid the boredom. Boys from the peripheral neighbourhood have experienced similar boredom during summer holidays.

Youths' passivity and social isolation is a very complex problem we have not investigated deeply. Yet, we are aware that illicit behaviour and passivity of certain young people is a combination of personal, family, educational, economic, and social issues. Consequently, beside economic restrictions, spatial stigma, a scarce materiality of the neighbourhoods, our informants understand a socially isolated adolescents' illicit behaviour and passivity as a spatial constraint.

Subsection 4: Local social norms and consumptive practices

Social spaces of these neighbourhoods are shaped by local social norms and dominant practices that affect our informants' lives and their cultural practices. During our fieldwork practice we succeeded in understanding the local (spatial) norms that influence and orient our informants' collective cultural practices that we present below. Our informants' individual or collective practices are affected by locally available services. Also, local social norms are based on dominant values, and affect daily and consumptive practices, and social relations.

Solidarity and sharing

The values of solidarity and sharing are omnipresent among adolescents from both neighbourhoods. They stem from their living conditions (i.e. limited financial resources and local material deprivation) and their urban segregation (i.e. concentration of low-income and

immigrant populations in these neighbourhoods). Our empirical data indicate adolescents' dominant local social capital or "autochthonous capital" (Cortéséro 2012). Limited financial resources of many families from both neighbourhoods strengthen adolescents' solidarity and their mutual assistance. Kofi (19 years) explained how he and his peers collected the money to buy a rug to have suitable conditions to dance. When this group of boys need to travel to hip-hop battles outside Lyon, they usually find someone from the neighbourhood who has a car to drive them.

Life difficulties unite people from both neighbourhoods. According to Mohamed (17 years, the remote neighbourhood), these difficulties are the same for many individuals or families from the neighbourhood. Adolescents from the peripheral neighbourhood have mentioned these difficulties in relation to material deprivation and the need for mutual assistance for their practices. In the remote neighbourhood, life difficulties are associated to social exclusion of a population that causes among them "a spirit of family":

> *"There is a great solidarity, as everywhere ... there is a solidarity that is born when a group is excluded in fact. They have no other choice but to be united because they know whatever happens, they are excluded. Solidarity is their shield, in fact. They are not afraid of this exclusion if they are together! And there it is ... that's where family is born. Because when we grow up in the neighbourhood and if there are people like us who, at least are like a common blood, well, immediately a basic solidarity is established, in fact. […] I take the example of a neighbourhood, but it's almost the same everywhere. Any excluded group, ethnic or social … That's the definition of community!" (Mohamed 17 years, the remote neighbourhood)*

This spirit is expanded to adolescents' cultural practices through close relations among them and with youth coordinators from local socio-educational institutions, to consumption and professional relations having character of "family" and strong solidarity, and to very close relations among families of certain adolescents.

The value of sharing[155] pervades adolescents' life and consumptive practices. They emphasize the importance of sharing knowledge and skills (i.e. through dance, writing articles) within their small-group practices or with other peers from the neighbourhood that do not have life and consumption opportunities as they do. Also, they are more interested in sharing, support and the collective aspect of consumption practices than in individual success and pleasure. Fabrice (21 years, the remote neighbourhood) illustrates this through an example of Street Work Out service located out of the neighbourhood (in the municipality park) that provides a space of

[155] More about this in the next chapters.

sharing (skills, doubts, individual results), meeting with different people and improvement of knowledge as an alternative to gym and its sports practices that are expensive and individualistic.

Social relations between young consumers and youth coordinators

During our fieldwork we noticed close or "family-like" relations between adolescents and youth coordinators. Many youth coordinators are originally from the neighbourhoods which implies their knowledge of local populations' values and practices, and how to communicate with adolescents, and their parents. This gives them much credibility among both parents and adolescents. During our participant observations, we realized that topics of discussions between adolescents and younger youth coordinators reveal their similar tastes in terms of style of music and sports practices, or their close relations (as family acquaintances or neighbourhoods). Sometimes such conversations created "a special world between them" impossible to be penetrated by an outsider.

Mehdi (20 years, the remote neighbourhood), one of our older informants, indicates that parents who know youth coordinators from the neighbourhood (and their families too), are prone to accepting, more easily, the remarks and critiques about their children. On the other hand, youth coordinators know certain family issues of some adolescents and know how to communicate, how to treat them individually. Further, youth coordinators have a strong influence on cultural practices of children and adolescents. According to Mehdi's words, they are open-minded due to the need to collaborate with others (other coordinators, institutions) outside the neighbourhood and thus they may influence local young population's involvement in certain practices. As various adolescents from both neighbourhoods evoke: local populations do not have cultural codes for or are not accustomed to certain cultural practices like going to the theatre. Thus, simply bringing adolescents to such institutions is not enough. If some of these youth coordinators decide to introduce theatre workshops, the adolescents will accept.

Adolescents' consumption and lifestyle

Youth cultural practices are shaped by local social relations and life in the neighbourhood with other adolescents affecting their tastes and lifestyles. This creates dominant spatial consumption practices based on the local populations' consensus (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). There is an

evident preference to rap music and hip-hop dance among young populations from the deprived neighbourhoods. However, their musical taste is not totally *univore* (Peterson 1992), especially not among informants we interviewed. Some developed their musical taste thanks to schools, while others were influenced by their parents combining different styles of music, usually R'n'B, jazz, blues, pop, traditional sounds from countries of their origin. However, adolescents' musical taste is influenced by their *habitus,* by the tendencies in the neighbourhoods. During various youth activities in the remote neighbourhood it has been customary to hear rap and various urban sounds- i.e. either such music has been a part of local events (urban culture related or not) or it has accompanied youth indoor or outdoor activities (sport, cooking workshops). Also, it is possible to hear various styles of rap music within the groups of adolescents or young adults in the public space.

Adolescents differ from each other in their musical preferences. In the peripheral neighbourhood, adolescent dancers like mixed style of music. They differently combine classical rap with R'n'B with pop or French pop sounds or traditional African sounds. Rap music is not exclusively listened to among adolescents, and they even do not listen to the same style of rap. In the remote neighbourhood, younger adolescents have been criticized by the older peers for only following the tendencies without knowing much about the rap style. Boys demonstrate much concern with the issues of social exclusion and spatial discrimination they face living in the remote neighbourhoods and experiencing certain life difficulties, so that they may recognize themselves in the lyrics. On the other hand, girls in general use to combine contemporary rap, less consciousness-raising rap [fr. *rap conscient*], with pop, usually romantic lyrics. In sum, adolescents try to express their emotions that stem from their personal lives or mundane reality and social position they challenge living in a deprived neighbourhood. In general, these mixed styles of music among young population are not a complete manifestation of omnivore taste (Peterson 1992).

Hip-hop dance (break dance and performances) and rap style of music are dominant in various youth activities organized by local cultural and socio-educational institutions in both neighbourhoods. Yet, as we noticed in the field, not all young people are ready to participate in such activities. That is, only adolescents passionate about writing texts and conscious-raising rap are involved in slam writing workshops in multimedia library (the remote neighbourhood) and those passionate by dance participate in the dance workshops and local events (both neighbourhoods). The majority of local young population, apart from following rappers on

social media, are not involved in activities such as writing slam, scratching, or dancing hip-hop[156].

Sport is very important for young male population in deprived neighbourhoods. It may sound like *déjà vu* or *cliché* but football and basketball attract boys from both neighbourhoods. In the remote neighbourhood local football club is a place where majority of boys practiced the sport. Some of the boys and few girls have practiced martial arts in local sports associations in the neighbourhood. As young adults usually boys (and some girls) from the remote neighbourhood start going to the nearest gym or some have been practicing Street Work Out (free fitness practice). In the peripheral neighbourhood, adolescents usually use town park to go jogging or doing other sports activities to stay in a good shape (usually girls) and be strong for the break-dance (boys). Some boys play basketball too. In both neighbourhoods, girls are less engaged in any sports activities inside and outside the neighbourhood.

The social space shapes and affects youth lifestyles and practices. Certain cultural practices are not common or accepted among local young population. For example, girls from peripheral neighbourhood who dance hip-hop give an example of classical dance (ballet):

> Nouria*: In the neighbourhoods, classical dance is badly perceived.*
>
> [...]
>
> Monia*: If we are in the neighbourhood and say "I'm doing a classical dance", we're going to be mocked. Well, me, mocking, I don't care."*

Kofi (19 years, the peripheral neighbourhood) understands this inexistence of ballet in the neighbourhood because it does not make part of their lifeworld, while girls clarify that a lack of diverse cultural offer in the neighbourhoods leads them to inaccessibility of different cultural experiences/practices. So, they practice what is proposed to them by local socio-educational institutions (e.g. in their case it was hip-hop or salsa). There is a social pressure of other peers about cultural practices to undertake. In such atmosphere, adolescents usually undertake collectively acceptable youth practices.

Like Nouria and Monia, Mohamed and Leila (17 years, the remote neighbourhood) share the same vision – i.e. an experience of social pressure of the neighbourhood's population about the type of cultural practices:

[156] We exclude from our discussion any compulsory and in-school organized hip-hop activities that did not have a tendency to become leisure activity. The reason for mentioning this is the widespread hip-hop dance and writing slam texts within the educational programs.

Mohamed*: Also you have to know that ... there are some things we would have liked to do but we couldn't do because of way the others look at that.*

Leila*: Yeah!*

Mohamed*: Know that ... the eyes of others play its role and ... not a negligible one!*

Leila*: Theatre ….*

Sonja*: Are you ... ?*

Mohamed*: For example! If I had done horse riding … that I like...*

Leila*: That's awesome!*

[…]

Mohamed*: If ... I know ... if they had known at the time that I was doing horse riding, they would have made fun of me!*

Leila (to Mohamed): Ah, really?

Mohamed*: It would be difficult to live! And so ... I withdrew into myself* […] *Maybe, now, I would have been a different person* [smile]! *Do you understand?*

Sonja*: The social pressure of the neighbourhood …...*

Mohamed*: It's important to know that the people around us are influential whether we want it or not, in fact!*

Mohamed's desire for horse riding and Leila's for drama classes would have easily been exposed to the youth mockery and caused their shame. Adolescents are exposed to the social approval of their practices. Mehdi (20 years) from the same neighbourhood illustrates that for a boy/girl from the deprived neighbourhood the art is "*a thing of boho, of rich people*". Cultural practices are not only shaped by social class and education, but also by social norm and cultural codes of population from the neighbourhoods.

Some adolescent girls are more related to their social space. Girls, recently involved in local youth solidarity project, spend much of their free time within their peer group in the remote neighbourhood. Sana (16 years) explains their relatedness to the social space of the neighbourhood where they grew up:

> *"… then we grew up here too ... Those who live in the city and all their crazy thing is to go out in the city and so, go shopping, na na na, … while since we grew up here, we prefer to stay down in front of our buildings, with what we know, … and so. Well! I don't say we are not sociable. If anyone comes, we'll normally talk to them! But we prefer to stay down here. If our parents need us, in a couple of minutes we are with them. If there is something, we are here."*

Sana's words reveal the protecting dynamic of their social space since they share similarities in their everyday lives and especially in terms of consumption practices. Also, adolescents from both neighbourhoods, like Sana, do not usually share the same tastes and consumption behaviours with other young people "from the city". Sometimes in the words of adolescents from the remote neighbourhood it is possible to recognize the oppositions us versus them, people from the neighbourhood versus people from the city, which gives an impression of social, cultural and geographical distance.

There is a certain dress code in the neighbourhoods that makes local youth easily remarkable and different than those from wealthier areas. According to Mehdi (20 years) the young people from the remote neighbourhood often buy fake brands since the original items are expensive. His friend Adil (21 years) adds that local adolescents in general share suburban dress code which is more street style oriented (baskets, jeans, jogging, etc.). Indeed, majority of adolescents from the neighbourhoods has a street style of clothes that vary slightly among individuals or groups. Our informants, but many other adolescents from these neighbourhoods, do the shopping in the main city shopping centre. Some adolescent girls have tendency to go in nearby town shops to buy less expensive clothes.

Adolescents free time oscillate between walks and sports or going out to eat something with their friends. Usually they go out to the nearest McDonald's which are not close to the neighbourhoods (i.e. for the adolescents from the remote neighbourhood). In this neighbourhood adolescents do not spend time in local bars or pizzeria since there are usually male adults there. In the peripheral neighbourhood adolescents must go outside to find the place to eat due to the scarcity of services in the neighbourhood. Some boys use to go to eat tacos in fast food looking for a tasty food and friendly atmosphere. Groups of adolescent girls have a tendency to spend much of their free time in the neighbourhood or in the municipality in comparison to boys. Those from the peripheral neighbourhood go out to local shopping mall to eat, while those from the remote neighbourhood used to buy food in the local bakery shop and stay outside in the public space and talk. The most important for girls is to be near to their apartments if their parents need them.

Rhythm of Ramadan

The time children and adolescents spend in the neighbourhoods is generally dictated by the school hours and holidays. However, during Ramadan – a life in the neighbourhoods follows its rhythm and youth practices are affected by this. We have observed that a presence of people

in the public space and youth involvement in activities takes different frequencies and organisation. Local socio-educational institutions follow usual schedule of youth activities. When a period of fasting is coupled with summer heats then less adolescents participate in regular, organized activities. In the remote neighbourhood, this affected our contacts with adolescents less frequently present in their collective activities than usual. Also, young adults organize their sports activities in the way that they align with the breaking of their daily fast practice. More adolescents may be seen in the public space of the remote neighbourhood in the period before sunset and family meal. The atmosphere is very vivid, friendly and with several places with food stands selling traditional type of bread and pastry people buy for their evening meals. Further, groups of youth gathered around their passions for dance (the peripheral neighbourhood) may slow down the intensity of their trainings but they practice hip-hop even during Ramadan. As in the remote neighbourhood, adolescents and young adults are a bit more tired in this period due to the fast practices. So, a frequency and schedule of activities may vary, where and when possible, due to Ramadan social practices of adolescents.

Subsection 5: Consumers' feelings of discrimination and difference

The neighbourhoods' populations find themselves different than the other inhabitants of the urban space, especially those from the wealthier neighbourhoods and of French origin. Kofi (19 years, the peripheral neighbourhood) evokes that he and his peers had this feeling when they were younger, but, now, after various experiences outside the neighbourhood, they do not think any more about this. Adolescent girls who spent more free time in the peripheral neighbourhood, share the same view.

During our participant observations, we have recognized local events about the issues of anti-discrimination and anti-racism in the remote neighbourhood organized by socio-educational institutions. Adolescents, especially younger, are not much present at such events unless they come with their youth coordinators (e.g. dance performance and debates on discrimination). On the other hand, the issue of discrimination is very important for the remote neighbourhood (for their older residents) since that was the place of anti-discrimination movement and the fight for the rights of immigrant population in France (it's part of neighbourhood history). Younger generations do not really know about the events and the main actors.

Differences in understanding and expression of the feeling of being discriminated vary between boys and girls and different age groups of adolescents. Some of youth practices are shaped by anti- racism and discrimination values being realized inside or outside the neighbourhood. Two groups of adolescents and young adults gather around such issues aiming to share the local knowledge and empower young population on the issue[157].

The feeling of social exclusion of adolescents from the remote neighbourhood causes their solidarity, their isolation and strong relation to the social space. Mohamed and Ibrahim (both 17 years) explained how such social exclusion and being different than those from wealthier neighbourhoods affects their lives:

> *"We don't feel at our place, we feel uh ... We feel we are an embarrassment to them." (Mohamed, 17years)*

Thus, areal urban segregation (concentration of low-income and immigrant populations) in these neighbourhoods coupled with residents' feeling of social exclusion from most of the society.

Young consumers' ambivalent relation to social space

Our verbal data indicate that adolescents' views about the neighbourhoods are not exclusively negative. However, our informants' personal relations to the neighbourhoods are ambivalent, at least of those the most involved in local youth practices. They desire to leave this urban space filled with constraints and inequalities, but, at the same time, they rely on social and institutional support for their life projects and collective cultural practices. Certain adolescents and groups focus on improving youth's access to cultural practices and foster their creative resistant to spatial constraints. These ambivalent relations refer to constant fluctuation of adolescents' feelings about their social space – from *rejection/critics* of the social space (spatial constraints) and *emotional closeness* to local social relations.

Many young people do their best to find the way to go out from these neighbourhoods and succeed professional life projects (e.g. university studies or finding stable jobs). Our informants express constant awareness of spatial stigma and of deprived material and social position they

[157] Since we did not spend more time with these youth groups, we do not provide more information about the meanings of their collective practices.

experience daily. Strong social relations, the lack of social relations outside the neighbourhoods and limited financial resources to live somewhere else, make adolescents to rely on their social space for institutional support.

For our informant, spending time outside in the public space of the neighbourhoods with friends is not negative but to be exclusively related to social space for life experiences and opportunities, it is. So, the most passionate about their activities and the most locally involved want to share that different view with more socially isolated peers. To understand extreme relation of some adolescents and young adults to a neighbourhood Mohamed (17 years, the remote neighbourhood) alludes to "the nest":

> *''It's a nest, we'll call it a nest... I give an image to explain it. In fact, we do not want to leave, because here, we know everyone, everyone knows each other and ... We want to stay there. For them [socially deprived youth] the world stops here''*

Despite the feeling of exclusion, the young informants we met try to make their way out, but at the same time show concern with other peers from the neighbourhoods and emotional attachment to people from the neighbourhood. Also, they are also connected to these areas since their life opportunities, paradoxically, come from the neighbourhoods – socio-educational institutions and social relations they have with youth coordinators. Thus, young people's relation to the neighbourhoods is ambivalent which stems from their lives in these areas which are "*spaces-resources and areas of relegation*" (Cortéséro 2012, 9).

In sum, social or lived spaces with their values and consumers' practices reflect both constraining and protecting spatial dynamics (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018) portrayed through different spatial issues and consumption restrictions (Figure 9, page 245). These dynamics cannot be analysed outside the context of limited financial resources for many families of our informants and their peers from the neighbourhoods. Also, many families are of immigrant origin which reduces their knowledge about diverse social opportunities and cultural experiences outside the neighbourhoods. These constraints and consumption restrictions increase chances for adolescents' social and market exclusion that force them to rely on solidarity – i.e. a social support of their families and friends, and socio-educational institutions' and their coordinators' support - to reach life and consumption opportunities. Many informants have ambivalent relation to the social space leading them to the paradoxical situation – i.e. to escape spatial constraints but for this they need to rely on institutional and social supports of relatives, families and peers to control (Hill and Sharma 2020) restrictions stemming from material and social deprivation (Townsend 1987). In such spatial context, local socio-

educational institutions have an important role in enabling adolescents' access to services and cultural and social experiences outside the neighbourhoods and helping them diverse their cultural and social experiences.

Conclusion of the chapter

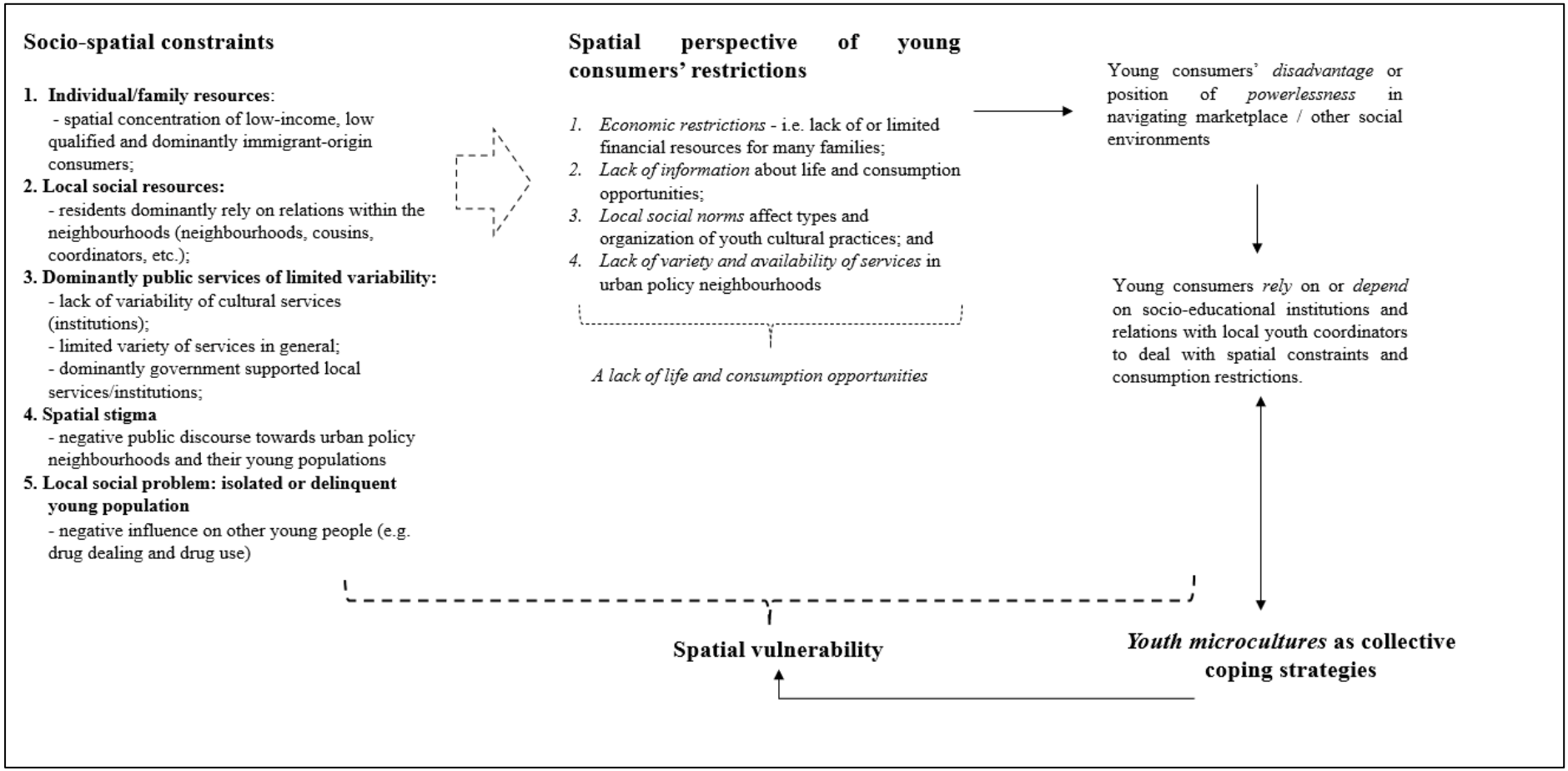
The peripheral and remote neighbourhoods in our research are spaces of socio-spatial inequalities that are manifested through their material scarcity – i.e. limited variety and availability of services, and quality of facilities. Economic restrictions (i.e. reduced financial resources), social restrictions (i.e. local social norms) and limited information about cultural services and job and training opportunities that many families experience, limit adolescents' choices and practices. In such a context, young low-income and immigrant-origin consumers from these spaces have limited access to services and life opportunities.

These structural and spatial constraints cause systemic vulnerabilities of local young populations exacerbating their consumption restrictions and fostering possibility of their social and market exclusion. These constraints cause spatial vulnerability affecting our informants which is dominantly manifested through their individual and family limited or no control over the lack of variety of services in the neighbourhoods (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Hill and Sharma 2020) and their limited financial resources to access these independently of local institutions (Botti et al. 2008). Thus, our informants are dependent on institutional support. At the same time, local socio-educational institutions encourage adolescents' creativity and collective agency through their cultural practices undertaken in the neighbourhoods during leisure time. In so doing, youth microcultures or institutionally supported small group cultural practices are recognized as adolescents' collective coping strategies in dealing with spatial vulnerability (Figure 10, page 246).

Figure 9: Socio-spatial issues, consumption restrictions and young consumers' strategies (improved Figures 6 and 8)

Socio-spatial issues	**Young consumers' practices**	**Consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008)**	**Young consumers' resources and control over vulnerability (Hill and Sharma 2020)**	**Consumers' coping strategies (Hill and Stephens 1997)**
(1) Local socio-educational institutions: access to services	Alternative consumption; reaching information; access to creative cultural practices	(1) economic restrictions (limited financial resources); (2) limited or no information; (3) local social norms affecting consumption; (4) limited availability and variety of services	**Interpersonal resources**: local social relations through personal contacts **Interpersonal control**: social relations through engagement in socio-educational institutions; through university contacts (adolescents over 18 years); **Structural control:** access to services through local socio-educational institutions' offer	**Behavioural**: relying on local services and social relation, and avoid additional expenses and making priorities (against issues 1 and 2; against all consumption restrictions) **Behavioural**: involvement in local youth projects/collective practices (against issues 3 and 6; against all consumption restrictions)
(2) Lack of life opportunities for adolescents	Searching for information beyond consumption practices			
(3) Youth passivity or delinquency	Negative influence on adolescents' leisure and life opportunities			
(4) Social norms and consumption practices				
Solidarity and sharing	Challenge consumption restrictions; similar consumptive practices			
Youth-coordinators relations	Influence on cultural practices; sharing similar taste			
Youth lifestyle and consumption practices	Sharing similar taste and practices			
Rhythm of Ramadan	Rhythm of youth practices			
(5) Feeling of difference and discrimination	Reliance on local social relations and norms (in remote neighbourhood)			
(6) Ambivalent youth relation to social space	Escaping spatial constraints through institutional support			

Figure 10: Youth microcultures for collective coping with spatial vulnerability of urban policy neighbourhoods



Chapter 7: Microcultures: young consumers' collective strategies to deal with spatial vulnerability

In French banlieue *"not all young people are delinquents." (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992).*

"You always have to be ingenious when you don't have money" (Kofi, 19 years, hip-hop dancer, and youth coordinator)

Despite constraining spatial dynamics (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) of two neighbourhoods in our study and spatial vulnerability that shape consumptive practice, our young consumers attempt to challenge these through collective agency in their free time and with local socio-educational institutions' support. Spatial constraints and consumption restrictions impose their collective agency against them, while protecting spatial dynamic (e.g. adolescents' similarities in cultural practices in social space; social and material support of socio-educational institutions) encourages adolescents' creative resistance to spatial constraints, and access to diverse services and outside the neighbourhood cultural experiences. They develop diverse coping strategies (Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker and Gentry 2006; Visconti 2016; Hill and Sharma 2020). Youth microcultures are young consumers' creative collective strategies created around shared collective *values* and spatially enacted by utopian ethos (ideologies) to challenge spatial vulnerability – i.e. dominant spatial constraints and consumption restrictions of local young consumers (Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Visconti 2016; Hill and Sharma 2020).

Recognized interpretive dimensions have emerged from informal and formal exchanges with adolescents and youth coordinators, and observations during ethnographic fieldwork. Since not all our informants have directly expressed these dimensions or relationship to materiality of social space difference sources of data are privileged. During members' check-up meetings adolescents have acknowledged utopic and resistant character of their activities where the latter

is understood in relation to neighbourhood reality with limited life opportunities. An understanding youth microcultures as young consumers' strategies in dealing with material deprivation of social space stems from exchanges with adolescents and youth coordinators and from observations.

The chapter is organized in three sections. In the *first section* we define our youth microcultures and place them in two clusters in terms of the content of their collective cultural practices. In the *second section* we portray leading utopian ethos that stem from young consumers' experiences of spatial constraints and consumption restrictions. These ethos are spatially enacted youth ideologies about a need for the improvement of spatial contexts of young consumers' consumption and life opportunities that guide their collective (microculture level) creative resistance (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997). Finally, in the *third section*, we portray youth microcultures created around different cultural practices as collective strategies of young consumers through which they challenge spatial vulnerability (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Visconti 2016; Hill and Sharma 2020). Collective strategies are different employing different collective resources and control over constraints and consumption restrictions (Hill and Sharma 2020).

Section 1: Youth microcultures: definition and main characteristics

Our fieldwork practice reveals that adolescents from both urban policy neighbourhoods undertake various cultural and consumption practices and have different life trajectories (some focus on higher education and others on work). They are active (i.e. engaged in collective cultural practices or local institutional youth projects), spend less time in the public space, and try to find their place in a consumer society and to reach consumption and life opportunities. We recognize that youth microcultures are among these adolescents' collective strategies in challenging consumption restrictions and limited opportunities that oscillate between different collective goals: to enable an alternative consumption, to be creative or to show solidarity through microcultures' collective practices?

We open this section with introductory portrayal of youth microcultures as adolescents' collective cultural practices understood from spatial perspective (Lefebvre 1974; Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) that recognize them as their collective challenge of spatial

vulnerability and the search for more empowerment to control consumption restrictions. Thus, these microcultures cannot be understood outside the urban policy neighbourhoods as in the case of Lepoutre's (1997) street culture. Also, our fieldwork clarifies that youth microcultures cannot be understood by considering only the culturalist perspective (e.g. as a teen culture) but also broader structural and spatial influences (e.g. limited variety of services, rising economic restrictions). Youth microcultures manifest spatial influences spatially constraining dynamics. Finally, these youth microcultures manifest adolescents' desire not only to consume but to produce, to be creative and to have meaningful leisure to resist social isolation.

Our young informants are members of small-groups cultural practices we describe as youth microcultures (Hannerz 1992). They are sufficiently specific since they are conditioned by structural factors and socio-spatial issues of these neighbourhoods, yet not extremely different to be understood as a unique subculture. Our verbal and observational data help us exclude the understanding of these small-group practices as subcultures since they do not have a character of delinquent subcultures, countercultures of low-income and immigrant consumers (resistance to dominant middle-class practices), or purely youth (consumer) subcultures. Relying on Hannerz's (1992) concept of microcultures (Chapter 2) here we summarize the main characteristics of our informants' small-group cultural practices that align the most to this concept (Table 20, page 251).

How to define youth microcultures in our research? The anthropological perspective of these cultures leads toward their understanding as a dominantly *local* phenomena (Bucholtz 2002; Schlegel and Hewlett 2011)[158]. Here *local* refers to constraining influences of social space and consumption inadequacy for adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods. In other words, these microcultures cannot be understood or existed, the way they do now, outside the urban policy neighbourhoods. That is, type of practices, leading values and norms, aimed at creative resistance, life and consumption opportunities, and social and material aspects of social space shape these microcultures. Thus, while cultural or anthropological perspective is dominant in defining youth microcultures, a sociological perspective is inseparable from their explanation through socio-economic context and consumption restrictions of young consumers. From such a mix of perspectives our understanding of youth microcultures from urban policy neighbourhoods is close to that of Aquatias (1997). Accordingly, we define our youth microcultures from urban policy neighbourhoods as small-group cultural practices

[158] By *local* we do not mean the local version of global youth culture usually manifested through consumer subcultures. Rather, these are youth microcultures strongly affected by spatial constraints (spatial stigma, local norms and consumption restrictions).

organized/supported by local socio-educational institutions around adolescents' shared passion for creative expression and/or interest in solidarity and agency in the neighbourhoods and as composed of members who are friends or acquaintances, usually 15 to 21 years old, that share similar educational trajectories, limited financial resources and a limited access to services/experiences and life opportunities.

Two aspects of youth microcultures are important to be emphasized:

1 Collective cultural practices are *not exclusively art-related practices*. Rather they embrace various youth practices in relation to a certain form of artistic (e.g. dance) or other expressions (e.g. writing articles) as well as other collective practices around solidarity and sharing affected by the life and consumption conditions in social spaces (Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016); and

2 These collective practices are *not consumer cultures* since they are not organized around certain brands, a style of living or consumption of certain material goods. Rather, these practices are affected by the restricted choices of consumption, limited access to services, and the lack of life opportunities for (the most of) young populations from urban policy neighbourhoods. Alternative access to services and experiences – i.e. alternative consumption - is an integral part of these microcultures.

If our intentions were to provide a typology of microcultures, the task would be quite demanding since there are various criteria we should take into consideration. The most helpful criterium to cluster youth microcultures is the *main character of collective practice*: *creativity* or *solidarity oriented*. Indeed, this is in relation to the leading values and ethos that guide youth microcultures collective practices. Even though creativity and solidarity constantly intertwine, here we acknowledge the subtle difference between the two:

1 **Creativity oriented practices** comprise those based on youth creative 'production' or creative expression through hip-hop dance choreographies, dance performance in hip-hop battles or writing journalist-like articles; and

2 **Solidarity-oriented practices** are those that may comprise creative expression but are strongly focused on sharing information, cultural or practical knowledge with or helping other local adolescents.

These microcultures' clusters are similar in terms of (1) dominant spatial constraints that affect collective practices (e.g. economic restrictions, limited variety of services in the neighbourhoods, higher concentration of immigrant origin population influencing social capital and norms, youth passivity and delinquency), and (2) guiding values and meanings of these

Table 20: Small groups cultural practices of young consumers from urban policy neighbourhoods as youth microcultures

Main characteristics	**Youth microcultures in two urban policy neighbourhoods**
Micro- prefix	These small-group cultural practices are just a part of diverse adolescents' cultural practices within the French society
Focus on relations to a larger cultural context	These small groups are described and understood through their constant relations to a broader social and cultural context (i.e. as part of a larger cultural context)
Individual participation	Youth collective agency is in focus understood through members' explanation of their participation in different activities and situations enabling them to share experiences
Quality and quantity of participation	Not all members participate with equal energy, passion, interest and time investment in collective cultural practices
Conditions	Social and spatial (material, physical) conditions are usually constraining or challenging
Size	Small, changing structure and number; not less than 4 and up to 30 members
Differences	No extreme differences from larger culture/society or other microcultures; contents (shared knowledge or skills) usually differ among these groups. Cultural practices here reflect a combination of artistic and solidarity (social) practices (i.e. a creativity has its social utility).
Duration	Small groups last over different periods of time
Membership character	Members do not exclusively participate in only one microculture and not for a long period of time; there is a parallel involvement in other groups' practices (differences depend on consumers life struggles, faced consumption restrictions, developed social relations network, personal interests, etc.)
Choice for membership	Young consumers choose freely to participate or leave the groups. Yet, this choice is, in many cases, affected by an inadequate consumption for the adolescents in urban policy neighbourhoods
Boundaries with consumer society of middle class	**A**lternative adolescents' access to services and consumption/cultural experiences due to multiple consumption restrictions
Socio-educational institutions support	Different level of dependency on local socio-educational institutions: financial, material, organisational (social), and educative support

practices to challenge spatial vulnerability collectively. There are special cases of **ephemeral microculture**[159] that do not share similarities with other microcultures but are influenced by spatial constraints such as a limited access to services (e.g. ski vacations, theme parks, sports and various leisure activities) and adolescents' desire of consumption experiences, and **newly created microculture** that have evolved much after our fieldwork research[160].

Creativity-oriented youth microcultures, comprise three youth microcultures that are a part of this cluster: (1) male hip-hop group, (2) female hip-hop group, and (3) youth journalism project (Table 21, page 253; Appendix 5, page 459). These microcultures are not purely creative since there is a constant interplay between creativity and solidarity in youth cultural practices. Despite their similarities in terms of strong interest in creativity and personal expression, these youth microcultures vary among themselves. In Table 21 (page 253) the main introductory characteristics of these are presented.

Three microcultures belong to s**olidarity-oriented youth microcultures:** (1) female solidarity group, (2) youth empowerment and solidarity association, and (3) humanity project group (Table 22, page 254; Appendix 6, page 469). The latter is the newest microculture that has been in the process of constitution (number of members evolved over time) and development of their activities in the time of our fieldwork activities. Due to these constraints, we present very briefly its characteristics at the moment we met the members of the group.

[159] For more information see the Methodology section. These groups have been omitted from the analysis of youth groups as microcultures since these have not had many characteristics of these and due to the fieldwork difficulties in creating a contact and trust, have not provided more information for solid conclusions within this issue. However, these groups appear in the next chapter in relation to the transformative character of these adolescents' collective practices.

[160] This group is very young having high changes in membership and whose activities evolved much after our fieldwork. For that reason, we just provide a short description precising that we have met group's leading male figure – Fabrice (among the leading members of the youth association) – during fieldwork and in the post phase.

Table 21: Creativity-oriented youth microcultures

Urban policy neighbourhood	Youth microculture	Number of members	Age	Origin	Education	Duration	Main activity	Other collective activities	Leading local institution
Peripheral	***Male hip-hop group***	4 boys (originally 10)	16 to 20	Togo, Comoros, Maghreb (North Africa) and West Indies	Secondary or high school; one finished high school	for 3-4 years	Hip-hop dance – break dance for younger members and upright moves for the leader; participation in various municipality and some city events, battles and competitions out of Lyon		Local secondary school, youth hip-hop association, and the neighbourhood centre.
	Female hip-hop group	6 girls (originally 7)	all 19	Five Comorian and one Laotian	Some are students, some are at a study-training program, some work	for 7 years	Hip-hop dance – a creation of choreographies; participation in various municipality and some city events		
	Both hip-hop groups make part of a local youth hip-hop association of around 40 members								
Remote	***Youth journalism project***	3 boys and 4 girls (further changes) of which we met 5	all 17	Majority of Maghreb (North Africa), one of West Indies origin	High school	For 4 years	Writing articles on various topics of their interest and youth oriented	Travelling to Spain within youth Erasmus project; one-year improvisation theatre workshops; two days radio workshop	Social centre

Table 22: Solidarity-oriented youth microcultures

Urban policy neighbourhood	Youth microculture	Number of members	Age	Origin	Education	Duration	Main activity	Other collective activities	Leading local institution
Remote	***Female solidarity group***	around 10 (changes in number) of which we met 7	15 to 16	Majority of Maghreb and one of Senegal origin	High school	For 2 years	Organization of activities for the children of foreigners (usually without financial resources and accommodation) accommodated in a shelter near the neighbourhood	First girls'-initiated participation in wall painting in the public space of the neighbourhood (organisation by social centre and urban culture centre)	Social centre
	Youth empowerment and solidarity association	around 30 members (fluctuating number through the year) of which we met 3 leading young men	20 to 21	Two of Maghreb and one Ivory coast origin	Finished or currently on studies	More than 2 years	Collection of food from various storekeepers in Lyon and sharing it to the homeless in the city.	Very young activity is "literary café" sessions where leading members (or other professionals) try to share information and knowledge on various cultural and social issues in front of youth from the neighbourhood (15 to 30 years)	
	Humanity project group (new)	2 girls and 2 boys (further important changes) of which we met 3	16 to 21	One Comorian, one Ivory origin, and one French	high school; BA studies; finished studies	For one year	Showing the film of local historic event concerning discrimination and debate on the issue of discrimination (out of the neighbourhood)	More development after our fieldwork activities	

Section 2: Young consumers' utopian ethos for collective practices

As much as we attempted to explain youth microcultures from purely consumption or cultural practices perspective without much spatial influence, we faced difficulties in this enterprise. Our fieldwork practice acknowledges the importance of the analysis of youth microcultures as adolescents' collective agency – i.e. creative resistance and a collective search for cultural or consumption experiences – in dealing with spatial constraints and consumption restrictions. For our informants urban policy neighbourhoods – as segregating spaces (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018) are spaces that comprise a mix of protecting, empowering and constraining dynamics (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017).

First, *constraining dynamic* of these neighbourhoods is omnipresent in young consumers' daily and consumptive practices imposing our informants to be active and to collectively challenge spatial constraints. Youth microcultures represent an example. The spatial context of consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002a, 2005; Martin and Hill 2012) and related spatial constraints result in adolescents' utopian ethos manifested through their cultural practices representing an ideological guideline of young consumers' collective agency to challenge constraints/restrictions through creative resistance and active search for improved consumption and cultural experiences for them and other adolescents from their neighbourhoods. This youth microcultures' ethos reflects a *spatial play* (Marin 1973) – i.e. a spatial enactment of adolescents' ideological views through their collective agency within local socio-educational institutions.

Second, urban policy neighbourhoods are also *spaces of protecting dynamics* for young consumers that is, in our research, manifested through spatially dominant cultural practices organized or supported by local socio-educational institutions. These institutions, through their material, social, and ideological support, allow adolescents to creatively resist consumption restrictions and to avoid passivity[161]. Youth microcultures are one example of adolescents' collective agencies that these institutions support. Widespread values in the neighbourhoods and their socio-educational institutions – i.e. solidarity and sharing – influence dominantly our informants' collective agencies and shape consumptive practices. Our informants rely on

[161] More on support of these institutions in next chapter.

alternatives provided by these local institutions that encourage their utopian ethos and their collective creative agencies. Being assigned to the urban policy neighbourhoods among low-income populations imposes and inspires our informants to be collectively active in the search for alternatives for consumption and life opportunities for them or to share with other peers from the neighbourhoods (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997). Consequently, adolescents' utopic ethos is an ideological guideline of young consumers collective agency – i.e. adolescents' shared values and ideas within a youth microculture in relation to/about a challenge of consumption restrictions and limited life opportunities (Hetherington 1997; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Accordingly, youth microcultures are understood as *collective coping strategies* (Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Visconti 2016) in dealing with spatial constraints and restrictions (spatial vulnerability).

What are the main spatial factors causing the utopian ethos of youth microcultures? Our empirical data reveal *dominant constraining factors* of both urban policy neighbourhoods that have an effect on adolescents' utopian ethos:

1 Omnipresent youth passivity (and delinquency);
2 Limited life opportunities for adolescents (e.g. specific trainings, part-time jobs, education)
3 Limited financial resources of adolescents' families; and
4 Limited variety of services, especially cultural.

Last two factors when intertwined define adolescents' consumption inadequacy. These factors and limited life opportunities also reveal limited or no information for our informants. Besides purely spatial constraint as youth passivity, adolescents' ideologies and agencies are affected by external, structural factors such as spatial stigma that directly affects one youth microculture's practices. Spatial constraints and spatial consumption inadequacy resulted in **three leading utopian ethos** that pervade youth microcultures differently:

1 Creativity and consumption experiences (Ethos of creativity and personal development);
2 Participation in institutions and collective cultural practices (Opportunity-oriented ethos); and
3 Knowledge sharing and local youth empowerment (Solidarity-oriented ethos).

Utopian ethos differs in its priority for the youth collective cultural practices. For the simplicity reason, we summarize similar leading values among youth microcultures that reflect leading utopian ethos (Table 23, page 257).

Table 23: Main utopian ethos and youth microcultures

Utopian ethos		Related spatial constraints and restrictions *	Leading values	Youth microcultures
Ethos 1	*Creativity and consumption experiences* (Ethos of creativity and personal development)	Lack of life opportunities; Limited variety of and access to services	Desire to 'produce'/to create expression; Tenacity and passion or high interest; Personal development; Solidarity	Male and female hip-hop groups; Youth journalism project; Female solidarity group
Ethos 2	*Participation in institutions and collective cultural practices* (Opportunity-oriented ethos)	Lack of life opportunities; Local youth as neighbourhood's problem	Collective agency; Tenacity and passion; Personal development; Solidarity	Male hip-hop group; Youth journalism project; Youth empowerment and solidarity association
Ethos 3	*Knowledge sharing and local youth empowerment* (Solidarity-oriented ethos)	Local youth as neighbourhood's problem	Sharing of knowledge and information; Tenacity and passion; Solidarity	

What is the role of the utopian ethos for youth microcultures? It is twofold. From practical perspective, ethos partially[162] shapes youth microcultures as collective cultural practices. From an ideological perspective, the ethos is embedded in adolescents' creative resistance to challenge constraints, restrictions and limited opportunities resulting from adolescents' lives in the deprived neighbourhoods. Consequently, young consumers' utopian ethos demonstrates an influence of constraining spatial dynamic to their consumptive practices that lead them towards collective agency through microcultures for both consumption and life opportunities through institutional support (material, social, ideological).

[162] *Partially* refers here to a dependence of adolescents' collective practices on what institutions offer them More freedom in creation of their collective practices have hip-hop dancers' groups.

What is the relation between utopian ethos and protecting spatial dynamics? In contrast to protecting dynamics of consumptive experiential practices established within specific spaces that enables consumers' escapism and emancipation from the mainstream consumptive practices (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002), deprived neighbourhoods are characterized by different spatial influences on adolescents and their practices. Their cultural practices are dependent on locally available services and facilities proposed by local socio-educational institutions[163] and the information shared by their youth coordinators. Young consumers have found creative, resistant "sanctuaries" within their youth microcultures within local socio-educational institutions in the neighbourhoods as emancipating spaces that foster their empowerment (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

The protecting dynamic for adolescents' collective cultural practices can be explained through (1) *territoriality* of cultural practices (spatially dominant cultural practices)[164] and (2) institutional support of youth microcultures – i.e. ideological and organization (material, financial, social) support. First, the majority of adolescents from these neighbourhoods participate in cultural practices organized around urban culture (hip-hop dance and rap music; writing slam or any written expression; comic drawing (dominance of manga and superheroes), etc.)[165] Adolescents' cultural practices also have a spatial character in that different collective, solidarity activities are organized for local adolescents. In contrast to purely alternative consumption related spaces that have a restricted access and visible physical boundaries (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012), urban policy neighbourhoods have no such boundaries. Spatial context for adolescents' collective cultural practices can be understood by analysing location of socio-educational institutions and their network of partners for youth microcultures' practices. The neighbourhoods are spaces of adolescents' regular collective practices, but many temporary or occasional experiences take place outside of these spaces.

Second, protecting dynamic of urban deprived neighbourhoods for youth microcultures' practices is manifested through leading values – i.e. sharing and solidarity – and proposed

[163] We have noticed the omnipresence of urban culture events and activities (hip-hop dance, rap, slam writing), drawing classes (focus on manga), improvisational theatre classes (educational character), and many educational activities in relation to the detected problems in the neighbourhoods (e.g. brunt cars, youth insecurity while driving scooters). However, institutions attempt to adapt their offer to adolescents as much as possible (i.e. they need to respect their annual programs/projects and the available budget).

[164] These practices are in relation to consumption restrictions due to a limited variety of (cultural) services. However, *protecting* refers to adolescents' collectively undertaken cultural practices within socio-educational institutions in order to have active, experiential and "far-from-passivity" free time in the neighbourhoods.

[165] There are a very few adolescents we met that regularly play an instrument, go to music school, do any other dance apart hip-hop, etc. These minor cases and organized visits to cultural institutions are not mentioned here since we have focused on practices related to a regular or often undertaken activities.

alternatives to mainstream consumption practices – i.e. offered cultural services through local socio-educational institutions. These institutions are emancipating spaces[166] for youth microcultures. These institutions represent spaces of youth empowerment through shared values with different adolescents' groups about:

1 **Creative collective resistance** to widespread passivity and the focus on consumption of material goods among young population – i.e. focus on creative expression, and to consumption inadequacy for young consumers – i.e. focus on solidarity and sharing; and
2 **Collective agency within institutionally offered cultural practices** to alleviate consumption inadequacy through participation in youth microcultures – i.e. focus on alternative access to services and consumption/cultural experiences.

In sum, utopian ethos are youth ideological pathways from constraining spatial dynamics (Chapter 6) via protecting spatial dynamics (i.e. locally and institutionally shared values, and shared experiences and collective practices within youth microcultures and institutions) towards empowering dynamics of local socio-educational institutions as emancipating spaces in the deprived neighbourhoods. Here we present three main utopian ethos and their characteristics.

Utopian ethos 1: creativity, escapism and consumption experiences. Our exchanges with certain groups of adolescents bring out their individual passion about a creative expression and gaining specific skills and knowledge through collective cultural practices (e.g. young hip-hop dancers, young amateur journalists, and female solidarity group). Through creative expression they attempt to challenge the lack of opportunities and/or lack of variety of services in their neighbourhoods. To do so adolescents generally need to be resourceful to make the most of their lives especially when their financial resources are limited, or they rely on institutional material support.

Adolescents' creativity and escapism refer to their passion/interest in 'producing' something meaningful (e.g. choreography, dance performance, write an article) or to reach personal development (e.g. artistic expression; skills development; self-confidence development) and a development of social relations (artists and professionals that they meet through activity). Creative expression is coupled with consumption experiences in direct relation to collective cultural practice of a microculture or not. A leading **ideology of creativity** (and escapism) is a consequence of adolescents' passion about a cultural practice and their need to reach

[166] More about this in the next chapter.

consumption and life opportunities. Also, creative expression and escapism (e.g. through dance and writing) are realized within a creative and friendly atmosphere among people they know and to whom they can share their knowledge and emotions far from mundane reality or personal problems.

This utopian ethos inspires members of youth microcultures towards the improvement and personal development through collective cultural practices by sharing their emotions, experiences and specific knowledge/skills among them and with other local adolescents (Appendix 5 and Appendix 6, pages 459 and 469). The whole process of creative expression, escapism and associated consumption experiences is embedded in the values of solidarity and sharing among members of the youth microcultures (and beyond). This is also a **personal development-oriented ideology** enabling adolescents to develop their specific knowledge and skills (related to cultural practice itself) and to work on their individual self-confidence and maturity through creative expression and consumption experiences in and outside the neighbourhoods.

In sum, this utopian ethos implies adolescents' collective agency to challenge constraining dynamics of deprived neighbourhoods (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) and to make the most of material scarcity and other restrictions for their collective cultural practices – i.e. to have meaningful leisure time and to creatively resist consumption restrictions. Guided by this ideology, adolescents participate in situations and share experiences through which they gain in personal development (e.g. self-confidence, gained maturity and rigour) and reach various cultural and social experiences (inside and outside their neighbourhoods) through which they succeed in improving cultural practice specific knowledge, to expand their social relations (differently for different groups), to meet artists and professionals, and, most of all, to life and consumption opportunities.

Utopian ethos 2: Participation in institutions and collective cultural practices. During our fieldwork, many adolescents have emphasized the importance of being active which means participating in local socio-educational institutions' practices/projects. For some adolescents, this is an inevitable crossing point in resisting the lack of life opportunities and consumption restrictions. Both neighbourhoods have little to offer to young consumers in terms of life and consumption opportunities which are coupled with local youth passivity or delinquency. Thus, participating in local institutions' youth projects or cultural practices for our adolescents means reaching certain life opportunities (e.g. education success; short time trainings; information or intermediary role to part-time jobs; local jobs; expand social relations) that socially isolated

adolescents fail to realize. Youth microcultures with the support of local socio-educational institutions are guided by the ideology of creativity and a very practical one - i.e. to find alternatives to restricted consumption choices, and to passive free time that can make them socially isolated in their social spaces. That is, participation in institutionally offered activities means reaching access to service, to information (e.g. about cultural events, part-time jobs, education and trainings, and many others). Yet, it varies among our informants individually and among microcultures. For example, in the case of male hip-hop dancers the participation in institutions' cultural practices is a source of life opportunities (e.g. artistic skills; social relations; from dance to high-school education related to dance).

This utopian ethos reveals a **life opportunities-oriented ideology** for certain members of youth microcultures (e.g. young journalists' group; male hip-hop group). Relying on the values of tenacity, personal development, and agency and solidarity among adolescents in sharing knowledge and information, this ideology helps adolescents to challenge passivity and omnipresent consumerism among local adolescents, and the lack of opportunities. Also, microcultures inspired by this ethos (in)directly through their collective, creative practices bring some improvements in local adolescents' leisure marked by passivity or the lack of agency (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997).

Utopian ethos 3: Knowledge sharing and local youth empowerment. The values of solidarity and sharing guide our informants' collective agency within youth microcultures towards local adolescents. However, certain youth microcultures' ideological visions are embedded in the idea of sharing their collective knowledge and information with local adolescents to inspire them to follow their collective practices and/or to empower them for having access to services, experiences and life opportunities (e.g. male hip-hop group; youth empowerment and solidarity association; youth journalism group). Such utopian ethos results from the neighbourhood's reality – i.e. passive and isolated youth – that makes youth collective cultural practices (in)directly organized or created for wider local young populations. Based on this **solidarity-oriented ideology**, adolescents attempt to share (1) specific knowledge in order that their collective cultural practices continue to exist (e.g. young journalists group) or that young population has a meaningful leisure and a life focus (e.g. male hip-hop group), and (2) general knowledge on various topics through peer-to-peer education to empower the local young population and make it less passive (youth empowerment and solidarity association).

Further, passive or delinquent youth in these neighbourhoods is associated with a negative image of these suburban spaces. The burden of spatial stigma related to problematic or passive

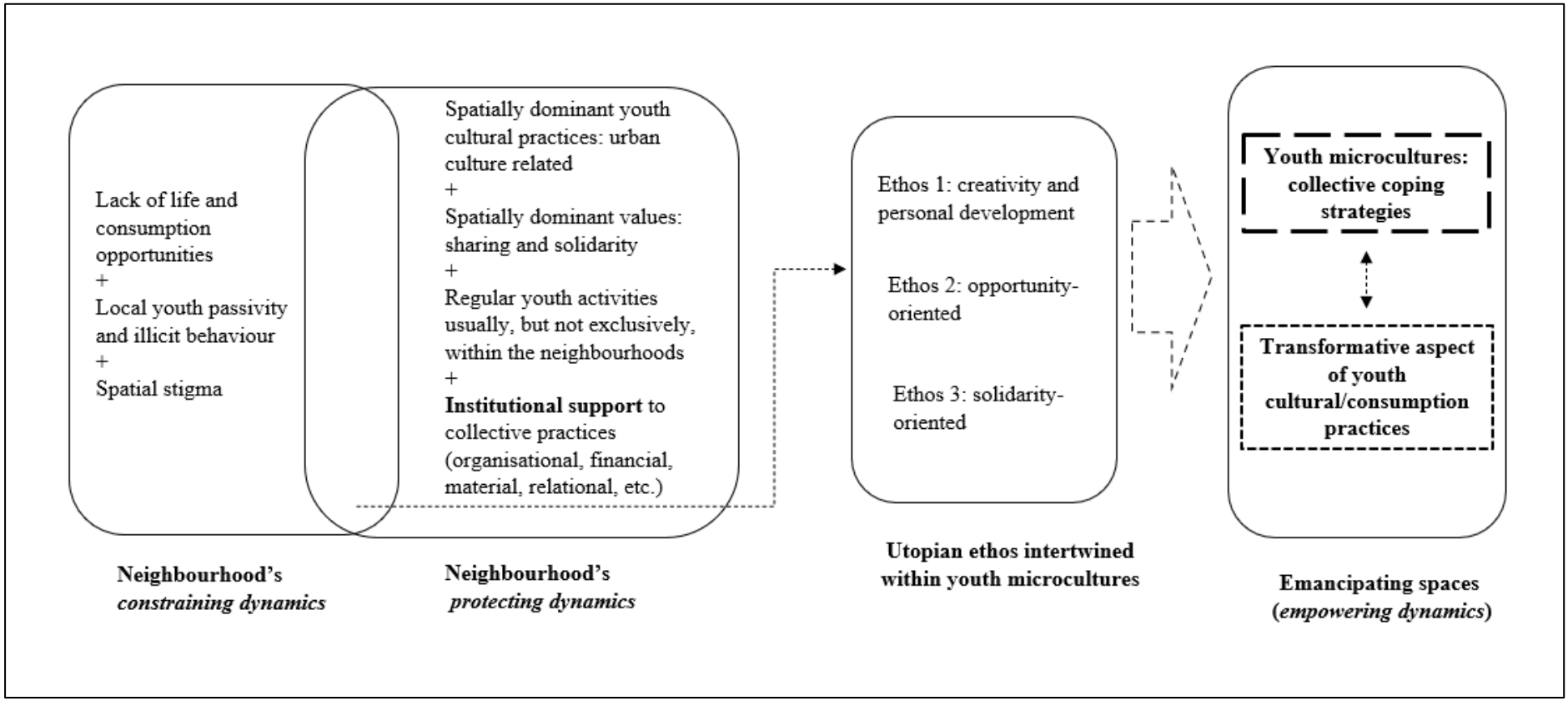
youth is coupled with the values of solidarity in the neighbourhoods that guide the members of youth microcultures to undertake out-of-ordinary practices to demonstrate capability of adolescents from these neighbourhoods to take collective, creative agencies (youth empowerment and solidarity association).

In summary, the utopian ethos of knowledge sharing and youth empowerment is embedded in the values of solidarity and tenacity of members of youth microcultures which enables them to challenge youth passivity and the lack of opportunities, they experience spatial constraints through their individual and collective creativity and knowledge and to try to make their neighbourhoods better spaces for adolescents cultural practices (Marin 1973; Hetherington 1997).

In sum, all utopian ethos or guiding ideologies reflect spatial constraints and consumption inadequacy of adolescents from both deprived neighbourhoods causing their collective agencies to reach life and consumption opportunities and thus avoid social isolation in the neighbourhoods. The utopian ethos of creativity indicates adolescents collective creative resistance to limited access to services and life opportunities; the second utopian ethos emphasizing a need for participating in local socio-educational institutions reveals more about adolescents' dependence on their cultural services, financial support and opportunities they may offer them; and the third ethos brings out solidarity of youth microcultures' members with more passive peers in order to help/empower them.

All these utopian ethos point to adolescents collective efforts to access services they do not have in their neighbourhoods, financially cannot afford them or they do not have information about them; to avoid passivity of many of the local young people and thus, to find the way for more social and market inclusion; and, finally, to help other peers since they are all affected by constraining structural and spatial factors that shape their lives and consumption and cultural practices. Local socio-educational institutions' support allows these utopian ethos to be spatially enacted through youth microcultures which have empowering influence of adolescents and their collective practices transformative character (Figure 11, page 263).

Figure 11: Spatial constraining-protecting interplay and its influence on young consumers' shared utopian ethos



Section 3: Youth microcultures: collective strategies in managing spatial constraints and consumption restrictions

Our young informants' consumptive practices are shaped by spatial constraining dynamics (Chapter 6) that they manage individually and collectively relying on different resources. Despite the important individual experiences of spatial vulnerability, we focus on collective (microculture) perspective and agency to deal with spatial vulnerability – i.e. limited life and consumption opportunities caused by structural factors and spatial constraints (Chapter 6). The analysis of adolescents' collective agency, realized through their cultural practices undertaken within local socio-educational institutions (i.e. microcultures), has much to offer to the understanding of the role of microcultures for young consumers from both urban policy neighbourhoods. We privilege collective perspective of young consumers' coping strategies in our research for the following reasons:

1 young consumers' show tendency to undertake collective cultural practices (microcultures), embedded in the values of solidarity and sharing, to develop social relations or friendships, and to share emotions, doubts, knowledge or skills and or life difficulties;
2 youth microcultures are co-constructed by adolescents and local socio-educational institutions (i.e. through their ideological, financial, material, organizational or social support) to provide more consumption and life opportunities for the adolescents – i.e. dominantly to challenge consumption inadequacy and youth passivity; and
3 youth microcultures reveal at the same time adolescents' collective agency and local structural resources – i.e. accessible cultural and other services through local socio-educational institutions.

In our research, youth microcultures portray (1) *collectively manifested spatial vulnerability* and (2) *collective strategies in managing this vulnerability.* Each microculture is concerned with certain spatial constraints and dominant consumption restrictions for young consumers from the deprived neighbourhoods that guided their utopian ethos towards *collective agency*.

This agency is conditioned by territorially specific cultural practices (i.e. spatially available and accessible cultural offer) and youth dependence on local socio-educational institutional support for creative resistance or access to services and consumption experiences.

Resources-controls interplay to manage spatial vulnerability. Spatial vulnerability in our research affects young consumers in the urban policy neighbourhoods through limited or the lack of different services. Also, they are usually from families that have limited financial resources and the lack information about the services, especially cultural, outside the neighbourhood. In such a context, young consumers cannot individually control constraining structural and spatial factors to reach their participation in cultural and consumption experiences outside the neighbourhoods. Thus, our informants opt for collective cultural practices, locally available in socio-educational institutions, to control or challenge constraining spatial influences through creative resistance (i.e. to play against passivity and to reach life opportunities), and broader access to services and consumption experiences. To challenge spatial vulnerability young consumers rely on their different *resources* and sources of *control* over constraining factors (Hill and Sharma 2020). Within youth microcultures' practices adolescents develop collective resources and establish certain collective control in dealing with consumption restrictions and spatial constraints (dominantly youth passivity). Microculture's *collective resources* are manifested trough collectively developed skills or gained specific knowledge within a cultural practice. By undertaking collective cultural practices (participating in microculture) adolescents *collectively control* the lack of consumption and life opportunities through diverse cultural/consumption experiences in and outside the urban policy neighbourhoods and developed social relations through collective practices.

To understand how adolescents collectively manage spatial vulnerability that affect their consumption choices and practices, we adopted and adapted the conceptualisation of consumer vulnerability through resource-control interplay proposed by Hill and Sharma (2020). Members of youth microcultures unequally develop their collective resources (knowledge and social relations) and rely differently on these to challenge spatial constraints and consumption restriction (Table 24 and Table 25, pages 268 and 269). These collective resources and the control of youth microcultures are closely interrelated to adolescents' passion for a cultural practice (*individual control*), and a support of local socio-educational institutions[167] (*structural control*) that affect adolescents' collective cultural practice.

[167] Due to our strong focus on youth collective agency and their relation to socio-educational institutions (spatial portrayal of collective and institutional control of spatial vulnerability), less focus is on individual resources in dealing with spatial vulnerability. We acknowledge that from the individual perspective spatial vulnerability varies

Our empirical data indicate that among various spatial constraints and consumption restrictions, the most dominant ones that affect our young informants are: limited variety of cultural services and institutions in the neighbourhoods, and the lack of access to services (i.e. limited or the lack of access is caused by limited financial resources, social norms or limited information of adolescents' families). This consumption inadequacy is coupled with limited life opportunities for some adolescents that are alleviated by local socio-educational institutions' offered services and the support of adolescents. All youth microcultures we portray are inseparable from local socio-educational institutions support which is a *constitutive element* of these youth collective coping strategies, yet of different influences on these strategies[168]. Table 24 and Table 25 illustrate a summary of different resources and sources of control our informants rely on in dealing with spatial vulnerability. In line with spatial perspective adopted in our research that reveal consumption restrictions for young consumers, we call for the attention to low structural resources within these neighbourhoods (i.e. limited available and accessible services) and high structural control for alleviation and managing adolescents' consumption restrictions (i.e. cultural practices and consumption alternatives through offered services in socio-educational institutions).

Youth microcultures in our research are portrayed as *collective coping strategies* that combine different collective resources and associated sources of control over consumption restrictions and spatial constraints (dominantly youth passivity). Our fieldwork practice indicates that differences exist among adolescents collective copying strategies in terms of: (1) dominant spatial constraints and consumption restrictions to manage collectively and related leading utopian ethos; (2) members' tenacity and passion for cultural practice (individual control); (3) specific knowledge and experiences gathered through collective microculture's practice (collective resources and control); (4) members' already existent social relations outside the neighbourhoods (social resources and control); and (5) duration and collective goals of youth microcultures. However, c*ollective resources-control interplay within* youth microcultures' practices are crucial in understanding youth collective coping strategies in order to challenge limited consumption and life opportunities. We acknowledge **three broader groups of collective coping strategies[169]:**

among adolescents individually. Indeed, in general all group of adolescents face limited financial resources (some groups more than others) and mainly are still in high schools.

[168] Here we present just the main role and support of leading institutions to youth microcultures strategies.

[169] Young consumers strategies that reveal dominantly cultural practices within restrictions since there is no collective agency and collective initiatives are those of ephemeral microcultures (see subsection 1 of this chapter) that are out of our analysis of microcultures. These microcultures' members (usually 11 to 14 years) participate in various leisure (sports and cultural) practices organized by local socio-educational institutions as a solution to

1. *Collective cultural practices to challenge limited consumption opportunities* (female solidarity group);
2. *Collective creative resistance to limited consumption and life opportunities* (male and female hip-hop groups; youth journalism project); and
3. *Collective creative resistance to local youth social isolation and spatial stigma* (male hip-hop groups; youth empowerment and solidarity association).

These two groups of adolescents' coping strategies differ in that the first one is based on no specific collective knowledge and experiences in contrast to the second and third groups that embrace specific knowledge and rich cultural experiences.

Table 26 (page 270) summarizes the dominant consumption restrictions and youth passivity (as spatial constraints) and a combination of utopian ethos that shape and guide collective coping strategies (youth microcultures) related to them. Utopian ethos (Section 2 of this chapter) are combined within collective cultural practices as well as consumption restrictions, they are multiple and overlapping affecting directly or indirectly youth microcultures' practices. In the following text we demonstrate how certain restrictions and spatial constraints cause collective agency more directly than others. Finally, adolescents' collective coping strategies have different outcomes – i.e. certain try to empower members' individually and collectively through their cultural and consumption experiences while others opt for empowering other adolescents or coping with spatial stigma.

reach access to services, facilities and experiences their families cannot afford or organize (for many of them this is the case), or to spend free time during a week or weekend with friends around diverse leisure activities. However, partial analysis of these microcultures is presented in the next chapter.

Table 24: Resources-controls interplay of youth microcultures (adapted from Hill and Sharma 2020)

	Male hip-hop group	**Female hip-hop group**
	Peripheral neighbourhood	
Resources		
Individual	**Financial**: differently limited resources (better situation for older members and students)	
	Education: from secondary to high school or finished circus art high school	**Education**: BA level students; at study-training program for pharmacy assistant; finished highs school (working or in search of jobs)
	Personal characteristics: persistent and determined; (group leader) self-confident; curious, visionary and future planners	**Personal characteristics:** persistent and determined; open-minded
Collective (group)	**Knowledge**: creative, developmental, and organizational character; hip-hop (and contemporary) dance movements learned over years through trainings and workshops; critical analysis of dance performances and skills in making choreographies	**Knowledge**: playful and creative; hip-hop dance movements and choreography creation learned over years through trainings and exchanges with other dancers from the neighbourhood
Interpersonal/social relations	Social relations from the neighbourhood or the hip-hop 'circles' in Lyon	Social relations mostly within neighbourhoods
Structural (types and variety of youth-oriented services)	Local socio-educational institutions' offer of less diversified cultural services; cultural services have usually educational character	
Control		
Individual	Through their educational resources and personal capacities	
Collective (group)	**Experiences**: regular and occasional; participation in different events (local), in battles (Lyon and/or national level); visits of events (dance related) in various cultural institutions in the municipality and Lyon (with school sports professor); experience in different social environments; meetings of hip-hop artists (local choreography centre and youth hip-hop association) and dancers outside the neighbourhood;	**Experiences**: occasional local and beyond participation in different events (in and beyond the neighbourhood); expended dance knowledge through local social relations; meetings of hip-hop artists (local choreography centre and youth hip-hop association);
Interpersonal/social relations	Through high school and job network social relations are expanded	Through education and job network social relations are expanded
Structural (socio-educational institutions)	A network of local or nearby socio-educational institutions (and individuals outside the neighbourhood) support to youth microcultures to partially finance their collective practices, to access different services, to have basic materiality for collective practices, to reach access to trainings, information, or job opportunities.	

Table 25: Resources-controls interplay of youth microcultures (adapted from Hill and Sharma 2020) (continued)

	Youth journalism project	**Female solidarity group**	**Youth empowerment and solidarity association**
	Remote neighbourhood		
Resources			
Individual	**Financial**: differently limited resources (better situation for older members and students)		
	Education: all in senior high school (different specializations); one reached part-time job	**Education:** from high school to technical college	**Education (leading members)**: students in Law and BA; advanced technical certificate (other members and volunteers are mostly students)
	Personal characteristics: curious; open-minded; determined (group leader); inspiring	**Personal characteristics:** moderately curious	**Personal characteristics:** curious; proactive; determined; high curiosity; visionary and risk-taker (group leader)
Collective (group)	**Knowledge**: creative and developmental character; skills in writing short articles and basics of journalism and media; shared personal interests in and prior knowledge on certain topics (e.g. culture and art, discrimination and equality, local events, etc.)	**Knowledge**: playful character; organisation of children games	**Knowledge**: shared organizational knowledge; general culture based on their personal education and prior life and professional experience
Interpersonal/social relations	Mostly social relations within the neighbourhood		Dominantly local social relations are enriched through higher education
Structural (types and variety of youth-oriented services)	Mostly or exclusively public institutions proposing less diversified services for youth cultural practices; often activities proposed within the education institution (educative character)		
Control			
Individual	Through adolescents' educational and personal capacities		
Collective (group)	**Experience**: participation in youth Erasmus project (a week stay in Granada, Spain); radio workshops and coverage of urban culture event; improvisational theatre classes; meeting different professionals and artists in and outside the neighbourhood through microculture's activities;	**Experiences**: irregular, temporary; mostly in social space or within the network of friends and well-known to them youth coordinators	**Experiences**: outside the neighbourhood: frequent collection and the sharing of food to homeless in the city; through online communication: temporary collecting money for certain people in need; in the neighbourhood: discussion on and the presentation of various topics from culture to local young population - "literary cafés";
Interpersonal/social relations	Boys have expanded their social relations through slam writing sessions; high-school and sports activities modestly developed relations		Diverse relations outside the neighbourhood due to their educational and charity practices
Structural (socio-educational institutions)	A network of local or nearby socio-educational institutions (and individuals outside the neighbourhood) support to youth microcultures to partially finance their collective practices, to access different services, to have basic materiality for collective practices, to reach access to trainings, information, or job opportunities.		

Table 26: Youth collective coping strategies

Combination of ethos	Related spatial constraints and restrictions	Microcultures' outcomes	Groups of collective coping strategies	Collective coping strategy	Youth microculture
Creativity and consumption experiences (Ethos 1); _____ *Participation in institutions and collective cultural practices* (Ethos 2)	Lack of life and consumption opportunities (direct-indirect relations); local youth as social problem (indirect relations)	Members-oriented (individually and/or collectively)	Collective cultural practices to challenge limited consumption opportunities		Female solidarity group
			Collective creative resistance to limited consumption and life opportunities	Collective creative resistance to lack of access to services and cultural experiences	Female hip-hop group
				Collective creative resistance to limited life opportunities	Male hip-hop group
				Collective creative resistance to limited social contacts and cultural experiences	Youth journalism project
Participation in institutions and collective cultural practices (Ethos 2); *Knowledge sharing and local youth empowerment* (Ethos 3)	Local youth as social problem (direct relations); spatial stigma (direct-indirect relations	Members (collectively) and/or local youth-oriented	Collective creative resistance to local youth social isolation and spatial stigma	Sharing collective knowledge among local young consumers to alleviate their social isolation	Youth empowerment and solidarity association
				Sharing collective knowledge to challenge spatial stigma and inequalities	Male hip-hop group

Subsection 1: Collective cultural practices to challenge limited consumption opportunities

During our fieldwork in the remote neighbourhood we noticed different groups of adolescents in the public space mainly those aged between 11 and 15, generally spending time telling jokes, listening to music on the smart phones or going to the nearest bakery shop to by some food and eat together. Boys may do some sports at the local sport grounds, while girls tend to take a walk in the neighbourhoods without boys. Boy and girls do not necessarily spend free time separately in the public space. Yet, fewer gender mixed groups are seen spending time in the public space together. They usually occupy the paths between the buildings, local parks and small squares or sport grounds. At the same time with gender difference in appropriation of public space, there is an age difference – i.e. certain places are occupied by the older male adolescents "doing a business" (spending time in groups talking, listening to music, or taking marihuana or waiting for the drug buyers). These groups of older peers, potentially mistrustful to people outside the neighbourhood, have their well-known places in the public space.

Since public space itself has not much to offer, adolescents need to find their way to access services for more cultural and consumption experiences. In such context, collective cultural practices of certain young consumer are guided by the ideas of creativity and escapism (ethos 1) and participation in local socio-educational institutions (ethos 2) – i.e. they collectively undertake available cultural practices in their neighbourhood to have more cultural and consumption experiences. **Female solidarity group** is a youth microculture whose young consumers collectively apply this coping strategy to challenge consumption restrictions.

Until recently their female members (friendly and talkative girls, aged between 15 and 16), occupied the public space more, experiencing passivity in free time and missing access to services, in and outside the neighbourhoods, they desired to have more meaningful and creative free time. Widespread passivity around them and their lack of access to services impose them to (re)act to the situation.

The adolescent girls do not differ from other young consumers outside the neighbourhoods – i.e. they like to go out together, to eat out, spend friendly and pleasant moment together. In what they differ from other youth microcultures we present here, is their exclusive reliance on services available in the local socio-educational institutions, and social relations they have in their social space to reach consumption experience in and outside the neighbourhoods.

Spatial constraints, consumption restrictions and youth practices. As all other youth microcultures, adolescent girls' collective practices are based on friendship. Yet, their focus is not on a specific practice but on their friendly and collective agency filled with experiences – i.e. in helping others and collective alternative consumptive practices outside the neighbourhood. Before participating in collective practice (youth microculture), these girls were among the local younger population that did not get use to spending time in local institutions[170]:

> Sana*: ...we do nothing at all. Well, we all meet and spend the afternoon together. But we don't do anything ...*
>
> (girls laughing)
>
> Wafa*: But we talk!*
>
> Sana*: Yeah! We all stay together, that's all.*
>
> Rania*: Like the last time when we were ... with you.*
>
> Nour*: Sometimes we go out, we go out to eat.*
>
> Rania*: Yeah …we go out to eat ice cream.*
>
> Nour*: We eat out at MacDo, hm ... we walk, we go for a walk, hm ...*
>
> Nour: [the neighbourhood], *right!*
>
> (girls laughing)
>
> Nour*: We don't go too far …*

Similar to other informants, the girls do not complain about the lack of variety of services in their neighbourhoods (e.g. bars, youth clubs, etc.)[171]:

> Girls*: No, not at all ...*
>
> Nour*: No, we, next to us there are the bakery shop, the snack-bar, the butcher shop* […]
>
> Wafa *[repeats]: the snack-bar, the butchery shop*
>
> Nour*: We will buy ...*
>
> Wafa [adds]: *... tobacco store*

[170] There is a great number of local populations that is not involved in institutional activities, especially when they come into the adolescent age. The high school students are, according to the local cultural services, "the most difficult group to keep interested and involved in local cultural practices".

[171] In general adolescents do not complain about not having any special services in both neighbourhoods. Their consumption (e.g. going out to eat and drink) reflects their needs and preference, the influence of local social and family norms) and adaptation to locally available or the nearest services.

> Nour: *… little drinks ... we sit down ... we go back to the neighbourhood* [the subarea] *… everything is next to us ….*

Our empirical data indicate dominant consumption restrictions for these adolescent girls: (1) limited family financial resources, (2) family/local social norms, and (3) limited variety of services in the neighbourhood. Combination of these restrictions resulted in their collective cultural practices.

First, *limited financial resources* of adolescents' families do not mean girls total consumption restriction (they do not live in poverty): they go to the city centre cinema sometimes, to the nearest McDonalds to eat). However, the prices of various cultural practices (e.g. dance classes in Youth and culture centres[172]; concerts in private cultural centre) are the barriers for their cultural practices in the institutions other than socio-educational in their neighbourhood. Through their collective cultural practice, organized and financially supported by the social centre, they have gained access to services and had consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood:

> *"... it's the centre that, uh ... Basically this is to make us enjoy to have, uh, worked all year and everything. Well, they take us on vacation for 2- 3 days. But it is they who finance everything and if after that we don't have enough, well... We do little activities to, uh, have more money." (Sana, 16 years)*

The social centre helps these girls to reach certain cultural and consumption experience they would never have with their families due to the limited financial resources.

Second, some of our older female informants characterize public space of this neighbourhood as unpleasant and for the girls since there are too many men outside making them feel uncomfortable. These adolescent girls, as many others from our research, spend their free time among female friends within collectively chosen places in the neighbourhood or nearby. Their words reflect less the issue of gender appropriation of space but more a social space with which population they share consumptive practices and the rhythm of their family lives and duties that shape girls' daily practices and consumption:

> *"… then we grew up here too ... Those who live in the city and all their crazy thing is to go out in the city and so, go shopping, na na na, … while since we grew up here, we prefer to stay down in front of our buildings, with what we know […] But we prefer to stay down here. If our parents need us, in a couple of minutes we are with them. If there is something, we are here." (Sana, 16 years)*

[172] See Glossary for the explanation. We took this example of these institutions which propose various, specific cultural (artistic, amateur) practices but for higher prices. Also, such institutions do not exist in both deprived neighbourhoods in our study.

These adolescent girls express a respect of family norms (e.g. daily rhythm of the family; leisure practices permitted by parents) that impact their free time. Girls have never talked about housework they had to do or so, but about the respect of their parents to have them close to their homes. Also, girls undertake no other cultural practices parallel to their occasional activities within the social centre.

Finally, a limited variety of services (Chapter 6) imposes adolescent girls to choose among spatially available cultural and other services. Combining this with limited financial resources of girls' families and family rhythm and practices adolescent girls have been indirectly assigned to spend their free time more often in the neighbourhood, especially for their cultural practices (or any leisure practice). Thus, they have relied on socio-educational services offered to them and that they liked to participate in.

Origin of the collective cultural practices. Our empirical data acknowledge difficulty to precise the moment or the situation when a youth microculture is exactly created since different factors overlap. The same is with this microculture. Girls' collective cultural practices around the topic of solidarity (Appendix 6, page 469) have evolved over time from an art project organized in the public space through the collaboration of street artists with different local institutions, among which was the social centre (e.g. artists worked with male adolescents often spending free time in public space). Three of the girls asked to join the wall painting project (temporary practice) to have some free time activity. Over time and with a help of street educators and social centre, adolescent girls have developed their collective knowledge and enriched their consumption and cultural experiences.

From this stems adolescent girls' participation in youth solidarity projects competition and later collective participation temporary projects around the topic of solidarity organized by the social centre. A collective cultural practice – i.e. organized activities for children of recently settled foreigners in France in the nearest shelter – originate from girls' participation in the solidarity project competition organized by the human institute from the neighbourhood. Once the short-term project has finished girls wanted to continue their collective practice with children with the support of the social centre.

> *"Well, in fact it's over .... [Institute] does not anymore, uh, ... There're no more solidarity girls! […] we decided … even so to continue ... to go to the shelter with the children we met. We decided to stay on the topic ... of solidarity. Because we … saw that it made them happy and so, when we went to see them, when we played with them and so … We thought, even if, uh, [Institute] had stopped, we could still go to see them and so." (Sana, 16 years)*

Collective/shared knowledge. The knowledge that girls developed is related to the preparation and realization of children's games. The games are realized with tools and materials that the social centre has already had for these kinds of games (e.g. memory games, kids' makeup, colouring picture, diverse games with ball). The games depend on social centre's available material and are proposed by coordinators to what adolescents add their ideas[173]. Beside organization and realization of children's games, adolescent girls prepared their short stay at the seaside with the coordinators and street educators (e.g. available finances management; organization of daily duties in group). A *playful and organizational character* of their collective, shared knowledge results from the co-creation of children's games (playful) and visits or travel (organizational) with youth coordinators during their irregular collective practices during a year. This reveals adolescents' need to be active, creative, and to have consumption experiences other than among restricted choices in the neighbourhood. Finally, microculture's *collective resources* to deal with consumption restrictions are very temporary, irregular, proposed and constantly nurtured by social centre resulting in dominantly local cultural experiences and within their social contacts (i.e. friends or neighbourhoods as members of a microculture, and friendly relations with youth coordinators).

Collective/shared experiences (events, situations and places). These collective playful practices are *temporary* and dominantly in or occasionally outside the neighbourhood. Adolescent girls participate in their collective practices in certain periods of the year – i.e. they follow the rhythm of social centre's activities or projects organized with the irregular or associated groups of adolescents. During a six months period of our contact, the girls have had two games afternoons (plus a day or two of preparation), one daily excursion with the boys (e.g. nearby national park with ludic leisure activities) and one long weekend stay at the seaside (e.g. 3 days camping at the French Mediterranean sea). Their *main* collective practice (e.g. organization and realization of children's games) are done in the neighbourhood or in the homeless shelter in a nearby municipality. That is, microculture's experiences have happened mainly in the protected space of their social space and through well-established social relations. *Additional* and sporadic collective practices comprise short travels or visits outside the neighbourhood allowing diverse consumption experiences. All collective practices are embedded in material, financial and organizational support of social centre (and street educators). *Temporary* and *playful* (i.e. in relation to creativity and consumption experiences)

[173] We participated in two afternoons of children's games and the preparation where the coordinators proposed the materials and types of games and girls added their ideas. That is, the girls have already done this activity before.

outcomes are individual-oriented but reached collectively. Adolescent girls' collective cultural practices are *occasional*, *irregular* and always organized by local institutions resulting from adolescents' need to have cultural and consumption experiences they do not have due to family restrictions and the lack of services in their social space. *Collective control* of consumption restrictions is limited since girls' collective cultural and consumption experiences depend on services offered/accessible in local socio-educational institutions, and dominantly organized in their social space or by coordinators they know well (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Girls' control of consumption restrictions relies exclusively on the local institutional support – *structural control* (Hill and Sharma 2020). In other words, they collectively attempt to challenge consumption restrictions, but there is no focus on special cultural practices, irregular collective agency and there is a total dependence on the social centre, making their collective control over restrictions *limited*.

Constraints within the microculture. Adolescent girls' collective practices have met certain constraints that comprise irregular individual participation and strong family norms. These constraints are internal to the group affecting its collective control and outcomes of their attempted challenge of consumption restrictions. Any financial and organisational constraints are overcome by the support of the social centre.

In sum, this collective coping strategy portrays adolescents' collective effort in challenging limited consumption opportunities they have within their social space. Paradoxically they rely on their local social relations and socio-educational institutions' support. Unsurprisingly, many other adolescents from urban policy neighbourhoods undertake similar strategies. Girls' effort to challenge consumption restrictions through collective cultural practices is *ambiguous*, even *paradoxical*. They initiated collective agency through locally available cultural practices, but their irregular, temporary and mainly local character (within social space) or consumption experiences in other social environments among friends and local youth coordinators limit the scope of the collective control. This is especially limiting since the local social centre has a dominant role – from content co-creation and organisation to activities financing, but adolescent girls do not join its regular youth activities (or never had before). However, concerning complexity of consumption restrictions for these girls, their collective cultural practices help them to reach consumption and cultural experiences and to avoid free time passivity.

Subsection 2: Collective creative resistance to limited consumption and life opportunities

In both urban policy neighbourhoods, we have noticed certain groups of adolescents that try more actively, and through specific cultural practices, to challenge limited life and consumption opportunities with the support of local institutions. Various consumption restrictions and a negative influence of youth passivity (and delinquency) as a dominant spatial constraint resulted in young consumers' collective cultural practices.

In such contexts, collective cultural practices are among young consumers' strategies to creatively resist limited life (e.g. education, job) and consumption experiences or access to services. *Creative resistance* reveals adolescents' passion for collective cultural practices through which they can creatively express themselves (e.g. dancing, creating choreographies, writing journal articles), their personalities, capacities and passions, share knowledge and information relying on spatially available and accessible cultural services to expand their opportunities. Youth microcultures that apply creative resistance are guided by the ideas of creativity (ethos 1) and participation in local institutionally proposed cultural practices (ethos 2).

Three youth microcultures – i.e. their collective coping strategies – belong to this group that we portray below.

Collective creative resistance to lack of access to services and cultural experiences

During our data collection, we have met a group of very dynamic and very open-minded girls. Here we name their youth microculture a **female hip-hop group** (Table 21, page 253; Appendix 5, page 459) composed of 19-year-old girls. The groups' name is in relation to the most dominant activity – i.e. girls' engagement in the locally dominant cultural practices. The example of these girls' collective practices portrays their effort to reach some locally available cultural services to creatively express themselves.

Spatial constraints, consumption restrictions and youth practices. As girls indicate, the life and availability of cultural service in the peripheral neighbourhood determine their cultural practices (Chapter 6). Their motivation for collective practice – a hip-hop dance – result from

their *passion for a dance* in general but their collective agency is conditioned by dominant hip-hop dance practice in the neighbourhood.

For these adolescent girls, an involvement in their collective cultural practice is a consequence of multiple consumption restrictions: (1) limited family financial resources, (2) family norms, and (3) limited variety of cultural services in the neighbourhood.

Adolescent girls' families have *limited financial resources* that limit a choice of their cultural practices to those financially accessible. So, to avoid complaining about the economic restrictions, girls attempted to find other ways to enrich their social and cultural experiences. Some of the girls are from very large families (more than 5 children) where economic restrictions have been real barriers for diverse cultural (consumption) practices. For example, classical dance is a type of dance they would like to try but they did not have access to it in the neighbourhood because it is expensive (i.e. there is a need for a dance costume, specific dance hall to practice) and was not offered to them by the socio-educational institutions. For hip-hop dance, there is no need of a special place, costume, or dance instructor.

Second, girls have experienced much restrictions from their families that impacted their free time. They have tried to balance *family* and *social norms* embedded in their cultures of origin (Comoros) which they respect (i.e. through discourse and daily practices as, for example, wearing headscarves), and their desire to creatively express themselves through dance. As in the case of other adolescents, passioned by certain cultural practices, parents of these adolescent girls have been concerned about the education and success in school was more important for them. Also, certain cultural practices, as for example classical dance, adolescent girls have not had access to due to the parents' lack of knowledge[174] about these activities:

> *"It's difficult to access, but also… it's also in relation to what our parents... they ... they do not know that. Well, me personally, my parents they are not the type "I will enroll my children to such an activity". They are more like "my children are for ... go to school and basta! I won't ... worry too much about it…"* (Faoulat, 19 years)

Traditionally, in their culture of origin, a woman is faced with time-consuming housework which also affected the girls' in the way that they had less time for their passion – a dance. Their youth microculture's real name portrayed the lack of time for girl's leisure activities:

[174] Here lie the cultural differences since, according to their explanation, in their country of origin, their parents were not used to going to the theatres and classical dance is not practices so often as in France.

Faoulat*: We had to dance on Saturday... we had not even finished… like… the end of the* [choreography]. *It was really ... that's why we were called* [Name] *because in fact we were running out of time.*

(girls laughing)

Faoulat*: We were always running out of time and in the end… well, we arrived we [clap the hands] we rocked everything, I tell you!*

(girls laughing)

Monia*: In fact, how was it?*

Faoulat*: In fact, it was really a question of time [Name of the crew] no time! We really had no time, in fact. Between classes, between ... well, especially that ... where we come from, in our culture ...* […] *the woman … well ... she really has to take care of the house, take care of the food, prepare to eat, well ... yeah, prepare housework, uh ... So, when it is given especially to a teenager, well, it is a lot in the time slot, in fact. So ... to dance, it was a limitation.*

Family duties are burdensome for adolescent girls, but also a pleasure and a part of their cultural background to which they are proud of. Also, like the female solidarity girls from the remote neighbourhood, these adolescent girls usually spend their free time near their neighbourhood:

Manola*: We rarely go to the city*

Monia*: We go home quickly.*

Manola*: Yeah* […] *At least we know we're right nearby.*

Faoulat*: Our going out is in* [municipality supermarket]

In relation to the economic and family restrictions, adolescent girls have experienced the *lack of variety of services in the peripheral neighbourhood*, especially cultural services. Our discussions demonstrate girls' passion for dance and their willingness to learn, to experience different types of dance, not merely hip-hop. Since their parents did not get used to certain cultural practices (e.g. go to museums or theatres; enrol children to classical dance), the girls needed to rely on cultural services offered by school or local socio-educational institutions (e.g. neighbourhood centre). The role of locally available/proposed services is crucial, since without them girls would not have the access to certain cultural practices (and still have limited access):

Manola*: Salsa, we did it in secondary school*

Monia*: Salsa, I think it's more accessible...*

Manola*: It was accessible! We did it directly, because it was accessible.*

Sonja*: But for example, if there is ...*

Sanya*: But, if there are organizations that offer it and are not far from ... our environment or everyday life, well ...we would really do it! As for salsa, well, we had done salsa, because, because ... the dance institute had proposed it*

Manola*: But after all, that's why there's a label of ... urban dance.*

[…]

Sanya*: But afterwards, even in our association* [hip-hop association]*, we have never had a proposal for a ... classical dance. It's always, uh ... dancers who came uh ...*

Manola*: From the world, from ...*

Sanya*: ... from abroad, but came, well, who ... were not teaching classical dance. It's true that maybe we would have had this easy access if it had been offered to us, uh ...*

Origin of the collective cultural practices. The youth microcultures were created when the girls started secondary school and dance workshops with sports professor. They recognized similarities of their personalities and their passion for dancing and started gathering and training dance outside school workshops:

> *" ... it was after the workshop that we saw that we had points in common and so, suddenly, we said, uh, "Outside we will try to dance together". And after, next step, we said "But it would be nice to form a group" and so we started a small group called* [First group's name]" (Manola, 19 years)

The microculture is created spontaneously but under the influence of consumption restrictions of its members. The *social and family restrictions are among the most dominant ones* that, instead of leading them to passivity, pushed them to work hard in school and at home, to manage their time and to creatively express themselves through accessible cultural practices in their neighbourhood. The support of local institutions and individuals to the youth microculture over the years has, beside girls' passion for dance and tenacity, an important role for their creative resistance. Unlike girls from the female solidarity group (the remote neighbourhood), who were friends at first, these adolescent girls are gathered in the microculture thanks to their similar personalities and passion for a collective cultural practice.

Collective knowledge and experiences and institutional support. Through collective dance trainings adolescent girls have tried to creatively resist consumption restrictions but – i.e. resistance to family norms and a limited access to cultural services through their collective creative production (e.g. making choreographies and preparing performances). For those purposes, girls have created collective knowledge over the years, relying on collective cultural experiences (Table 24, page 268; Appendix 5, page 459).

Collective/shared knowledge. The adolescent girls have danced for already almost seven years. They improved dance techniques and hip-hop movements, developed their style of dance and learned basics of creating choreographies for performances. By making choreographies they learned how to share emotions and gain in self-confidence.

> Faoulat*:…dance, well,... it really is, it was really our foundation, well, in our relationship. That's what actually allowed us... outside school, out of the world today, out of… to put ourselves in our bubble and forget our worries .... To forget everything that's going on, the problems of the world! And to find ourselves between us and uh ... through each step, well ... we expressed, either our anger or our sadness or our joy, or our, uh, …*
>
> Monia*: Our intimate feelings!*
>
> *Girls: Yeah, our feelings!*
>
> Manola*: When we do not want to talk.*

They have combined traditional African style of dance (family heritage) with learned hip-hop movements (through school and youth hip-hop association workshops) that served them to demonstrate their collective identity through specific collective style of dance. Each member prepares or creates certain moments (parts of choreography) that they put together for the final performance.

> Sanya*: So, each is recognized, in fact, … in the footsteps ...*
>
> (girls confirm)
>
> Sanya*: In the choreographies we chose, uh ... Really! Also, it's a moment of pleasure, let's say! It is done, all together*
>
> Manola*: Even if there are representations at the end.*
>
> (girls confirm)
>
> Manola*: Well, we enjoy it however.*
>
> Sanya*: We say we did this creation; it is .... for us, it is made by us and ... that's also important.*

This collective creativity helped the girls to be organized with daily, family and school routine, which motivates them to find free time for their collective trainings at least once per week. Due to the lack of time for regular, institutional dance practices, girls have been mainly self-taught dancers. Concerning the local youth hip-hop association – i.e. space of alternative access to hip-hop dance for many adolescents – girls kept a distance aiming to keep their independence in their dance styles, but stayed open to new steps, rhythms to learn. However, male members, leaders of the association, welcomed them:

Sonja*: ... and what is your relation to* [hip-hop association]*? Is…?*

Manola*: None! And that's what's good!* (laughing)

(Girls laughing)

Manola*: Actually, no, in the sense that, uh ...*

[...]

Nouria*: We are independents!*

Manola*: Because, here, we limit ourselves to do this thing. In fact, we are open to everything as long as ... we are allowed to be us!*

Faoulat*: Yeah*

[...]

Manola*: Well, we are open to everything …*

Faoulat*: On the contrary, they* [association members] *accepted our universe a lot ...*

Sharing their dance skills and emotions the adolescent girls have created their collective identity through which each girl could express her personality and the style of dancing. In that sense, their collective knowledge has been developed through individual learning from online available contents, and collectively shared dance skills through trainings and local contacts with male dancers, youth coordinators, or other hip-hop dancers. This collective knowledge is *creative* but also *developmental* (e.g. self-confidence development).

Collective/shared experiences (events, situations and places). Through collective dance, adolescent girls have reached local cultural services and enriched their cultural experiences. At a *regular, weekly basis*, through youth microculture's practices girls have shared emotions, life difficulties, and their dance knowledge and information. Their regular collective trainings increased their visibility in the neighbourhood's public space. Thus, they started to create social relations with local institutions (their cultural and youth coordinators) and local male dancers. Thanks to regular trainings and their desire to enrich their cultural experiences (in and outside the neighbourhood) more support has been provided through the local network of different institutions and individuals[175] (e.g. neighbourhood centre, social centre, youth hip-hop association). Also, in the lack of financial resources to undertake private dance classes in the local choreography centre, girls reached the access through secondary school workshops:

Sonja*: Did you have an opportunity to collaborate with* [Choreography centre]*?*

[175] More in the next chapter.

Sanya*: Yes, many times ...*

Manola*: From time to time*

Sanya*: we went to … well, to the dance workshops, frankly, a lot we... danced with them ... well, it was precisely with* [School sports professor] *and well we made crazy* […] *dance classes with a lot of* [Choreography centre] *members and ... it was really good*

The places for group trainings have had the role of space of sharing and learning. In that sense to find a regular and accessible place where they could share the moments with other dancers were important for these girls. Beside school context, hip-hop association had a crucial role:

Manola: ... *when we were with* [Hip-hop association] ... *Let's say, they also receive dancers who were out of* [Municipality]. *So, we had meetings ... Do you see* [Local hip-hop dance group]?
Nouria/Faoulat: *Oh yeah!*
Manola: *From Rio!*
Faoulat: *Capoeira*
Manola: *There were Rio dancers, actually ... it was really ... the fact also ... the side that boosts us, because we said when we went to the room [sports hall] ... maybe also to train, but also to learn new things and, well, well, it has ...*
Girls: *yeah*!

Girls have performed their choreographies at events of local Comorian and West Indies associations, during neighbourhood festivals, in several nearby retirement homes, at different events in Lyon and nearby, in the municipality stadium and swimming pool, and during other occasions. In many of these events girls participated thanks to local youth hip-hop association that has had relations with social centre and local town hall. Thanks to the partnerships among local socio-educational institutions (neighbourhood and social centres), secondary school and youth hip-hop association, girls have met experienced local female dancer (cultural coordinator) who played an important role for the group:

Sanya*: There you go, so, well… Given that we were enough, let's say, independent, it is true that the fact that she … is there, that she follows us, that she ... she also helps us, uh ... in the choreography creation, it was important, to supervise it, actually, because ... As… I said earlier,* ... [Boys Crew] *they were supervised by* [Hip-hop association] *"Yeah, you should not do that ..." In fact, there was no ... We had no management of our choreography. And she, she provided this uh ... She really provided that, in fact.*

Faoulat:*...Also the side … administrative. We must say that, uh, as* [Hip-hop association] *cared more about, ….as she just said...*

Manola*: about the boys*

Faoulat*: ... Yeah boys, so, … during events ... She arrived. She did not forget us*. [...] *She always came to say, uh, "Well, do not forget the* [Girls Crew]! *Bring them in ". We also want to put us here, there, there, in this ... She also took care of ...*

Sanya*: ... she really helped us with the process and ...* […] *she opened doors for us too. She opened doors for us, so here we go ...*

Faoulat*: Well, after that, it's true that the choreographer's side, for a moment ...* [...] *she took care of the choreographies but afterwards ...*

Manola*: ... we learned, so, we started developing by ourselves ... the creative side.*

Girls' collective experiences were mostly related to the neighbourhood or surrounding municipality or within the local hip-hop scene (protected space) (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) through which they have attempted to enrich their cultural experiences in and outside the neighbourhood.

Constraints within the microculture. Besides parents' disagreement about girls' collective dance at the beginning of collective practice (i.e. parents had a fear that girls would neglect school and household duties), a scarce materiality has been an obstacle (i.e. at the beginning they did not have a place for trainings). As time passed, parents, being convinced that girls managed school, home and their passionate activity, accepted and become proud of girls' creativity.

Second, in the beginning, when girls' collective activity was not so visible for the local institutions, they struggled with places for trainings (i.e. they danced whenever they found a suitable place in the public space, even under bad weather conditions). Gaining in visibility by training regularly in public spaces, girls succeeded in having a room in the local social centre for their trainings, in sharing a local school sports hall and dance hall in the neighbourhood centre with male members of local youth hip-hop association.

In sum, creative, collective practices are important for adolescent girls' personal development (self-confidence) and their access to services in, and cultural experiences in and outside the neighbourhood. They succeeded in gaining artistic knowledge, and in managing family restrictions that limited their free time for activities. Through their collective agency within their social space (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) – relying on the available cultural services, financial and organizational support of local socio-educational institutions – adolescent girls have enriched their cultural experiences. However, the outcomes of collective challenge of consumption restrictions is *ambiguous* or *paradoxical* in that their regular and most of the occasional activities have been realized within their social space (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

Collective creative resistance to limited life opportunities

In both deprived neighbourhoods in our research, adolescent boys have been more concerned with, and potentially more exposed to passive free time and temptations of illicit behaviour. This spatial constraint is coupled with other consumer restrictions for the local young population that they try to cope with. During our fieldwork practice in the peripheral neighbourhood we met a group of boys (aged 16 to 19 years) passionate by hip-hop whose microculture we name **male hip-hop group** (Table 21, page 253; Appendix 5, page 459). Collectively, through microculture's practices, adolescent boys have attempted through collective agency, that enabled them access to cultural services and broadened social contacts, to creatively resist youth passivity and limited life opportunities.

Spatial constraints, consumption restrictions and youth practices. Undoubtedly these boys have undertaken collective cultural practices based on their passion for dance above all. Yet, these practices are a consequence of their collective resistance to spatial constraints and consumption restrictions: (1) local youth passivity and illicit behaviour, (2) limited life opportunities, (3) limited family financial resources, and (4) a limited variety of cultural services in the neighbourhood. Since this microculture has lasted for several years, a priority of constraints/restrictions have changed over time (i.e. at the beginning adolescent boys were more concerned with limited access to services, while once specific artistic knowledge is gained, they have been more concerned with the lack of life opportunities such as education or jobs).

First, seeing some of their friends sliding into social isolation without the lack of life opportunities, boys chose to devote their free time to a locally accessible and cheaper cultural services for which they were talented – a hip-hop dance. Undertaking collective cultural practices in their neighbourhood institutionally supported, boys have separated their life pathways from their peers:

> Youcef*: Knowing that in ... in those* [social housings] *there were a lot of dancers anyway. … Later they all stopped! Now they are in ... dealers in the neighbourhood ... They're older boys, so we saw them dancing and everything. And now… we see them…they are like that, with their shit in their mouths.*
>
> [...]
>
> Karim*: Actually, yeah, they danced, and so. Well, when we were training and so, they were there, well, they were older boys, what. We were there. We were impressed and all that. They were dancing and all that. And now, well, …*
>
> Youcef/Karim: *There is no more!*

Youcef*: It's us now.*

Karim*: There's us, finally, it's us. ... Yeah, we're the oldest boys now.*

Their active engagement in collective cultural practices in the local institutions result from their efforts to avoid social isolation, and to limit their passive free time in the neighbourhood:

> *"That's it, we must get involved! And when we get involved, we do not stay in the neighbourhood."* (Kofi, 19 years)

Kofi indicates what we have understood during the fieldwork – i.e. collective cultural practices is not only the matter of adolescents' passion or consumption experiences, but spatially imposed collective coping strategy.

Second, urban policy neighbourhoods are spaces of *limited or unequal life opportunities* for the adolescents. In such a context their long-lasting collective activities enable alternative consumption and cultural practice, but moreover a way to reach individual life opportunities. They emphasize "no-consumption" aspect of their activities based on the passion, individual and collective agency:

> *"That's the difference, a bit, when you consume and when you do by pleasure, you see! When you consume, well, it's something ... you come, you do and after you leave! While here, well, you do, but you must go further! So, you'll see there, there, there, there, you see! Well, we do not consume, because it's something ... it's a passion, you see, ...* [smiling] *Sometimes, we do not even know why it's born, but it's HERE, …"* (Kofi, 19 years)

And in other group interview:

> Youcef: … *they dance from time to time when they want to show "Yeah, I'm, I was a dancer". Yeah, they show a little, but they don't train anymore. While we…*
>
> Karim: … *we do not have the same idea.*
>
> Youcef: *We … want to …*
>
> Karim: … *we do not have the same determination*!
>
> Youcef: *We have a determination! Want to go far! Want to ... progress ...*
>
> Karim: *Ah, that's it. It may be that we didn't have the same notion, well, the same idea of dancing! Like, they wanted to dance, for, uh, well, a little, it was a little hobby! We really… it's a passion, we are really ...*

Some of the boys underline that collective dance practice helped them gain in maturity and become well organized in school:

> "*How.. it's complicated because ... being young I was really ... how to say ... I was reacting immediately. Finally, I was very very very explosive... I was told … even I was poorly looked or so, it could ... finish super-fast … and dance succeeded in focusing me, in … calming me down, to unwind me of this energy… because before, really, I had no sport, well, I had no specific sport. I was not enrolled in a football club or*

so .... That's it, that's it and so, I have a focus and, well, now it's better and, well, I'm in high school …" (Karim, 16 years)

For these boys, of whom many were bad students in school, hip-hop dance is their life passion they cannot renounce easily. However, to live only from their artistic work and passion is not a stable option for them (and their parents). Therefore, they try to balance education, some future stable jobs and their passion for dance.

Third, *limited financial resources* of adolescents' families is a dominant, economic restriction to undertake whatever leisure practice. Although they do not talk about these consumption restrictions, Kofi's (19 year old boy, leader of the group) words, quoted in the chapter 6, illustrates how boys adapted to the restrictions relying on accessible services in the neighbourhood (i.e. to pay 15 euros or less for the hip-hop dance trainings at the local youth association instead of 300 euros for the choreography school classes), and how they are forced to be resourceful to find financing sources for their collective practices outside the neighbourhood when the institutional support is missing. Examples of financial struggles are various, but adolescents try not to think of these. Rather, they think of the solutions – i.e. sources of material, financial or social support[176].

Finally, the peripheral neighbourhood is characterized by the *lack of variety of services* (Chapter 6). Our empirical data indicate that, according to such a situation, adolescents adapt to proposed services through local socio-educational institutions. Male (and female) hip-hop dancers have demonstrated not necessarily passion through hip-hop dance, but spatially imposed cultural practice due to the lack of diversity of cultural services they have access to. In the case of adolescents' boys, very quickly they try to reach different cultural experiences that overpass the limits of their neighbourhood and for that they intensify their collective practices to reach access to different services.

Origin of the collective cultural practices. Hip-hop dance has already been practiced, danced among our informants' older peers in the peripheral neighbourhood. Adolescent boys have been inspired by hip-hop dance through the friendship relations in the neighbourhood and hip-hop workshops in the local secondary school. In the core of the microculture is boys' passion for dance - three of four boys were from their very early age attracted to music and dance through their family context. Despite their friendship from the childhood, their microculture has been created spontaneously within the secondary school hip-hop workshops. A leader of the youth microculture, Kofi, has already danced in the neighbourhood, attended school trainings, and

[176] More in the next chapter

motivated younger peers to join the local youth hip-hop association. Male hip-hop dancers have started practicing more seriously at the age of 11-12 years. Boys interests in collective hip-hop dance practice in the public space or local institutions stem from their social environment – i.e. hip-hop is dominant local cultural practice:

> *"I think that ... the dance* [...] *it can have various influences, you see, but in general, it's not .... When it's taken like us, I think it's often due to our surroundings and not necessarily the family! Because I could have continued the dance, you see, dancing alone in my corner because I always had my family, but if I did not have these people around that ... friends with me or ...* [the group] *with me, you see, I think it would not have hit me so … hip-hop dance."* (Kofi, 19 years)

In another interview, Youcef (16 years, member of the microculture, a son of ex-hip-hop dancer) emphasizes the same spatial influence on cultural practice (style of dance):

> *"In fact, I always danced, always, always, always danced! I always knew how to dance! And well ... it's just ... since all my family was dancing, I thought, 'It's useless for me to dance'. ... I thought 'Go ahead, I'm going to do basketball, I'm going to do something else'. Ok, the dance got on my nerves! And, well ... in the end we realized that it really was the dance... I said to myself: 'I'm in, I'll stay in! The dance is me! It's* [Youcef]!*' So, well, I met Karim and Fares. I knew Karim already, but when I met Fares, he said to me 'You know how to dance?' I said 'Yes'. 'Well, come to the workshop! We have a group already! We do little battles and so!" And, well, ... It heated me suddenly, like, I was happy! I told myself 'There are dancers ... and dancers of this secondary school while I have not danced for a long time' and I said to myself 'Go ahead, I take my dance up again" and I took the popping up again and I saw that … everyone danced break dance here. So, I said to myself: 'Come on, I'm going to stop and I'm going to do the break; it's a little harder but I'm going to start!' And so, well, with [sports teacher] and so ..."*

The inspiring and critical space for those adolescents (boys and girls also) was to undertake more seriously (more frequently) hip-hop dance, school hip-hop workshops and regular trainings.

Collective knowledge and experiences and institutional support. Boys' collective practices undertaken for several years now with passion and tenacity helped them enrich cultural experiences, broaden their social relations, and develop and share knowledge and skills of hip-hop dance collectively. Each member approached hip-hop dance a bit differently ascribing it a specific role in his life. Yet, collectively they tried to access services alternatively for their creative resistance to limited life opportunities (education or job opportunities).

Collective/shared knowledge. Collectively developed and shared resources are exclusively related to the hip-hop dance. While all are focused on learning basic movements of break dance, they individually develop different styles of dance. These differences in style of dance are

related to their individual physical capacities and their personal preference and incorporated in the group's collective resources. The leader of the group, Kofi (19 years) has developed his much eclectic style of dance thanks to his curiosity and determination to learn and progress:

> *"And it's ... I think it's .... That's a little why ... I never stopped dancing, in fact. It's because I've always wanted to outdo others! And the others had a facility that I didn't have. And I had to work twice as hard as them! To reach their level!* [...] *And this is where ... I told myself: 'Since they are strong in this area [breakdance], well, I'll specialize in this area: the robots and blah, blah, blah… ' And, uh, ... Gradually I'm perfecting myself, but I find that ... the breakdance was the dance that was done mostly for me, because ... I was more pushed towards this dance than ... robots and everything. But I was curious at the same time ... Since the others … They stayed on one thing while I went to see everywhere! It was a little my 'weapon' and it was a bit my imagination.* [...] *It's easier for me ... to have ... a lot of ideas while they are forced ... to stay in their own style. They are forced to look only in their stuff because they know other things."*

Kofi has been constantly nurturing the microculture with new, creative ideas, he developed through collective practices with different dancers beyond the neighbourhood and his high school education on circus performances. Younger members have much focused on break dance and participation in hip-hop battles (outside school competition) to demonstrate their physical strength and creativity.

The years of close collaboration with the school sports professor on hip-hop dance have helped the boys to access dance performances in different cultural institutions and learn to interpret, to analyse dance performances choreographies, but also to develop the knowledge of making choreographies, creating performances and contemporary dance.

Preparing dance projects with the local institutions (microculture's leader) or seeking dance learning opportunities (younger members), and participating in events organized by the local municipality, secondary school or within the youth hip-hop association, adolescents have reached the *basics of alternative financing of cultural practices* (e.g. financial help thanks to the sports professor; work to pay for the classes; pay in instalments).

Boys collective resources have *playful*, *creative*, *developmental,* and *organizational character*. Shared knowledge about dance movements and choreographies enables them to have creative resistance – i.e. to alternatively access services, artistic knowledge, cultural and consumption experiences, to alternatively finance their collective practices.

Collective/shared experiences (events, situations and places). Youth microculture has rich collective experiences of which we succeeded in grasping just one small part during our fieldwork. Through these experiences in and outside the neighbourhood enabled by the support

of the local socio-educational, educational and cultural institutions, adolescent boys have succeeded in altering consumption restrictions and opening ways for broader life opportunities.

Boys have done *regular* collective trainings at some of the locally available sports halls in the neighbourhood or, when there is no access to these places, in the halls of some other crews from the Lyon agglomeration. The free trainings with sports professors and within the hip-hop associations are important not only for sharing dance skills, but also for having access to information (about events, special trainings). During these trainings, the traditional way of sharing the hip-hop dance skills is preserved – i.e. the older members or the more experienced ones share the knowledge with those less experienced (train them). Thanks to their intensive, regular collective practice through school workshops they were given access to trainings (a year of dance classes) in the local hip-hop choreography centre to which otherwise, many of them, would not have had access.

Temporary collective experience in and outside the neighbourhood are various – i.e. specific dance trainings, participation in the local or municipality events, and in the battles in Lyon agglomeration or at the national level. All these experiences are reached thanks to the support of school sports professor or other local institutions.

Boys have had diverse experiences with their sports professor with whom they went to different performance halls, dance institutions or museums for exhibitions on dance and dance performances (e.g. *Maison de Dance*, *Musée des Confluences*), took place in hip-hop battles (twice at national completion), and participated in the municipality art project (i.e. dance classes with hip-hop dancers from the local hip-hop choreography centre).

Social relations developed through the local hip-hop association, helped adolescent boys to participate in different battles (in Lyon, Paris and other towns in France.), and a local event, Hip-Hop contest, organized in collaboration with the local neighbourhood centre and with the support of the municipality (event venue in performance hall) and that with time got international dimension. These are some examples of their collective experiences that we could grasp during our fieldwork.

Through long-term collective experiences adolescent boys developed relationships with local social and certain cultural institutions in the municipality, but also outside their social space. Collective practice in the neighbourhood made them closer to different local and municipality institutions as part of their collective strategy to reach life opportunities and not to be isolated in the neighbourhood.

Constraints within the youth microculture. Boys' collective cultural practices have been exposed to different constraints. First, frequent collective trainings (three times a week and on weekends and holidays) have been exposed to parents' disagreement since they wanted them to concentrate on school and their future education. Like female hip-hop groups, the members of this microculture have shown respect towards their families and these restrictions have motivated them even more to prove their parents they can manage various activities. Second, once adolescents started high school, they became more occupied and thus had less time to train intensively. Third, drug use among hip-hop dancers outside the neighbourhood was very challenging for the boys. Well known hip-hop dance spot in Lyon is the entrance to the Opera House where the dancers (different crews) from different parts of the agglomeration come to dance. For boys, this was a crucial point for the hip-hop contacts, but they needed to manage and escape the similar problems as in their neighbourhood. Four, one of the greatest restrictions for the youth microculture has been scarce materiality and limited access to places for regular activities. In the beginning many of these young boys have danced outside in the public space without any special equipment for the activity. Despite the support of the local institutions that provide a place for regular collective trainings boys experienced restrictions:

> *"Well, you see, during the school period, for example, well, we have access to the room* [sports hall]! *And during the holidays we have no access to the room!"* (Kofi, 19 years)

Recognizing that adolescents do not complain about material scarcity, we ask them whether the lack of regularly available hall is a constraint for them. Kofi explains:

> *"Not anymore! Since we have always managed to adapt ... well when there is no room, well, there is my aisle, you see! In the aisles we do not put the music, but we turn on the head! You see! We find places, so, well, we adapt, in fact! It's not a question ... it's a constraint ... we do not complain, because we have no time to complain, you see!"*

For these passionate boys gaining access to places for their intensive, regular practices, has been very challenging:

> *"Well, it depends! .... When we do not have room in* [Municipality] *or we have no means to train, we can go to* [Close municipality] *... there is a room over there! Or, if there is no room there either, well ... You see the Opera? .... But that's when it's sunny! .... And when it's cold and you're really determined, you stay! Or, if not, you go to* [Farther municipality]. *In* [Farther municipality], *it's a bit far, it's ... an hour away ... yeah, all over there! In* [Farther municipality], *it's a big mission, but we go there sometimes! There are* [Crew]. *It's a group too who train there and, yeah, we stay there sometimes! Or, if not, there's the aisle! We stay in the aisle and we turn on the head."* (Kofi, 19 years)

Finally, *limited financial resources* caused adolescents' struggles to organize collective practices in but especially outside the neighbourhood (see Kofi's explanation on collecting the money for a rug or cheating in public transport in chapter 6). Participation in school competitions, battles or learning dance in local choreography centre causes diverse expenses to cover (e.g. transport, entrance fee, enrolment fee). Local school professor is an intermediary person in finding alternative ways of payment. When boys participate in the events outside the local institutional system, they need to be more resourceful in covering expenses.

In sum, the adolescent boys' collective cultural practices are an example of their creative resistance not only to a limited access to services and limited consumption experiences, but also to, for them, important spatial constraint – local male young population passivity and drug use. By undertaking intensive dance trainings and accumulating diverse cultural experiences outside the neighbourhoods they have succeeded in challenging the lack of broader life opportunities – successful education and employment. Their creative resistance resulted in enriching their creative expression and their artistic knowledge, but, above all, in providing them a way out of the social and spatial context of no life opportunities for young male population surrounded by the temptation of drug use and easily earned money from drug selling. During the last two years we have seen these young boys succeeding in their life projects thanks to a great support of their sports professor and the local socio-educational institutions[177].

Collective creative resistance to limited social contacts and cultural experiences

Young consumers' creative resistance to limited social contacts and cultural experiences in the remote neighbourhood is a way in which they collectively, within the youth microculture, that we name **youth journalism project** or elsewhere named shortly as young journalists further in the text (Table 21, page 253; Appendix 5, page 459), challenge spatial vulnerability. This is a group of adolescents, boys and girls, aged 17, friends from the neighbourhood and mainly schoolmates from that through their journalism project (and other institutional activities) within the social centre have tried to challenge spatial constraints they have experienced so far.

Spatial constraints, consumption restrictions and youth practices. Besides adolescents' interest in the main cultural practice – writing articles – their microculture is a consequence of the spatial constraints. Among the most important ones are: (1) limited family financial

[177] More about this in the next chapter.

resources, (2) limited variety of cultural services, (3) limited life opportunities, and (4) local youth passivity. As in the case of male hip-hop dancers (peripheral neighbourhood), this microculture has lasted for several years so far. Accordingly, the importance of restrictions and constraints has changed over time, yet not in the same way for all members. As they were younger, they were concerned with the limited access to services and consumption experiences. Later, they have become more concerned with the widespread youth passivity in their social space and lack of life opportunities (e.g. the need for broader cultural experiences, training and job opportunities, information). Certain members have continued to be focused on reaching more consumption experiences (dominantly outside the neighbourhoods)[178] while the most determined adolescents have attempted to enrich social contacts for more opportunities.

First, these adolescents have faced *limited family financial resources* that affected their access to diverse practices in their free time. For that reasons, parents who wanted to provide the activities for their children relied on cheaper services offered in local socio-educational institutions. Adolescents and their families are very careful with their expenses since, for example, some live in large families, in certain families mothers do not work, in others one of the parents has a low paid job. Adolescents, for their current regular collective practice pay a lower price:

> Mohamed*: For our group?*
>
> Sonja*: Yes*
>
> Mohamed*: It was 3 euros the year*
>
> Leila*: It's 3 euros membership. A membership for a year!*
>
> Mohamed*: Yes, 3 euros a year. And for the outings, we did once or twice a year and it was 10 euros maximum!*
>
> Leila*: Well, for the big outings ...*
>
> [...]
>
> Leila*: No!!! Great outings, like, a week or so ...*
>
> Mohamed*: Ah, traveling?! It is a little more expensive, but it is reasonable!*
>
> Leila*: Yes, it's reasonable*
>
> Mohamed*: What is reasonable at our level, it may seem really cheap for other people, you see!*

Second, *limited access to various cultural services* and adolescents' individual and collective search for cultural and consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood are caused by the

[178] These adolescents left the microculture and were replaced by new members.

spatial context they live in. This is dominantly due to a limited variety of services in the remote neighbourhoods (Chapter 6). Also, parents limited knowledge about these and services outside the neighbourhood cause adolescents' limited access and limited variety of both consumption and cultural experiences. This is usually due to parents' different cultural background or lower education of certain parents who cannot provide information and cultural codes outside the neighbourhood to their children[179]. Therefore, from a very early age these young people (and their parents) have relied on the social centre to access the services usually outside the neighbourhood where they would not even go with their families otherwise (e.g. visiting different heritage sights, going to the seaside, mountains, lakes).

Third, what these groups of young informants complain the most about is the *lack of life opportunities* for the local young population. Many of them were in the middle of finishing high school to start university studies or college. In this phase of their lives, despite this life success through higher education, these adolescents underline the need for information about trainings, part-time jobs, and other life opportunities. For that they relied much on their friendly relations with youth coordinators from the social centre to inform them about different opportunities (Chapter 6)[180]. Also, they desire to have more diversified cultural, not necessarily consumption, and opportunities in order to navigate other social spaces, situations and places/institutions other then they have in their constraining social space.

Finally, these consumption restrictions are intensified by a widespread adolescents' *passivity* in the neighbourhood and a lack of their participation in and active use of offered services in local socio-educational institutions. This youth passivity that, as in the peripheral neighbourhood, means "a way towards social isolation in the neighbourhoods", imposed indirectly on our informants to participate in collective cultural practices within local institutions. This has been a way out from the void and boredom in these neighbourhoods:

> Mohamed*: And especially uh ... It's important, it's very, very important to go, uh ... take initiatives and ...* [...] *to go to the social centres, because ... boredom, it brings nothing good. Because. We, for example, we live in a neighbourhood, that's ... Young people at the time, we were more likely to do silly things ... and the social centre, it prevents these kinds of things; it keeps us busy actually and ... it makes us feel ... we're useful*

[179] This is mainly due to their different social norms, and different cultural and consumption practices that stem from their different cultural background, and that cause parents' impossibility to provide adolescents' access to, for example, cultural institutions such as museums, galleries, theatres, to encourage certain cultural practices (classical dance, theatre classes, playing an instrument, horse riding, and many others), or to travel and have long holidays except in their country of origin. Different reduced prices exist, but parents either do not know or this policy action cover just a part of adolescents' needs.

[180] More about this in the next chapter.

actually! If ... we do not feel useful and we do not feel valued, yeah, that brings nothing good. So, we have to take the initiative to go to the social centres, to enrol and... to participate in activities

Sonja*: When you said "boredom", do you think there are a lot of bored kids?*

Mohamed*: Of course! It's, it's, it's something, huh. [...] the youth, they are bored the most in the neighbourhoods! It's ... unfortunately because ...*

Sonja*: Do you have an idea why?*

Mohamed*: ... because* […] *we do not bring enough ... How to say? It's not the same as in other regions, for example. Because there is less to bring them simply*. [...] *and there are fewer things for them to discover.*

Consequently, this group of adolescents, with changes in members' structure over time, collectively accumulated their experiences through the social centre's support – i.e. alternatively they behave as consumers in their free time within the limits of institutional capacity.

Origin of the collective cultural practices. The structure of members of this microculture has changed over time manifesting its great instability. Members are mostly friends from the neighbourhood or schoolmates who have already participated in diverse social centre's activities from their very early age. However, youth microculture was initially created within the last year of secondary school during writing workshops. They aimed to continue their collective practices, so when they started high school, they needed to find another hosting institution:

> "*I was not really there at first ...well, but if like … there are some of our friends ... In the* [last year of secondary school] *they wanted to create a newspaper for high school kind … uh, for college, sorry. And, kind of … well, we wanted to do like on TV, like, we have our small room, we make our ... new small newspapers and all that, but, well after that, what. We had ... there were no people for us ... to supervise ... So, they looked with the* [social] *centre. There was a project, uh, quickly made similar, and we started with the centre. At first, we were still at the college. We had our room ... After we dropped the college. We came ... here. Well; there were plenty of people! It was not just us, but basically ..."* (Inès, 17 years)

For over four years of microculture's existence the structure has changed, but the two most motivated persons have stayed. Through contacts with the social centre and word-of-mouth other adolescents have joined the microculture.

Collective knowledge and experiences and institutional support. Collective cultural practices, undertaken within youth microculture for years, has allowed adolescents to develop their creative knowledge to creatively resist consumption restrictions and to collectively broader their social relations, sources of information and cultural experiences outside the neighbourhood.

Collective/shared knowledge. The knowledge that members of the youth microculture have developed and shared among them during their regular and occasional/temporary activities has had *playful, creative* and *developmental character*. On the weekly basis (*regularly*), adolescents have had (once per week) meetings in the social centre with coordinators during which they have been writing, discussing topics to write or finish articles, etc. Often, they wrote articles at home and brought them to coordinators to correct, adapt, and structure their texts.

The content of adolescent articles needed to respect the values and goals of the social centre, a microculture's hosting institution. Accordingly, within these institutional rules adolescents have expressed their personal interests or experiences through written articles.

Over time adolescents project has evolved: from paper to online version and from focus on exclusively adolescent audience to a larger audience. In order to spread broadly their articles, the adolescents have created an online journal covering various topics based on personal or collective experiences or in relation to the issues of importance for their neighbourhoods. For those purposes, they have worked with a journalist on acquiring basics of organizing websites and writing articles. Also, to enrich the content of their articles the adolescents have learned how to realize short interviews with professionals or artists. For example, they have learned the basics of radio broadcasting and experienced it directly during a cultural event.

As much as their collectively developed and shared knowledge about creative expressions through journal-like articles has creative character, their wider group knowledge has had developmental character. That is, they have learned collectively through friendly and in family-like context, to express themselves in writing and orally (e.g. improvisational theatre sessions have helped them work on the individual expression), to exchange with people from other cultural and social environments (e.g. travel to Spain), to collaborate and learn from professionals (e.g. journalists from local radio station), to finance their cultural practices, and gained many other skills[181]. These collective resources have been developed through collective experiences in and outside the neighbourhood.

Shared experiences (events, situations and places): Shared experiences through collective practices in and outside the neighbourhood are diverse. Regularly, weekly, adolescents have found an *inspiration* for their articles just by coming to the social centre and exchanging with friends, youth coordinators, and other people visiting it. This is the place, as many members described it, their 'second home' to which they got used to enormously. Maintaining and

[181] More about this in the next chapter.

enriching social relations is very important for these adolescents. Within protecting social relations and collective practices in the social centre, adolescents have found a space of individual and collective creativity:

> Leila*: Well, in fact, yes, basically, because it's the [social] centre precisely [...] it's where there are plenty of people who come to drop off their children, and that's really a communication centre, let's say! So, it helps us* [...] *there are plenty of people who help us too ... to "nurture" us for the articles, that's it.*
>
> Mohamed*: Yes, of course it influences! In the social centre, we are always in a good mood because there is an atmosphere, etc., and people laugh! There are smiles, there is a good atmosphere! We are with people we know; everything is fine!*

Also, members of the microculture participated in the improvisational theatre sessions, organized within the social centre for their and another youth microculture at a time. Once a week, they collectively worked on their self-confidence by undertaking a different role, improvised during theatre workshops at the social centre.

Temporary practices are related to collective cultural experiences and social contacts in different social environments. Through our fieldwork practice we recognized a small part of rich cultural experiences this group had outside the neighbourhood. A year before we met the group, they have travelled together with their youth coordinators in Spain within the youth Erasmus project:

> *"We went to Spain to Granada…for a week and exchanged with the structures of ...* [...] *Well, it could have been, uh ... a simple person in the street, or in the restaurant. At the hostel we exchanged sometimes. We are on ... There was a social centre. We visited a social centre there.* [...] *That's it, exactly. So, we went to visit them. We had ... they explained their device, uh ... Erasmus Plus ... We exchanged with some young people, we had fun and uh ... we interviewed people in the street, we made a street interview. Uh, we asked them questions about youth, what future perspective we could take and uh ... yeah, and things that are mostly related to youth." (Mohamed, 17 years)*

This stay in Spain was very enriching for the adolescents since some of them have never been abroad. Surrounded by friends and youth coordinators they know very well they had new, totally different social and cultural experiences (e.g. meeting other people, visiting different places, and interviewing people). Further, there are other collective practices that serve more closely to experience different aspects of journalism. For example, to expand adolescents' knowledge and skills in journalism, the social centre has organized a three-day radio broadcast workshop and found the urban culture event to be broadcasted by adolescents. For that occasion, journalists from the local radio station trained adolescents for radio broadcasting during three-

day workshops at the social centre. During the event in the nearby municipality, adolescents could interview local artists, but also visit a nearby radio station.

In comparison to the local young population from the remote neighbourhood that does not get involved with the local socio-educational institution, these adolescents that have been related to the social centre for a longer period of time and in collective creative practices, have succeeded in having very rich consumption and cultural experiences:

> *"... we did things that everyone doesn't have opportunity to do! We meet people, we participate in showing-and-debates, we meet people who have lived things, we interview them, they tell us about their experiences, we transcribe it in an article, etc."* (Mohamed, 17 years)

Constraints within the youth microcultures. As many other youth microcultures, this has also faced different constraints that affected adolescents' collective agency. However, similar to other youth microcultures related to a local institution (e.g. female solidarity group), these young consumers did not have direct problems in finding place for the activities, financing their travel and other expenses, or searching for information for their collective practice – i.e. social centre helped them according to its financial and organisational limits (e.g. limited budget; limited spatial capacity). Accordingly, there is insufficient number of members in the microculture due to the limited capacity of the social centre:

> *"... we are little, we are few! So, to be productive in articles etc. we have to be several, but [*youth coordinators] *we ... we have ... "a quota", you see? We must not recruit more than eight people! That's the rule and that's it! So, it's a little up there that it's a little complicated. I wish that one day there is an editorial board, you see, … there are many people who are there to take care of the site. That would be nice, but for the moment we are here, suddenly there. But it will progress, I hope, little by little."* (Mohamed, 17 years)

At the same time, youth microculture has experiences internal constraints – i.e. a saturation of certain members who have started being less interested in merely writing articles due to the stagnation of the project activities, and they have left the group:

> Sofia*: No, because there are times when… there were phases when...*
>
> Inès*: It was too boring!*
>
> Sofia*: ... we didn't have productivity, you know.*
>
> Inès*: Yeah, that's it.*
>
> Sofia*: In fact, there were ... no more actions. We didn't go out too much. There were only {writing] articles left, and it was, and it became ...*
>
> Inès*: ... actually boring!*
>
> [...]

Sofia*: With the centre, we used to make a lot of stuff, well, since very young we have had all the time actions, we have gone out, ...*

Inès*: Yeah, that's it!*

Sofia*: We have had outings and everything, and there, suddenly, as we didn't do anything, and well, it had become boring in fact.*

Inès*: It was too monotonous.*

New members have joined the microculture but, due to important adolescents' fluctuations, collective practices have faced important ups and downs which impacted the expected outcomes of their practices – i.e. long-lasting youth microculture with editorial board and online youth newspaper covering diverse topics. Also, despite the great support of youth coordinator, microculture lacked a professional (journalist) support in order to have their online newspaper:

Mohamed*: …there is only one article, because ... in fact, there was a big breakdown in the project. We did not make the trip.*

Sonja*: That's what you should have done?*

Mohamed*: what we should have done, in fact, and it stagnated, for a long time…After, we decided to take it in our hands. We talked to [youth coordinators]. We had a little meeting. Then there is a journalist, a real journalist who has come* [...] *to whom we thank more than anything in the world, because he has taken us well in hand. We review the site, its architecture a little bit, we cleaned it up, and it became something much more serious at once. So, he sends us a schedule! We must write articles. There is a delay. And that has already given us a first sense of responsibility, here, hold the deadlines! We are responsible, that's what we do. And, suddenly, he supported us well, and since then, well, it has gone well! We write articles regularly, when we see each other, and that's it.*

In sum, collective cultural practices within this microculture are beneficial for its members. Adolescents collectively resist to limited access to cultural services and cultural and consumption experiences by being engaged in creative practice – writing. This is one way to reach locally available services and through social relations within local institutions work collectively to broaden their social contacts, and to reach certain life opportunities, yet short-term. Also, creative resistance is caused by adolescents' desire to avoid passivity in free time and to follow life trajectories of many local adolescents. Adolescents reliance on social centre to access services and life opportunities demonstrate that local socio-educational institutions, despite their limits, have a crucial role in young consumers' lives. These are a part of coping strategies adolescents apply by undertaking collective cultural practices.

Three youth microcultures and related collective strategies are embedded in adolescents, creative resistance to multiple consumption restrictions they have. Reaching access to services is in the core of all strategies due to limited variety of services in both neighbourhoods (Chapter

6) and limited financial resources of adolescents' families and their limited information, especially on cultural services. In such contexts all adolescents rely on local socio-educational institutions that support their collective creative practices within youth microcultures. Youth microcultures are affected differently by additional spatial constraints and other consumption restrictions. Cultural practices in general, and participation of adolescent girls in collective practices of female hip-hop group are restricted by tradition and social norms their families respect. Members of male hip-hop group have struggled with negative spatial influence of drug consumption and an attempt to reach some life opportunities through collective practices. Finally, adolescents within young journalists group attempted to expand their cultural experiences and social contacts for life opportunities. All collective cultural practices are a reflection of material scarcity and other constraining influences from urban policy neighbourhoods that impose young consumers' collective agency in and beyond these suburban spaces (Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) – i.e. collectively they reach consumption alternatives and through cultural practices in free time search for broader life opportunities.

Subsection 3: Collective creative resistance to local youth social isolation and spatial stigma

During discussions with our informants, we recognized that some youth microcultures have been more, directly concerned with the passivity and illicit behaviour of the local adolescents in both neighbourhoods, and spatial stigma of these adolescents. Adolescents are aware that they cannot change delinquency directly but may challenge youth passivity and social isolation caused by multiple consumption restrictions, among other structural and spatial constraining factors. Being labelled as *jeunes des cités*, usually seen as passive or delinquent, certain adolescents attempt collectively to act against this spatial stigma towards their neighbourhoods and to demonstrate their creativity and capacity to act.

In such contexts, some of our informants opt for sharing their collective and individual, specific, or general cultural knowledge with other local adolescents to empower them. Guided by the values of solidarity (ethos 3) these informants are focused on helping others reach some life opportunities through alternative access to experiences, knowledge, skills, and information. Accordingly, through their collective cultural practices of sharing, adolescents attempt to inspire others for more agency, more creative practices and to be engaged more in the local

institutions. These youth microcultures have been guided by the idea of participation in the local institutions (ethos 2) and solidarity and sharing (ethos 3).

Two aspects are important to underline here. First, there have been older adolescents or young adults as active members of these youth microcultures, involved in different local projects organized by socio-educational institutions and local town halls. They do so since they faced, in their childhoods and early adolescence, the problem of youth passivity and spatial stigma. Second, to share their experiences, knowledge, and information with other peers from the neighbourhoods, these adolescents rely on the support of local institutions or the town hall (an advisory role and material support for youth microcultures' practices).

Two youth microcultures belong to this group of collective coping strategies: **youth empowerment and solidarity association** (remote neighbourhood) and **male hip-hop group** (peripheral neighbourhood). The outcomes of these microcultures collective agencies are youth-oriented. These two youth microcultures differ between them in many elements, but especially in their goals, content of activities and outcomes.

Sharing collective knowledge to challenge spatial stigma and inequalities

Youth empowerment and solidarity association (Table 22, page 254; Appendix 6, page 459) is different than other youth microculture because members' collective practices are initiated and organized by them. The members of the association are guided by the values of solidarity – i.e. to help people in need and local young population. The members of the association are numerous, and their number and structure fluctuate during a year (Appendix 6, page 459). These young people like to be proactive and "get things move" as they say instead of waiting for the opportunities to come.

Spatial constraints and social space atmosphere. The constant members of the association and its volunteers are young people either motivated to help those in need or those who are locally involved in different institutional projects in the remote neighbourhood. Two spatial constraints have affected a founder of the association. First, adolescents from the remote neighbourhood have a low level of education or no interest in broader/general culture. This limits their individual or collective agencies in the social space.

> *"... There are some young people ... who have a certain culture, others who have ... a total lack of interest in culture. Besides, that's why, for example, with our* [Association] *we wanted to popularize culture."* (Mehdi, 20 years)

Mehdi recognizes decreasing interest in reading among children and adolescents, and generally low level of education. To this problem certain members of association add local cultural institutions' offer and communication not adapted to local young population (e.g. choice of proposed theatre plays; communication channels that local adolescents do not use). Combining these problems members of the association understand barriers for adolescents' use of cultural services in cultural institutions.

As much as local young population lacks interest in culture, the local socio-educational institutions would need much deeply developed educational projects towards children and adolescents.

Second, these adolescents, due to their higher education and personal experiences outside the remote neighbourhood, have become concerned with spatial stigma of the populations from the neighbourhoods. Being concerned with this structural factor (Chapter 6) that affects adolescents' cultural practices and life opportunities, members of the association attempt to contribute to local adolescents and provide some changes in their social space.

Origin of the collective cultural practices. The association at the individual initiative of a brilliant young men from the remote neighbourhood who has been interested in reading, history and the constant improvement of his knowledge. His life in the neighbourhood and professional experiences as youth coordinator in certain social centres (in and outside the neighbourhood) motivated him to become locally involved and to try to improve the situation for local population. The problem of education of children and preteens in the neighbourhood preoccupied the founder of the association leading him towards an idea to work with them and to improve the local situation. Yet, collaborating with adolescents aged 11 to 14 was very challenging for the members of the association:

> *".... we said "Ok, well, it's hard to work with young people, so we will work with young students, young people from fifteen to ... fifteen to thirty years! And then we will do activities with them. At the same time, we wanted to change the image of young people ... coming from neighbourhoods."* (Mehdi, 20 years)

As some other adolescent boys from the neighbourhood, he has been personally concerned with the issue of discrimination and stigmatization of the inhabitants. This is coupled with the negative image of the space and passive and delinquent youth, that motivated him to demonstrate the capabilities of youth from the urban policy neighbourhoods:

> "*... that's it. In fact... just on this image ... show that neighbourhood youth is able to do things ... that are out of the ordinary. You see, see things, activities. For example, when we saw people in the street feeding the homeless, those young people, these young people, are young people from a neighbourhood. And in*

fact, when […] *I was quite satisfied, I achieved some goals when I have young people from neighbourhoods in fact Mont d'Or, young people from the little bourgeoisie, there are some who came to my association, at that moment I realized that in fact we managed a little ..."* (Mehdi, 20 years)

Thus, the first association he created has started with the collection and distribution of food to the homeless. To make association live and evolve towards new more educative activities in the neighbourhood, the association founder has succeeded in convincing his friends, from (and outside) the neighbourhood, to participate in the collective practices. The main leading members are also excellent students, of whom one has different relation in the neighbourhood and beyond, who altogether made the association be active constantly during a year.

Collective knowledge and experiences and institutional support. In contrast to other youth microcultures, mainly comprising younger members (between 15 and 17 years old) who have tried to develop special collective knowledge to access services or life opportunities, these older adolescents have already experienced such restrictions and constraints. Now as students and having at least part-time jobs they have much individual resources to face the spatial constraints or personal economic or other restrictions they have, they have much diverse individual resources. Also, many of them have had access to institutional culture (e.g. city centre theatre, Lyon opera house) thanks to diverse social relations they have developed.

Collective/shared knowledge: Majority of association members are students or young people who have already had some work experiences outside the neighbourhood. For the purpose of the association activities, members have shared their individual knowledge and experiences with other members. More specifically, for the purpose of the *food collection and distribution* to the homeless they have worked collectively and, thus, developed collectively these organizational skills. That is, during more than two years so far, these young people have gained experience in recognizing needed provisions and collecting them from storekeepers in Lyon, in collecting money for people in need, in communicating online about the activities with many volunteers, etc. When it comes to sharing general knowledge to local youth population, the members have shared either their personal knowledge on certain topics (culture, history, etc.) or have tried to have specific speakers on chosen topics that are of interest and for the benefits of youth general culture and broader knowledge (e.g. certain book or topics from culture, issue of racism and discrimination). Due to the lack of local youth interest in culture and unequal

access to cultural knowledge for the youth from the neighbourhood[182], the leading member opted for "peer-to-peer" education:

> *"… we wanted to popularize culture …. to make culture accessible to everyone, in fact. To give taste to reading, give taste to ... the cinema, theatre and ... to the kitchen*!" (Mehdi, 20 years)

Youth microculture's shared and collectively developed knowledge has cr*eative* and *organizational character*. Creative character is expressed through their initiative to organize literary cafés to spread or popularize culture through presentation and debates on general culture topics and book presentations.

Collective/shared experiences (events, situations and places). Association has organized on *monthly* basis food distribution to the homeless. These are the situations when main members and volunteers of this activity have got together regularly in the city of Lyon, near the main railway station to provide food for the homeless people in the city. This collective agency is inspired by the values of solidarity towards the people who suffer in the society and adolescents' will to be helpful to them. Thus, they undertake the activity they personally like to participate in, in relation to their daily lives. There have been enough volunteers for the activity so far. Finally, through this activity adolescents try to challenge the negative image of youth from the urban policy neighbourhoods as passive individuals.

Food collection and distribution has been the main activity for the association. After the first year of its existence the leading members have organized the first literary-cafés in the rooms of the social centre of the remote neighbourhood (a presentation of certain topic, by a member or external speaker or a professional on the chosen issue). Through their social contacts members have tried to find the external speakers/professionals on the issue. Here, the social centre appears as a material support (providing places for the activity) to the association but provide them with some other opportunities (e.g. participation in local cultural event; different information and social contacts). For example, it has participated in the local yearly event on the issue of equality and discrimination organized by the social centre. Additionally, the association has aimed at organizing culinary workshops for the young peers in order to share the good habits of eating and preparing food (one of the rising problems among the young people is rising obesity).

[182] Our exchanges with several members reveal that the local young population from the neighbourhood suffers from an unequal access to good education. Despite numerous government's measures the quality of education in local primary and secondary schools in the neighbourhood is far behind other schools outside urban policy neighbourhoods.

Through these activities in their social spaces, leading members aim at establishing some kind of alternative sharing of knowledge and information with the purpose to empower more broadly local youth by helping them develop interest in broader cultural topics, in reading, in cooking, or other practices. Relying on their familiarity with local social norms, the members of the microculture have tried to empower the young population in an unconventional and informal way and inspire them to be active in search of consumption and life opportunities.

Constraints within the youth microculture. As many other youth microcultures, the members of this one have faced diverse constraints. First, for the organization of their activities with local adolescents they need more *financial resources*. To find financing for their collective practices is very challenging since they wanted to be more independent (not to depend on local political parties and their influences) and to make some changes in the social space.

Second, even more challenging for the members has been younger adolescent population appearing difficult to collaborate with. Yet, this is the population of association interest to be targeted. Due to the difficulties the association needed to reorient their targeted audience and the way to influence young population. That is, instead of direct sharing of information, they would need to organize more friendly activities and through these to influence them towards diverse topics and cultural practices.

In sum, members of this microculture have not been searching for the access to services and life opportunities through collective agency as other youth microcultures have tended to do. However, they are similar to all creativity-oriented youth microcultures in undertaking the activity that has mattered a lot to the members (Table 22, page 254; Appendix 6, page 459) and in following their collective values of solidarity and sharing. Collective practices in the neighbourhood aim to bring some changes in adolescents' interest in culture and thus to become more motivated to initiate projects and not to wait for the local, usually very limited support. Their practices outside the neighbourhoods are both guided by adolescents' need to help others and their desire to demonstrate that *jeunes des cités* are capable of being creative.

Sharing collective knowledge among local young consumers to alleviate their social isolation

Male hip-hop dancers from the peripheral neighbourhood, through their collective activities, have also tried to challenge local youth problem (social isolation) in a different way. First, they have challenged the constraints collectively for the benefits of each member's personal development and his reach of life opportunities. This is what portrays youth microculture as

members' collective coping strategy with the outcomes oriented towards members individually and collectively. Second, as very young, boys they saw the easiness in sliding into illicit behaviour and the state of "no-life focus" so that they have found their collective way to cope with this social space issue.

> *"It's when I give classes with my association in fact* [...] *It's the children of the neighbourhood ... to whom I give classes. So, if I give them lessons, it allows them to what, it's ... not to stay in the neighbourhood and do silly things. That's my basic goal.*
>
> [...]
>
> *… Honestly, it's ... the neighbourhood ... I, I, I never used to stay in the neighbourhood. Holding the walls and ... It's not necessarily bad but ... I think .... I want to give them an ambition… to children. I want to say "there's a purpose, there's things to do instead, instead of staying in the neighbourhood doing nothing."* (Kofi, 19 years)

Also, undertaking cultural practice (hip-hop dance) in the local public space has exposed the adolescent boys to the issue of drug use (i.e. among their friends and acquaintances from the neighbourhood). Thus, following their passion for and creative personal expression through dance, collectively they have succeeded in controlling these temptations from the social space.

The problem of young population undertaking illicit practices and/or spending free time in the public space passively "waiting for time to pass" and "holding the walls" from both urban policy neighbourhoods has been related to the various factors sometimes multiplied: early school leavers, families confronted to financial problems, incapacities of parents to follow thoroughly youth education, etc. Also, despite various socio-educational institutions' activities in the neighbourhood, children and adolescents need to be motivated for the activities and to be taken to come to these institutions. To have different cultural experiences and access cultural institutions near their neighbourhood may be difficult for the adolescents not necessarily because of the lack of financial resources, but because of the lack of intermediary persons (e.g. family) or not having accurate information. This is usually compensated by school artistic projects and an intermediary role of socio-educational institutions. Yet, many young people do not even access these cultural services.

In such situations, young male dancers, especially older peers, have aimed at sharing their collective knowledge (hip-hop dance skills) and fostering identity of spatial practice of hip-hop in the neighbourhood in order to continue the spatial youth artistic competences alive.

> *"Well ... now it's a little me who does ... I do not want to be ... we are ... We represent the oldest now, because ... those who were older before we go, it's us, it's it's up to us to take up the torch and ... train the little ones, then give them the torch so that they can train the little ones so that ...We are all a family in fact!*

and ... you have to pass the inheritance, you have to pass your hand each time. And ... that's what I'm doing with [Youcef] *and* [Karim] *and* [Fares]." (Kofi, 19 years)

In that spirit Kofi underlines that their local hip-hop scene has the advantage that there is only the aspect of consumption as in choreography centres. Here there is a solidarity and friendship that unite them helping them to keep the activity important for the neighbourhood's youth.

Through hip-hop dance trainings adolescents aim to help others, usually not having financial resources or not having the right information where and how to participate in the activity, to have more meaningful free time and to broaden their already gained dance skills. For example, there is a financial accessibility of the activities through their local hip-hop association (youth microcultures is its part): a membership fee is 15 euros a year (Kofi's words cited above); or local youth has access to learning from different dancers that come to association (words of female hip-hop group on this advantage). Members of male youth microcultures are focused on transmission/sharing of knowledge but due to their different level of experience are not equally engaged in it:

Youcef*:* [Kofi] *he thinks of that.*

Karim: *Yes, sharing, the idea of sharing.*

Youcef: *Well, after some time, when you know that you've proven yourself and that you know that ... well, he can always go far, but he knows that he wants to do it.*

[...]

Youcef: *We dance for the performance, but once we've done enough, we share.*

These microcultures collective knowledge and experiences are intertwined with the support of local institutions and of local town hall that provided them a place to dance (school sports hall), although not constantly available.

More broadly, passionate dancers from male hip-hop microcultures and other dancers from the local hip-hop association through their sports hall as a space of meetings have aimed to nurture this place through sharing knowledge and thus empowering other young peers to avoid sliding into illicit behaviour, to have alternative access to experiences (meeting different artists) and to have a possibility where to creatively express themselves and create new dance companies or projects.

In sum, this male hip-hop group strategy is additional collective coping strategy that portrays collective agency of the youth microculture's members not only for their individual benefits but for other peers from the peripheral neighbourhood. Thus, these adolescent boys have been much concerned with the widespread youth passivity in the peripheral neighbourhood that has been caused by early school drop-out, limited access to diverse cultural practices or no

information about these, lack of life focus, and other factors. Sharing their collective knowledge with others from the social space, they attempt to help them: (1) by teaching hip-hop dance (twice a week) in the sports hall to enable them alternative access to this cultural practice of lower prices, and (2) by sharing collective experiences of dance to initiate their individual and collective agency, creativity, for searching for life opportunities.

Finally, in this group of collective strategies, adolescents, guided by their previous experiences of constraints and consumption restrictions in relation to their social spaces – deprived neighbourhoods, attempt to bring some positive changes towards their desired improved life and consumption opportunities for local adolescents. Sharing their knowledge, specific (male hip-hop dances) or general (youth association members) try to provide alternative access to services and/or knowledge and information. These collective coping strategies' outcomes should be designated to local young population. Young dancers from the peripheral neighbourhood have shown, until present, more success in this than youth association from the remote neighbourhood[183].

We conclude on these coping strategies through the following paragraphs. Constraining spatial dynamics in both neighbourhoods combined with protecting dynamics of local socio-educational institutions support to youth collective cultural practices indicate certain similarities among youth microcultures. Youth microcultures as collective coping strategies demonstrate adolescents' efforts to actively challenge spatial constraints and their consumption restrictions through collective, creative cultural practices. Not each group of adolescents is concerned by the same constraints, and not with the same intensity and priority. They experience spatial vulnerability since cultural services proposed in urban policy neighbourhoods are limited, many adolescents lack information on these and the lack of life opportunities. They are directly dependent on socio-educational institutions support.

Spatial perspective of constraints (of urban policy neighbourhoods) and collective perspective of coping strategies (youth microculture) have brought up the importance of *interplay* of youth microculture's collective resources-control (collective knowledge and experiences) and local institutional support to youth collective cultural practices encouraging their transformative character – i.e. collective agency against spatial vulnerability that limit their consumption and life opportunities. Each youth microculture developed different collective knowledge that strengthens adolescents' individual resources and has diverse cultural experiences that help them control limited access to services. Each youth microculture (their collective knowledge

[183] More about this in the next chapter.

and experiences) is dependent on the institutional support and offered services (structural control) (Hill and Sharma 2020). That is, to enable adolescents to collectively challenge constraints, local institutions provide support: *financial* (e.g. access to cultural and other service in and outside the neighbourhoods), *material* (e.g. provided place and/or equipment for the activity), *organizational* (e.g. proposed content, frequency and the way activities are organized, the way to find additional sources of financing), *informational* (e.g. provided information for diverse cultural events, local jobs, trainings, financing opportunities) and *relational/social* (e.g. enabling diverse social contacts in relation to youth cultural practice and usually in or nearby the neighbourhoods). Deeper transformational influence of youth microcultures is among those based on creative-oriented activities (female and male hip-hop groups, youth journalism projects) due to their diverse cultural experiences and social contacts in and outside the neighbourhoods, focus on creative practices (consumption and production) and, for some, intensive search for life opportunities. Youth microcultures with solidarity-oriented activities have less effective collective control due to (1) dominant practices in social space and limited cultural experiences outside the neighbourhood (female solidarity group), and (2) local adolescents have been difficult to work with in order to enable peer-to-peer education or informal youth empowerment (youth empowerment and solidarity association).

In dealing with spatial vulnerability adolescents collectively try to develop collective knowledge that combined with their collective experiences may help them control diverse constraints and consumption restrictions with reliance on local institutional support (Figure 12, page 310). Collective controls through diverse cultural and consumption experiences, access to information and expanded social relations through collective cultural practices vary among microcultures. Some youth microcultures have succeeded to control spatial constraints and consumption restriction than others more successfully. More success has shown creativity-oriented youth microcultures that have lasted for quite a long time (minimum four years).

Figure 12: Collective resources-control and institutional support in youth collective coping strategies

Long-lasting microcultures	Collective resources | collective control		Institutional support	Microculture's outcomes to challenge spatial constraints
Creativity-oriented (interest in/passion to cultural practice): (1) *Female hip-hop group*	Creative, developmental, partly organisational	Regular activities; access to services and cultural experiences inside or near the neighbourhood; access to diverse information; developed social relations (mainly in the social space)	Strong dependence; Material, financial, partly relational and organisational	Creative expression; access to cultural services; challenge of social norms;
		Moderate collective control (dominant focus on social space)		
(2) *Male hip-hop group*	Creative, developmental, organisational	Regular activities; access to services and cultural experiences outside the neighbourhood; access to diverse information; developed social relations in and beyond the neighbourhood; reaching certain life opportunities	Decreasing dependence; Material, financial, partly relational	Creative expression; access to cultural services and information; avoided negative impact of local youth passivity; life opportunities
		High collective control (developed social relations beyond the neighbourhood)		
(3) *Youth journalism project*	Creative, developmental, partly organisational	Regular activities; access to services and cultural experience outside the neighbourhood; access to diverse information; developed social relations (mainly in the social space)	Dependence; Material, financial, organisational, informational, partly relational	Creative expression; access to cultural services and consumption/cultural experiences inside/outside neighbourhood; enriched social relations
		Moderate collective control (instability of activities and members' structure)		
Recent or young microcultures				
Solidarity-oriented (interest in theme): (1) *Female solidarity project*	Playful, partly organisational	Temporary activities; social space related; limited social relations beyond the neighbourhood	Total dependence; Material, financial, organisational, informational	Avoided passivity in social space; access to services inside and consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood
		Limited collective control (dominant focus on social space; dependence on institution)		
(2) *Youth empowerment and solidarity association*	Creative, organisational	Regular activities; in/outside the neighbourhood; development of social contacts (in the process)	Ad-hoc; Material and partly relational	Challenged negative image of *jeunes des cités*; shared knowledge within microculture
		Limited collective control (local adolescents difficult for collaboration)		

Conclusion of the chapter

Youth microcultures are interpreted in this chapter as collective coping strategies of adolescents living in deprived neighbourhoods aiming to challenge spatial vulnerability (Chapter 6). Indeed, they can only exist and be understood through spatial perspective. From this perspective multiple consumption restrictions are factors that condition these adolescents' collective cultural practices. Constraining dynamics of deprived neighbourhoods (Chapter 6) affects leading utopian ethos (Figure 11, page 263) that guide adolescents' collective practices to challenge limited access to services and, for certain groups of adolescents, very limited life opportunities.

Microcultures' collective resources and control (Table 24 and Table 25, pages 268 and 269) – i.e. developed collective knowledge through cultural practices, accessed services, and diverse cultural and consumption experiences in and outside the neighbourhoods – help adolescents to challenge consumption restrictions (Hill and Sharma 2020) as caused by systemic and structural factors, and spatial constraints stemming from these. Such spatial vulnerability adolescents challenge collectively with the support of local socio-educational institutions and cultural services by these institutions. Depending on these institutions' offer and support – structural control (Hill and Sharma 2020) – adolescents collectively attempt to establish some control over experienced spatial vulnerability. The outcomes of these collective agencies are beneficial for many microcultures, yet very different (Figure 12, page 310).

Finally, to understand adolescents' collective cultural practices separately from the local institutions, as spaces of young consumers' empowerment, gives an incomplete view of these transformative practices for broader consumption and life opportunities our informants need. More on this institutional, emancipating perspective is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Emancipating spaces for youth transformative practices

"Spaces can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated and transformed though artistic and literary practice."

(Hooks 1989, 23)

As we illustrated in chapter 7, our informants, the members of youth microcultures, collectively try to control spatial vulnerability that limits their access to services, consumption, and life opportunities. Adolescents' collective cultural practices always, and to a certain extent, dependent on local institutions' support. Youth microcultures are embedded and exist thanks to the empowerment of local institutions as *emancipating spaces* (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). These are spaces of *alternative* consumption and cultural practices, and of adolescents' collective *creative resistance* to spatial vulnerability (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Hetherington 1997; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Here, their collective cultural practices reach transformative character – i.e. adolescents' collective agency towards greater consumption and certain life opportunities outside the neighbourhood is encouraged (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b).

The chapter is organized in two sections. In the *first section* we open with the portrayal of two emancipating spaces recognized in our research, and their roles in ensuring adolescents' alternative consumption and creative resistance to spatial vulnerability. As much as scarce materiality affects adolescents' lives and restricts their consumption, the lack of social relations and life opportunities are also problematic. Allowing enactment of adolescents' collective utopian ethos and enabling them an access to services outside the neighbourhoods, these spaces exist both as real and imagined providing alternatives and opportunities for local adolescents (Soja 1996).

The *second section* introduces the transformative character of youth collective cultural practices organized within emancipating spaces ensuring youth openness towards other social spaces and focus on changes in youth cultural practices by encouraging creative resistance demonstrated

through youth microcultures' creativity. The transformative character of youth microcultures within these emancipating spaces is both creativity and consumption-oriented and provides short or long-term outcomes for adolescents individually and collectively.

Section 1: Emancipating spaces: alternative consumption and creative resistance

A portrayal of youth microcultures we offered in the previous chapter introduces the importance of protecting-empowering dynamics of emancipating spaces – i.e. local socio-educational institutions (Figure 11, page 263). These institutions contrast limited adolescents' access to services outside the neighbourhoods and widespread youth passivity due to diverse consumption restrictions (Chapter 6) – i.e. they offer local adolescents an opportunity to creatively express themselves through collective practices, and to alternatively access cultural services (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). For our informants, these institutions encourage their collective cultural practices (i.e. youth microcultures)[184]. The empowering role of these spaces is characterized by

alternative organization of and access to youth cultural practices (alternative consumption), and (2) encouraged youth creative resistance to spatial constraints and consumption restrictions (creative expression). It is through these two perspectives that we acknowledge a transformative character of youth microcultures making them a part of these spaces.

Meaning of emancipating spaces. Our young informants recognize their collective cultural practices within local socio-educational institutions as a way of feeling accepted by other peers with whom they can share their passions, interests, and life difficulties, as well as youth coordinators with whom they share close, friendly and family-like relations. Local socio-educational institutions in both neighbourhoods, where we met our informants, represent *emancipating spaces* in terms of their ideological, financial, material, and social support to youth microcultures as strategies towards alternative consumption and life opportunities. Thus,

[184] We are aware that the socio-educational institutions provide a multiple support and access to diverse activities to young populations in urban policy neighbourhoods. In our research we focus only on broad cultural practices comprising youth solidarity activities, purely creative practices, or dominantly consumption practices of cultural services.

these are spaces of consumption alternatives and youth empowerment (creative resistance) (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997).

Our fieldwork practice indicates that **alternatives** enabled by these emancipating spaces may be understood from the outside (external perspective) and from the inside (neighbourhood perspective). The alternative character of these spaces is understood *from the outside* in contrast to mainstream cultural practices of middle-class or consumers from less socially homogenous urban spaces. These mainstream practices are: (1) manifested through consumers' payment of full prices for cultural services or consumption experiences (e.g. concerts, museum visits, activities in the Youth and culture centre, and other cultural institutions); (2) undertaken in specific and well-equipped cultural institutions (e.g. choreography centres; music schools); (3) oriented towards pure pleasure and fun; and (4) individualistic character as "pay, come, play/experience and go"[185]. From *neighbourhood perspective*, alternatives provide to young consumers within the emancipating spaces are discerned through their contrast to the social space of urban policy neighbourhoods - i.e. limited services, lack of life opportunities, youth passivity and delinquency, and youth focus on materialism.

We have recognized a *semi-alternative character of* emancipating spaces in our research. That is, local socio-educational institutions are not counter-structures (or parallel institutions) but represent a part of government grant-aided institutional system (1) for residents' access to cultural services at the reduced prices, and (2) as a multipurpose place for youth cultural practices. Alternative features of these spaces are encouraged by ideologies that foster alternative consumption which goes beyond material goods and includes individual and collective creative expression or production (creativity).

Institutional support facilitates adolescents' collective cultural practices (microcultures) reaching their **transformative character** through:

1) encouraged adolescents' *creative resistance* to spatial constraints and consumption restrictions; and
2) *alleviated* adolescents *limited cultural and consumption experiences* outside urban policy neighbourhoods and life opportunities.

During our fieldwork practice we have recognized **two emancipating spaces** or spaces of opportunities and empowerment for both general youth cultural practices and microcultures that we recognized in our research:

[185] This is a description given by our informants.

1 *Institution-centred emancipating space* created around a *social centre* and its youth projects and other related consumption practices relying on its institutional network which may vary in terms of youth projects or practices; and
2 *Culture practice-centred emancipating space* established around a spatially dominant cultural practice (*hip-hop dance*) that comprises a permanent network of different local and nearby cultural and socio-educational institutions.

These emancipating spaces as we portray them here present a framework and a support for youth microcultures which cannot exist independently[186]. We rely here on the main *protecting-empowering dynamics interplay* of these spaces (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). The youth collective cultural practices are presented here by*:* (1) *leading values* that affect youth cultural practices; (2) *materiality* of space and *institutional* network; and (3) *social relations* and *alternative financing* of youth practices. These elements are portrayed in the next subsection for each emancipating space, separately.

Subsection 1: Social centre as an emancipating space

Based on our observations and exchanges with adolescents in the *remote neighbourhood*, we recognize local *social centre* as an emancipating space for our informants in that enables their creative resistance to youth passivity and lack of access to services and experiences. Youth microcultures from this neighbourhood have found their support and ideological guidance within local social centre. The emancipating space is established around the social centre (i.e. offered services and diverse youth projects) and its project-specific network of institutions, facilities, or professionals. Our fieldwork practice reveals that adolescents' choice of social centre as a space of their empowerment (i.e. access to services, creativity against youth boredom and social isolation) is a consequence of the lack of access to different services in the neighbourhoods. First, adolescents (mostly aged between 11 and 14) hailing from the remote neighbourhood with limited variety of services rely on social centre to access services and have different consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood. Second, the older peers (aged between 15 and 18 or 18+) are generally less active in centre's activities[187]. So, only the most motivated individuals pursue alternatives to life (and consumption) opportunities through

[186] In this manner, local socio-educational institutions in our research are not presented through the analysis of institutional goals, their policies and program of youth activities.
[187] The same happens in the local network of youth multipurpose centres..

personal participation in local youth collective practices and perceive social centre as space of their individual and collective empowerment.[188]

Youth microcultures. Youth microcultures as a part of the social centre are: youth journalism project, female solidarity project, youth empowerment and solidarity association and newly created humanity project[189] (Table 21 and Table 22, pages 253 and 254). They are created around youth projects and hosted or organized by the social centre. Their relations to the centre are different and last over different periods of time:

- *Inclusive youth microcultures* are either long-lasting (youth journalism project) or recently created (humanity project group) groups of adolescents that make a part of social centre's youth projects;
- *Associated youth microculture* is a recent youth microculture whose activities are created and organized by the social centre, but the members of the group do not participate regularly in other activities organized by the centre (female solidarity project); and
- *Independent youth microculture* is represented by youth empowerment and solidarity association which has partial social and material support of the social centre.

Leading values. Our discussions with adolescents and coordinators have brought up specific values encouraged within the social centre: (1) solidarity and sharing, (2) personal development; (3) co-production (project co-creation), (4) friendly and family-like atmosphere; and (5) anti-delinquency education. These values are in harmony with those of youth microcultures (Table 23, page 257). Around these values social centre enables alternative consumption and creative resistance of adolescents from low-income families. Indeed, the lack of access to services and youth passivity are spatial constraints that social centre attempts to alleviate. Thus, it is a space of solidarity and sharing (i.e. shared knowledge, information, life struggles, and provided social support when needed); of encouraged adolescents' collective agency to deal with spatial vulnerability rather than be passive; and of fostered individual involvement, tenacity, the search for information and life opportunities.

[188] Education is another cornerstone of adolescents' empowerment and avoidance of social isolation in the neighbourhood. However, for their creative resistance and partly enabled consumptive practices, social centre has an important role.

[189] Beside these different youth microcultures (e.g. in terms of cultural practice, relation to social centre and duration over time), there are other groups, more or less ephemeral, that make the social centre a space that comprises diverse youth empowering projects and regular activities.

Influenced by such values within the social centre, **consumption** has an **alternative meaning** and role within collective cultural practices of our informants. All adolescents and coordinators admit that consumption is a part of youth cultural practices. However, they collectively attempt to challenge widespread passivity of adolescents in the neighbourhoods who did not use to participate in collective cultural activities (except for boys who play mostly football, basketball or some martial arts) and are interested in the consumption of material goods (famous sports and other brands). Many of them attempt to access counterfeiting products in order to follow local social norms. On the other hand, our informants manifested shared ideas and values of the social centre – i.e. to expand their culture consumption experiences (e.g. cinema and museum' visits) outside the neighbourhood, and to be creative by undertaking collective practices or projects (e.g. preparing children animation or writing journal articles). Thus, youth collective cultural practices within the social centre comprise a consumption (i.e. cultural experiences enabled by financial and organisational support of the centre) and a production (i.e. youth creative resistance through close collaboration with coordinators) manifesting a *combination o*f consumption, adolescents' interest in or passion for the activity, and the search for life opportunities.

Materiality of space and institutional network

Our informants in the remote neighbourhood, a space of limited variety of services and few cultural institutions, rely on services offered by locally available public institutions. The social centre is one of the socio-educational institution financed by the local government[190]. However, it has a limited spatial capacity (i.e. a limited number of children and adolescents to enrol per activity or project), and financial resources resulting in the use of its social centre place for regular (weekly) youth activities. We have not found similar youth-oriented private or parallel institution in the neighbourhood to compare their materiality and proposed cultural practices[191].

Multipurpose character of place

The social centre has a multipurpose permanent place, essential equipment for diverse youth activities, and less visible and symbolic signs of youth microcultures' activities. It has several rooms equipped with movable chairs and tables easily adaptable for the activities such as a

[190] Socio-educational institutions receive financial support from municipalities (town halls), department councils, and benefits office (*Caisse d'Allocations Familiales*). The latter finances most of the social centres' activities.

[191] Indeed, adolescents either use the places of public institutions or they spend time in a public space. Otherwise, they leave the neighbourhood for leisure activities whenever it is financially and organizationally possible.

small group discussion, theatre workshops, writing sessions or film showings. During our fieldwork the main room of the social centre has been the central point for regular youth microcultures' activities -i.e. to prepare the material and organize children's games (female solidarity project group); to write the article or have workshops of radio coverage and theatre (youth journalism project); to have projects' meetings (all microcultures) and to organize literary cafés on different cultural or social topics (youth association). It can be easily divided into two for different occasions, with the same equipment as other rooms of the centre and with no decoration or any signs of youth microcultures' activities. Also, there are diverse events in the remote neighbourhood organized by local or municipality stakeholders taking place every year in the month of March (e.g. presentation of associations, organized debates on the issues of discrimination and inequalities, and motion pictures) during a week in different local public institutions and places. During an intensive period of our fieldwork activities in March 2017, social centre's rooms have served to welcome the participants of this local anti-discrimination event.

Finally, this place serves different adolescents' groups at a time and is used for different activities (e.g. board games for those aged between 11 and 14; meetings and project organisations for those aged 17 and over). Social centre is not a counter-structure (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Hetherington 1997) nor a space dedicated to a specific practice (Kozinets 2002; Ozanne and Ozanne 2011) that could lead towards a specific symbolic expression and specific materiality of these spaces. Also, social centre is not a place where microcultures last long as our informants stated. The exception is youth journalism project group that had lasted for four years when we met the microculture's members for the first time and it continues operating with changed members' structure. Concerning the multipurpose and multiactivity character of the social centre and mainly ephemeral or short-termed character of its youth groups, this emancipating space lacks specific, symbolic expressions through place decoration and its organization for youth cultural practices.

Institutions and facilities: changing network

Adolescents' groups are diverse, and their projects evolve over time during a year which imposes on the social centre to establish different partnerships with the local or nearby cultural institutions, and other partners. During our intensive period of fieldwork activities, we have

successfully recognized some of many institutions with which social centre collaborated for the purpose of youth microcultures[192].

Certain institutions play an important role in collaboration with the social centre to facilitate adolescents' institutional integration and to alleviate their social isolation. For example, girls from female solidarity project group initiated their participation in the artistic project organized in the public space (wall paintings) by the *Centre for urban culture*[193] (situated outside the neighbourhood) in collaboration with the social centre. Girls joined the social centre with the intermediary role and support of *street educators*[194]. They have accompanied these girls during all their collective practices: children's games and short stays at the seaside with the social centre. At the beginning of girls' solidarity project, the other local, temporary partner was an *association for humanitarian aid training* that organized a competition of adolescents' solidarity projects, and helped adolescent girls in creating their solidarity project (games for children of homeless foreigners sheltered in a centre near the neighbourhood).

Regarding the youth journalism project group, the list of institutions and partners is much longer since the group is long-lasting and has had previously been organising different activities more or less directly related to their project. Several months before our fieldwork activities the social centre has started collaboration with an improvisational theatre company from Lyon whose artist and rap musician has been engaged to work with this and Humanity project group to co-develop their self-confidence. Also, social centre collaborated with an association (future local radio station) based in Lyon in order to expand their journalism knowledge and offered training within a radio workshops organized at the centre (Photo 23, page 320). Through the contacts with other socio-educational institutions in the agglomeration and beyond, coordinators from the social centre have found an event about urban culture (welcoming hip-hop dancers and rap musicians among others) in a nearby municipality organized within youth and culture centre. Here, adolescents have visited the studio of an independent radio from Lyon in the company of one of its journalists. Finally, for the purpose of improvement and development of group's

[192] Due to diversity of age groups, projects and parallel activities within social centre, it is difficult to list all the institutions and partners for youth microcultures. Despite this, we have recognized certain institutions, important for our informants' practices. Humanity project group as a new microculture that has been created a year before we started our fieldwork, is not taken here into consideration due to diverse changes in membership, evolution of their activities and changing institutional partnerships.

[193] This is one of cultural institutions that organizes all cultural activities and events in the neighbourhood and because of that collaborates with the local socio-educational institutions.

[194] Street educators have a very special role in the deprived neighbourhoods (remote and peripheral). They belong to the association where educators try to help adolescents 12 to 25 years old, more isolated in the social space. For that purpose, the educators are present in the social space either by meeting adolescent in the public space or by welcoming them in their local office for informal discussions. In relation to adolescents needs, among many activities, educators integrate adolescents in local projects, help them in organizing short excursions and holidays, integrating adolescents in other institutions and their activities.

website, social centre has enabled adolescents' close work in the centre with a journalist from an online independent journal from Lyon.

Photo 23: Radio workshop (a coverage of urban culture event in the nearby municipality of Lyon agglomeration)

As an independent youth structure, a role of the social centre has been evolving alongside youth empowerment and solidarity association. That is, social centre has provided a place for their literary-cafés and debates, but we have not grasped relations to other institutions' premises and activities enabled by the centre at the moment of our fieldwork activities.

Social relations and alternatives to finance the activities

The social centre is a space where our informants enrich their social relations through collective cultural practices or simply through conversations with others. Social relations that they develop herein are temporary or long lasting, within and/or beyond collective cultural practices.

Youth coordinators try to provide more social contacts to adolescents within the centre itself or when visiting other institutions. By listening adolescents' explanations, we have recognized their need for developing develop social contacts such as friendships, confidence and reliability on youth coordinators or to meet professionals or artists. Youth microcultures' seek diverse social contacts depending on spatial constraints they have been much concerned with (Chapter 7; Appendix 4 and Appendix 5, pages 458 and 459). Our fieldwork demonstrates that the more involved groups in creative resistance rather than consumption experiences have developed

greater and richer social relations. Yet, the resulting benefits are more visible within passionate individuals and adolescents aged above 17. In general, all social relations created within social centre are based on the friendly and family-like atmosphere which is especially important for those below the age of 18 and without many social and cultural experiences outside the neighbourhoods (beside high school). Members of youth journalism project have also expressed this "family-like" atmosphere: "*We are so used to come here*!" (Sofia, 17 years, a member of youth journalism project). It feels like a second home, as these young people indicated. Other youth microcultures, as we noticed, have developed very friendly relations with youth coordinators (Chapter 6).

Social relations that social centre provides to adolescents (to those above the age of 15 and involved in projects) go beyond the remote neighbourhoods which depends on the goals of youth microcultures and its main collective practice (Chapter 7). These social relations mainly have **purposeful (related to main collective practice), educative and temporary character** (e.g. members of youth journalism project have met journalists who hosted radio and digital media workshops; girls from female solidarity project working with artists from urban culture centre and professionals from humanitarian aid association).

Friendly relations with youth coordinators helped certain adolescents from youth microcultures reaching their life opportunities. Such relations have **purposeful (opportunities-related) and short-term character.** Leila (17 years, youth journalism project group) was looking for a job opportunity and, so, she opted for social centre help and advice. One of youth coordinators shared an information about the enterprise project organized by the local authority for those aged between 16 and 25. This important experience helped Leila learning something new about the creation of an enterprise and meeting new people. Yet, she did not find a job. Thanks to his long involvement with the social centre, Leila's friend Mohamed (17 years, a member of the same microculture) had developed excellent relations with youth coordinators one of whom offered him a local part-time job as a homework service assistant working at a local socio-educational institution. Other youth microcultures (youth association and humanity project group) that are mainly comprised of young people aged 18 and over, have tried to develop many social relations for their main activities themselves. The social centre looks for partnerships and institutions outside the neighbourhood. Yet, its support to youth association is occasional.

Through collective practices and youth projects adolescents reach **alternative financing**. Regular (weekly) activities in the centre cost adolescents 3 euros per year which is affordable to many families from the neighbourhoods. When youth microcultures' activities involve

travelling to/from and overnight staying in another parts of France or abroad, social centre offers partial financial support, whereas adolescents should finance the balance. Youth journalism project is one example. For the purpose of their journalism project, adolescents have spent a week in Grenada (Spain)[195], partially financed by the Erasmus Plus youth project and social centre (e.g. accommodation food, local transport), and purchased their flight tickets at an approximate price of 100 euros. To collect enough money to cover all expenses, the adolescents were selling food and beverages (refreshment stalls) during local cultural events in the neighbourhood. Organisation of refreshment stalls during such events is a very common practice of socio-educational institutions to help youth microcultures finance their cultural projects or short excursions. Reduced prices and the major expenses covered by the centre resulted in social centre's activities accessible to adolescents. For example, members of youth journalism project spent a weekend kayak trip in Ardèche (approximately 2h car drive from Lyon) that cost 20 euros while the centre provided a free accommodation and food.

Briefly explained, social centre attempts to empower young consumers gathered around diverse collective cultural practices. Indeed, relying on values of solidarity and sharing social centre fosters participants' individual and collective agency in searching for consumption and life opportunities (i.e. *creative resistance to youth passivity* in the neighbourhood). From a more practical perspective, social centre provides alternatives to young consumers when they do not have an access to other services provided outside the neighbourhood (mainly to those aged under 18) and few other services other than those offered by socio-educational institutions existing in the neighbourhood. That is, offered alternatives include: an alternative access to repeated and broadened *consumption and cultural experiences* (i.e. participation in youth microcultures), alternative *financing* of cultural practices (e.g. through projects, collective activities to earn money), an alternative access to *regular or occasional places* for cultural practices, and alternative way to *enrich social relations* (i.e. short-term through cultural experiences and long-term relations with youth coordinators). Finally, consumption and cultural experiences depend dominantly on programmes and existing relations established by the social centre, and sought alternatives vary amongst youth microcultures (Chapter 7). Youth microcultures, except youth solidarity association, have mainly developed long-lasting social relations within the social centre and the neighbourhood. Indeed, their collective experiences

[195] Social centre organized adolescents' stay in Granada within the Erasmus Plus youth projects. The project goal was to enable adolescents to visit and learn more about the functioning of the same institution (social centre in Spain) and the life and activities conditions of the adolescents from the similar neighbourhood as theirs. Diverse activities have been organized: from interviews and simple exchanges with local population to cultural visits.

outside the neighbourhoods are either focused on temporary/consumption experiences (female solidarity group) or multiple but very diverse experiences enabling temporary contacts with artists or professionals (young journalists group).

Subsection 2: Hip-hop dance related institutions as an emancipating space

Our fieldwork practice in the *peripheral neighbourhood* indicates an emancipating space created around hip-hop dance as a locally dominant cultural practice supported and organized within a permanent institutional network. Youth microcultures have been developed within this space that has inspired, fostered or matched their leading values (Table 23, page 257). Relying on our empirical data, we portray here two youth hip-hop groups of adolescents. However, there are other adolescents engaged hip-hop dancing in the neighbourhoods that we could not meet. For these two youth microcultures hip-hop space has an empowering character. Foregrounding hip-hop practices within this emancipating space, we recognize places and services that the adolescents use for their collective dance practice. This space is composed of *three dominant institutions* dedicated to these youth microcultures. The most influential on the youth microcultures at the moment of our fieldwork practice: *secondary school, youth hip-hop association*, and a *neighbourhood centre* (socio-educational institution)[196]. Other institutions make a permanent part of this emancipating space but intervene with different intensity and in various situations of youth microcultures' activities: *hip-hop choreography centre* (private cultural institution), *social centre* (socio-educational institution), and *municipality performance hall*[197] (public cultural institution). Town hall provides a constant, yet different support within this space for different institutions/members.

Youth microcultures' relations to hip-hop space. During our fieldwork practice in the peripheral neighbourhood two youth microcultures have been recognized as part of this very dynamic emancipating space: male hip-hop group and female hip-hop group (Table 21, page 253) These two *long-lasting* youth microcultures differ in the following aspects:

- *Intensive participation* of male hip-hop group because of boys' interest in hip-hop dance as a future profession (for many of them), and their active role in the emancipating space

[196] See Glossary for *Maison du quartier (fr)*
[197] Outside the neighbourhood.

(in and outside the neighbourhood) foregrounding hip-hop knowledge sharing with the local adolescents; and

- *Moderate participation* of female hip-hop group due to their viewpoint about dance as a creative expression in free time, long isolated dance practice, and late integration of the hip-hop space (for regular and closer relations with local institutions).

Leading values. Each institution within the hip-hop space has its own values which may differ amongst them (cultural versus socio-educational institutions). From our observations and discussions with adolescents, we understand that three main institutions have important roles in sharing leading values among adolescents within a hip-hop space: (1) solidarity and sharing, (2) friendly and family-like atmosphere; (3) personal development and tenacity; and (4) creativity. Life difficulties in the peripheral neighbourhood (e.g. limited economic resources, the lack of services in the neighbourhood, the lack of information and limited social relations) resulted in solidarity and help among dancers in both dance and daily practices. Karim (16 years) illustrates this:

> *"There is a certain bond of mutual aid, when we dance, between dancers. It's even apart from, well, apart from the dance. I know that if I meet another dancer and I recognized him, I will say "Ah, well, he's in trouble! "or " There's something!". Well, I'm going to try to help him and so. It's ... we say "Yeah, ok, we share the same passion. We're out there, it's ... There you go, it's, yeah, we try to help each other and so, and even in relation to dance, huh! Ok, he has no room. Well, let's invite him into our room* [sports hall], *or he doesn't know how to do something, well, I'm going to give him some material. I don't know how to do something. He's going to try to teach me, well, he's going to say "Well, don't do that anymore, don't do that anymore ..."*

Guided by these values adolescent boys have found within this space: a possibility to be creative and to improve and share their hip-hop (artistic) knowledge and information, to collectively seek life opportunities, to work on personal development, and to undertake practices collectively in family atmosphere. This combination of values such as family-like atmosphere, solidarity, tenacity and creativity manifests adolescents' aim to challenge a youth passivity that surrounds them and a social isolation by relying on materiality and social relations mostly form their social space.

Tenacity of both boys and girls is a value that guides their collective activities and in which they find partial explanation for their collective creative outcomes and the avoidance of passivity. Material scarcity of the neighbourhood and limited personal resources (physical capacity) motivate them to challenge restrictions. For example, girls have accepted to challenge

family norms and parents' expectations to manage every moment they have and to be creative. Boys, especially younger peers, have been much inspired to improve their dance techniques when they face certain life problems. Kofi (19 years) expresses openly that a desire to dance in the context of material deprivation in the neighbourhood strongly motivated him and his friends to be resourceful and determinant in finding places, alternative access to institutions and events, and financing of their activities. Also, a passion for dance and plentiful experiences they had thanks to meeting and learning from artists, inspired them to train hard and evolve despite their physical incapacities (e.g. Kofi mocked about his weight that limited his break dance performances but not his determination to become a choreographer one day).

In such a context, hip-hop space provides an *alternative* view of *consumption*. Like the adolescents from the social centre in the remote neighbourhood, these informants do not talk neither about them as consumers nor do they understand their collective cultural practices as purely consumptive practices; and they try to emphasize different consumptive practices more than those of many local adolescents – i.e. widespread consumption of brands, material goods. Their collective cultural practices contrast youth passivity due to the lack of collective or individual practices.

The values of solidarity, sharing and family atmosphere within hip-hop space, and adolescents' explanation of their hip-hop practices as passion or life profession, and as opposed to mere consumption, indicate youth cultural practices as a combination of specific (dance-related) and limited (variety and financing) consumption experiences, youth creativity and source of imminent life opportunities, and local involvement in transmission of hip-hop skills. These *youth practices* comprise a consumption (i.e. cultural experiences enabled by financial and organisational support of different intuitions; visits to cultural institutions) and a production (i.e. youth creative resistance through close collaboration with coordinators, choreographers, other hip-hop dancers and professors). Altogether, they present a combination of consumption, adolescents' passion for dance, and search for life opportunities.

Materiality of space and institutional network

Peripheral neighbourhood is shaped by a scarcity of services which is alleviated by nearby public institutions and facilities in the municipality (Chapter 6). Adolescents use exclusively these public services and facilities for their cultural practices. In such a context, hip-hop dance space relies on facilities and services of local socio-educational and few cultural institutions.

Multipurpose character of places

Hip-hop dance space (i.e. art and creativity-oriented space) comprises different places belonging to different local and nearby municipality institutions (i.e. socio-educational and few cultural institutions) previously already been accessible to the members of youth microcultures. Here we portray those places that adolescents have been *using on a weekly basis* (regular activities) during our fieldwork practice: sports hall of a secondary school, sports hall of a primary school and a room in the neighbourhood centre[198].

The secondary school, located next to the peripheral neighbourhood, has a special role for youth microcultures – i.e. it is a space of initial development of their collective knowledge (Chapter 7) while, at the same time, dancing in the neighbourhood with friends. Also, it provides an access to the *nearby municipality sports hall hip-hop*[199] dance freestyle trainings once a week (on Fridays) for two hours[200]. The adolescents have used the room for martial arts equipped with tatami mats demanding adolescents to adapt their dance (i.e. dancing without sneakers), with good spotlights, and the necessary speakers for the trainings. The interieur as well as the entire sports hall, is in neutral colours (white, beige or grey) while the colourful floor (green and red) makes the atmosphere warmer. Adolescents usually use their own smartphones and playlists to play their own music while training. During colder days (especially in wintertime) we felt cold in this room while being static (observing and discussing). For the purpose of additional trainings for school competitions in hip-hop, adolescents have used a school room adapted for dance (floor in linoleum and equipped with mirrors).

Both female and male hip-hop groups have mostly used a sports hall of a neighbourhood's primary school (Photo 24 and Photo 25, pages 327 and 328). This place has both material and symbolic meanings for the members of the youth microcultures. The sports hall is a place where the trainings within the youth hip-hop association have been offered by older members twice a week (each Wednesday and Friday 18h-20h outside school holidays). This is a multisport hall used by the primary school and some other local sports clubs for different sports activities. The

[198] Other places of the hip-hop dance space (social centre, choreography centre and the performance hall) have been used by adolescents either before our fieldwork or only occasionally during our fieldwork activities. Also, we have not followed youth practices in the social centre and the hip-hop choreography centre since our informants have not undertaken regular collective practices.

[199] This sports hall is new and well equipped for different municipality sport service offered here: Basketball, Volleyball, Taï-Jitsu, Karate, Badminton, Taekwondo. It consists of two sports halls: one multisport hall for collective sports, and other for martial arts.

[200] As mentioned in the Methodology part we have assisted to hip-hop freestyle trainings which means that adolescents who have participated in dance workshop with the school sports professor could come every Friday afternoon (two hours in total) to do peer-to-peer trainings and prepare their hip-hop battles. In this context we have met our informants from the male hip-hop microculture.

leading members of youth hip-hop association have acquired a speaker to play the music and use their smartphones or laptops for the playlists. Kofi (19 years) illustrates how he and his friend, the president of the association, thanks to their jobs as youth coordinators in the neighbourhood and municipality, have provided them with the necessary equipment:

> *"... we bought a big speaker! With* [my friend] *we contributed. We bought it for 200 euros and we said to ourselves: 'Well, we suffered so much when we started, we will never suffer again this way!' Well, music is the most important* [voice raised] *thing you need! So, we put 200 euros in it and bought it even if it was expensive, you see! But when we started it, I brought the ... you see the little computer speakers? … well, I brought that from my house*. [My friend] *he brought things like that too ... we brought things like that from our homes and we managed with it!"*

Photo 24: Neighbourhood's primary school sports hall from the outside

The third recently used place by the members of youth microcultures for their collective trainings is a *multipurpose room in the neighbourhood centre*. In terms of equipment this room resembles the rooms of the social centre from the remote neighbourhood equipped with removable chairs and painted in white-grey colours. The linoleum floor and the wall covered in mirrors make the room suitable for different types of dance. Since Kofi has started a job of a local youth coordinator in the neighbourhood centre, and he and other older members of the youth hip-hop association have collaborated with cultural coordinators from the centre, the adolescents have gained occasional access to the room for their trainings. They gathered there sometimes on Wednesday evenings or Sunday mornings.

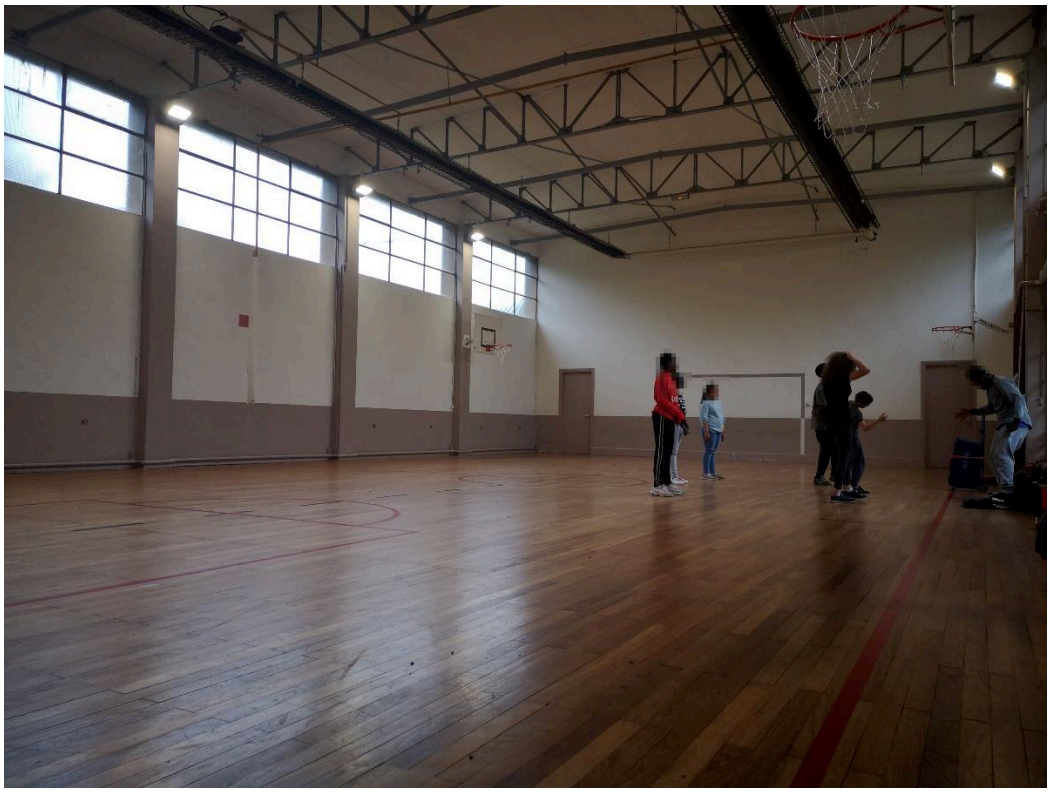


Photo 25: Inside of the neighbourhood's primary school sports hall

These main places for adolescents' collective hip-hop trainings have *no visible signs or any specific decoration* on the topic of hip-hop due to the multipurpose character of these places[201]. During our discussions with the adolescents, they have all expressed their struggle to find a place for trainings when they started dancing: they danced either in secondary school or in the public space (see chapter one). These adolescents, usually through smile and jokes, emphasize that for hip-hop dance does not require much in terms of place and equipment.

Institutions and facilities: permanent network

The hip-hop dance space comprises different social and cultural institutions that play important roles for the youth collective hip-hop practices to which they contribute differently (financially, materially or socially). Due to the complexity of interventions of these institutions within hip-hop space, we portrayed those that appear most often in adolescents' narratives about their collective hip-hop dance practice in the neighbourhood.

[201] Despite a contemporary combination of wood, concrete and neutral colours, the local hip-hop choreography centre has a place totally adapted for dance and cultural events that take place there. It has a small performance hall, rooms with mirrors adapted for dancing, a hall with a relaxation corner, where one can talk or read, there is a small bar used during events.

For both female and male hip-hop groups, hip-hop dance workshops, organized by their sports professor *in secondary school,*[202] have been a starting point for them to undertake dance more seriously. First, the professor desired to develop these workshops for the benefit of the local young population, and a partnership with the local private hip-hop choreography centre was established[203]. She aimed at making more contacts between the adolescents and dancers. Indeed, learning more about dance techniques from the choreographers or simply meeting them has been enriching for our informants. Second, the professor established a freestyle training once a week so that adolescents could have the same practice of traditional sharing of hip-hop dance knowledge on the street among peers/friends. Thus, adolescents could practice dance by organizing it themselves and by accepting the rules of mutual respect, solidarity and sharing[204]. Both youth microcultures have resulted from adolescents' trainings of hip-hop in school workshops.

Besides secondary school, *youth hip-hop association* is important for youth microcultures, yet differently for boys and girls. The association, created by older peers from the neighbourhoods in 2009, is currently run by a new generation of adolescents (e.g. Kofi, a 19-year-old member of male hip-hop microculture is a secretary of the association). The association gathers different youth groups in terms of age, gender and dance style (e.g. male and female youth microcultures are one of these). For both boys and girls, sports hall (Photo 24 and Photo 25, pages 327 and 328) is a needed permanent place to alternatively organize hip-hop dance trainings. For boys, it is a space of social contacts and sharing of knowledge where younger peers learn from older peers and from other crews using their sports hall[205] occasionally. The contacts with other members enabled them to gain access to their places and share knowledge. This space is open and flexible (Soja 1996) enabling adolescents to creatively express themselves and evolve as Kofi (19 years) explains:

> *"Well, actually, I think ... [association] this is a place of passage! It must be seen this way in the sense that ... there are children who will come there for a month and who will no longer come back because it's like*

[202] Adolescent girls' relation to the professor finished at the moment they started high school, while boys have continued to nourish their relationship with her.

[203] One of the choreographers from the hip-hop centre and the sports professor co-organized annual artistic (dance) municipality project which include different schools and trained chosen adolescent regularly (weekly) for the final performance of combined hip-hop and contemporary dance. She is a leading figure in creating relations between educational and cultural institutions in the municipality.

[204] She succeeded in motivating different boys and girls to participate in these trainings. During our time spent there, we noticed an enormous respect towards and trust in the professor, an acceptance of less experienced in dance or obese peers, and a passionate participation of all young dancers.

[205] During our observations we have met some hip-hop dancers from other associations in Lyon agglomeration. Young hip-hop dancers we had previously met in the remote neighbourhood's cultural event came here for trainings.

that! It's a kind of a crossroad in the sense that we meet, we create ... we create mini groups, small groups that are created together and that last over certain time or ... that last until now, you see. But it is a place ... in any case the association, well, the sports hall, it is a kind of a crossroad! Me, I see it like that, you see, and that everyone comes and passes and precisely, only the fact of meeting which gives, well, which changes our way of thinking..."

Other boys (Youcef, Karim and Fares) participating in this discussion agree with Kofi's words. This is in line with the creativity-oriented youth microculture that embodies the values of knowledge and information sharing and creativity. For girls, who have been more independent in terms of creating choreographies, this is a *space of learning* where they could learn directly from artists since the association has close relations with the local hip-hop choreography centre which welcomed hip-hop dancers from France and abroad:

"There were dancers from Rio! In fact, that was really ... it was, it was also the fact that it boosted us, because we said when we went to the hall, it could also be to train, but also to learn new things…" (Manola, 19 years)

Unlike the boys who participated in different workshops, battles, performances, local artistic projects, girls have been self-taught dancers.

Private hip-hop choreography centre from the neighbourhood has a very specific role in the hip-hop emancipating space. The centre is renowned at the national hip-hop scene and is an important cultural institution in the municipality (i.e. organization of festivals, close collaboration with public educational and cultural institutions in the municipality). Yet, young dancers from the neighbourhoods are not consumers of their services in the choreography centre. In the case of female hip-hop group, the girls have always been dancing within their small group, and once they established contact with Kofi and other boys from the hip-hop association, they accessed events and met artists that hip-hop centre welcomed in the neighbourhood.

The boys faced a different situation. First Kofi and later other boys (Fares, Karim, and Youcef) have become more engaged in all secondary school dance projects and in the youth hip-hop association. School projects and the collaboration with sports school professor led them towards contacts with choreographers from the hip-hop centre. They have not taken dance classes in the centre. Rather, since their local engagement in hip-hop dance (school and association) have been noticed, boys have got reduced prices for hip-hop classes in the centre, they participated in the organization of a well-known hip-hop festival, and in hip-hop battles organized by the

centre[206]. The boys, as well as many other adolescents from the neighbourhoods, benefited from the hip-hop workshops organized by the secondary school in collaboration with the choreographers from this centre. Finally, a hip-hop choreography centre is like "an artistic book" or a source of artistic knowledge too all those passionate boys and girls serving as a mean of contact with the outside artists.

The neighbourhood centre and the *social centre* near the peripheral neighbourhood are important for these hip-hop groups. First, as mentioned above, they enable them additional places to organize their hip-hop trainings and hip-hop association's meetings. Second, the neighbourhood centre has contributed to the local hip-hop artistic scene by organizing annual hip-hop contests where boys and girls either participated as dancers or assisted in organisation. Cultural coordinators from these centres have helped older male members of the association to prepare their international artistic project, girls to learn basics of choreography, and all dancers to organise their activities.

Municipality performance hall (public cultural institution) is used only occasionally by the members of the youth microcultures. However, due to its close collaboration with municipality educational, socio-educational and cultural institutions, adolescents have reached access to this hall while participating in the local hip-hop contest and performing annual municipality artistic project. Alternatively, they assisted to certain artistic performances with their sports professor.

When members of hip-hop association were asked whether their strong engagement in hip-hop dance in the neighbourhood led them, towards the contact with different institutions, Kofi (19 years) explained:

> Kofi*: Lots of social actors are with us. That is, there is* [Neighbourhood centre] *which is with us, the social centre* [...] *well, there are several actors who are around [municipality] like this who support us and who know that since we come from the neighbourhood, we already know each other a bit, you see, and the battle* [Hip-hop contest] *it's a moment that brings us all together but we rely on each other's skills, you see! For example, well, us, to make our forecast budget, bah, we are not very skilful when it comes to that, you see.*
>
> Sonja*: We? Association?*
>
> Kofi*: The whole* [Association]*, yeah! Well, we'll ask for help* [Madam] *who takes care of* [Project centre[207]], *you see! And, well, for example, institutions about the law and so ...* […]

[206] During our discussions with the boys and the sports professor, we have grasped just a part of the rich experiences in the neighbourhood and elsewhere in France they had, thanks to their passion for dance and a personal engagement of the sports professor in supporting them.

[207] Town hall service for local projects.

Kofi*: For example,* [Mr.] *from* [Social centre only for youth activities]*, well, he was the one who pushed us to form an association. Even if it's* [social centre]*, well, we make a lot of relations with all these actors, actually! So, well, without realizing it, we search, we will search in the institutions!*

According to Kofi's words and our exchanges with other young dancers and sports professor, this emancipating space is recognized as a rich, permanent network of institutions and individuals that support and encourage these young people to make the most from their activities – i.e. to learn, to experience (including alternative consumption) or to reach life opportunities. However, the empowerment of youth creative resistance results from mostly the support of local public institutions (e.g. neighbourhood and social centres), and youth hip-hop association as well as a personal engagement of sports professor from secondary school.

Social relations and alternatives to finance the activities

Taking a part in the hip-hop emancipating space, members of youth microcultures both have access to both cultural practices and local institutions and boost their social relations. Social relations among adolescents, youth and cultural coordinators, sports professors and other cultural actors are very friendly and based on respect and solidarity. Adolescents within hip-hop association share many family-like relations. Through such relations adolescents nourish the process of knowledge and information exchange thus assuring ideological and physical space for collective practice and the maintenance of spatial artistic competences. The hip-hop space comprises different groups and styles of hip-hop dance that was created with (and by collective dance practices) a purpose to enable informal transmission of knowledge among adolescents in a family-like manner:

"Actually, we're all a family, and …. We must pass on the legacy." (Kofi, 19 years)

Although a great number of older members of association who usually help younger peers does exist, we have realized that members of two youth microcultures perceive Kofi (a 19 year-old young man who came from Togo to France as a child) as a very influential person who greatly inspires his friends (hop-hop dancers) from the neighbourhood. First, having many relations in the neighbourhood and passionately have been engaged in the youth hip-hop association, Kofi has motivated other boys and girls to join the dance classes in the association. Second, in the case of female hip-hop group, he respected girls' desire to independently pursue their own dance style but also welcomed them to the sports hall as permanent rehearsal place in order to practice dance:

Sanya *... in fact, when we joined them* [Hip-hop association], *we didn't expect that ... not necessarily, in the end, that they, uh ...*

Manola*: …they would welcome us so well, actually!*

Sanya*: ... frankly, they welcomed us extremely well!*

Also, thanks to Kofi and other leading boys of the hip-hop association, who have had closer relations with the hip-hop choreography centre and the hall town service staff, girls have succeeded in meeting the artists and performing their dance choreographies at local

local events:

Faoulat*: Since* [Hip-hop association] *is, well, it is in partnership with ...* [Social centre], *so, they are the ones who give us the events*

[...]

Faoulat*: And since the social centre is in ...*

Manola*: well, it's in relation to a lot of…*

Faoulat*: … in collaboration with… the town hall of [Municipality], well, so… Whenever there are events, they call* [Hip-hop association] *and the dancers, the members of* [Hip-hop association] *will participate.*

Through the engagement in the hip-hop space, members of female and male hip-hop groups have established social relations of **purposeful (dance-related), educative and creative, and of a long-term character.** That is, these relations serve to hip-hop dance practices allowing adolescents to improve artistic or practical knowledge, and may last differently depending on the goal of the youth microcultures (e.g. learning how to understand artistic performances through visits with sports professor (for boys); learning different styles of hip-hop as well as basics of creating choreographies (both groups); establishing longer social relations for the boys who aim to have an artistic career). Within the youth hip-hop association, male hip-hop dancers have been looking to enrich their social relations among the hip-hop dancers to improve their dance techniques and become known outside the neighbourhood.

Adolescents' relations to coordinators, sports professor and local artists are filled with solidarity, mutual respect and trust. This resonates in the adolescents' narratives about different individuals from the local institutions that support them. For both boys and girls, it was a school sports professor that helped them to get in contact with the hip-hop dancers (choreographers).

Adolescents' active engagement in youth microcultures and hip-hop association has allowed them to reach more support from youth and cultural coordinators from social and

neighbourhood centres. At the early stages of the creation of their hip-hop groups, adolescents' girls received a help of a female choreographer:

> Sanya*: There we are ... Since we were enough, let's say, independent, it is true that, the fact that she* [Choreographer] *is there, that she follows us, that she ... that she also helps us, uh, in the creation of choreography, it was important for the supervision, in fact, because ... like, uh, I said earlier ...* [Kofi's crew] *they were supervised by [*Hip-hop association]: *"Yeah, there you shouldn't do that… ". … We didn't have any rules for our choreographies. And she, she brought this ... she really brought that, actually!*
>
> Faoulat*: ... Also, on the administrative side. It must be said that ... like, well, [Association] ... they were more involved ...*
>
> Manola*: ... with boys*
>
> Faoulat*:…Yeah boys, suddenly, well, during events… she came, she didn't forget us.* (laughs)
>
> *Monia: She's too professional!* (laughs)
>
> Faoulat*: She always came over to say, uh, "Well, don't forget* [Girls' group]! *Make them participate!". We also want to engage in there, there, there, ... at the end she also took care of ..*
>
> Sanya*:… she really helped us with the process and… she opened doors for us too ...*

Thanks to the relations between the youth hip-hop association and the neighbourhood centre, Kofi and several other boys have succeeded in participating in the artistic project organized by the centre that enabled them to travel to New York in 2016:

> Kofi*: ... I made a lot of trips thanks to dance, you see, and ... luckily, it got me out of the neighbourhood, you see!*
>
> *Sonja: When you said trips, where for example?*
>
> Kofi*: I went to New York. This is the biggest trip I have made, you see!*
>
> Sonja*: Oh! It was when?*
>
> Kofi*: It was, wow! There's… In 2016.*
>
> Sonja*: Ah, so last year?*
>
> Kofi*: Yeah.*
>
> Sonja*: And... What was it? How? What was it? A competition?*
>
> Kofi*: Well, in fact, we went to Broadway, Broadway Dance Centre! We took lessons there, and we stayed for a week! [...]*
>
> Sonja*: With the…*
>
> Kofi*: …* [Neighbourhood centre] *and my dance group* [Hip-hop association]. *So, ... we did a two-year project where ... each event we did, and, well ... we organized refreshment stalls. We were dancing! And ... the money we collected, well, it was for the travel there, you see. And that is the project of which I am a little proud! Because …. My mom gave me zero. My dad gave me zero, you see! And at the time what, I must have been what, 18 years old? And 18 years old to go there alone without ... without needing your parents ... who give you money or so. And I did it all by myself, you see. It's ... it's a great pride.*

Sonja*: Oh well, yes. [...] How was it going in New York? Did you have a contact there? Did you have an association to meet?*

Kofi*: Well, actually,* [Cultural coordinator]. *It is…*

Sonja*: Ah! The one who organized the hip-hop contest?*

Kofi*: Yeah, that's it. And, well, she has already done this project with other girls. So, she already knew ... the places, you see.*

Additionally, adolescents develop social relations that are **opportunities-related** and of **a long-term character.** Three of the adolescent boys have searched for life opportunities through their passion (a dance) – i.e. to reach circus arts option in a high school in Lyon[208]. This option enables additional artistic contacts beyond the hip-hop style of dance and enriches their cultural experiences. Also, this education allows boys to learn about other types of dance and to gain skills in creating new choreographies. It empowers them with the diverse artistic knowledge and skills.

Kofi (19 years) has succeeded in reaching a local job as a youth coordinator in the neighbourhood centre and started training to become a cultural coordinator which is important for his future artistic career.

Active engagement in hip-hop dance and contacts with different institutions has helped adolescents to *alternatively finance* their activities. First, at the very beginning, the members of youth microcultures danced in the public space without necessary conditions (e.g. inadequate type of floor; the lack of permanent hall to dance during bad weather; inadequate or no speakers for music) but they do not complain about this. At the same time, the secondary school workshops allowed them access to practice and place to undertake it.

Second, when adolescents became, as they say, "serious" about or highly engaged in hip-hop dance (practising trainings three times a week or more) they have started looking for further opportunities to practice hip-hop. Cheaper and spatially available option for them has been youth hip-hop association.

Adolescent boys who were actively engaged in hip-hop dance than girls, they desired to enrich social contacts and to learn directly from the artists. They have been financially supported by

[208] Kofi has completed this option, while Fares has had just started and Youcef been preparing himself to start the education there the following year at the moment we first met at the end of 2016.

hip-hop centre via reduced prices and they have been parallelly working to pay for dance classes in hip-hop choreography centre:

> Youcef*: The 1st year they took care of it.* [...] *they financed a part. I think they paid 150 euros for us. And we, our charge, and, well, we had to pay 100 euros. And since ... our parents, well, they don't want us to dance, well, they are against dancing, they don't want to pay for us to dance. ... Yeah, they made us do a* [Young working project][209] [...] *so that we could collect all the money. So, we did the [Young working projects] and we got a year at* [Hip-hop centre] *… (inaudible; boys talking at the same time)*
>
> Karim*: We work a week… In fact, you have to submit a file in* [Social centre] *… and you submit a file there…*
>
> Sonja*: They offer you ...?*
>
> Karim*: After with us ... (inaudible; boys talking at the same time)*
>
> Karim:*… you have to have a good reason.*
>
> Youcef*: … and* [Sports professor] *she helped us a bit and* [Hip-hop centre] *too. They helped us because ... we were ...*
>
> Karim*: ... a bit favoured compared to the others because they knew that the money is not going to end up in new shoes or new stuff! They knew we finished this and the money is in the* [Hip-hop centre] *and not elsewhere. Therefore, …. It went better for us...*
>
> Youcef *: So, what did you do?*
>
> Karim*: I painted.*
>
> Youcef*: We all painted walls.*

Some of the boys have succeeded to reach the hip-hop centre's services (i.e. a year of dance classes) by winning the battles:

> Youcef*: … basically we didn't have* [Hip-hop centre]. *It was with* [Sports professor]. *They gave us the opportunity to come and find out …*
>
> *[...]*
>
> Sonja*: With* [Hip-hop centre], *did you have battles?*
>
> Youcef*: Yeah, small* [Hip-hop centre] *battles. For example, if you win it, well, you have one year free. And I won them twice. Then there was another battle, and Fares… it was a battle… what* [Hip-hop festival] *with* [Hip-hop centre]?
>
> *Fares: Yeah, it was the battle* [Festival] *.... and basically, whoever won, he won a place in the battle of Calypso festival…. which is in Créteil in Paris.*

Like in the remote neighbourhood, adolescents here have also organized the refreshment stalls during local festivals to cover their expenses for their projects (e.g. hip-hop association's project in New York). Residents from these neighbourhoods are usually very solidary with such actions

[209] Our translation for *Chantiers jeunes* (fr.).

that aim to support youth cultural projects. Also, these activities are always organised and supervised by various local socio-educational institutions and their coordinators.

To finance the activities outside the local events or projects supported by the local cultural and social institutions, adolescents need to be very resourceful in terms of their expenses. In chapter 6 we share Kofi's words (19 years old) about "illegal" actions they are forced to take, although not too proud about (e.g. not paying for the train tickets or tickets for the events)[210]. Also, helping each other is very common to them:

> *"Well, in fact, there is the school side … and the school side is really all that is the organization ...* [Sports professor] *and often, well, it managed to grab us financial aids here and there or to offer us an alternative to pay and we pay in instalments or things like that! After, for the battles … well, we often call* [Friend] *who is ... a person we know among the people close to us, who has a driving license and his own car and we try to manage things ..." (Fares, 16 years)*

To summarize, hip-hop space attempts to empower young consumers gathered around hip-hop dance, yet with different individual and collective goals. Local sports professor and socio-educational institutions support relies on neighbourhood's values – solidarity and sharing. Also, they, try to broaden their capacities in searching for information, organizing collective practices, searching for financing, and, above all, to foster their creative expression (i.e. dance and making choreographies skills). This space comprises also youth hip-hop association and nearby cultural institutions that support these values and collective practices but intervene occasionally. So, all these institutions (their services and facilities) provide space of adolescents' collective agency in the search for consumption and life opportunities (i.e. *creative resistance to youth passivity* in the neighbourhood). More practically hip-hop space is the space of alternatives in response to material scarcity these young people live in (i.e. limited access to services and few services offered inside their social space). Alternatives refer to an access to repeated or broadened *cultural experiences* (i.e. participation in collective dance practices in different local institutions), alternative *financing* of cultural practices (e.g. cheaper training sessions in hip-hop association; long-lasting cultural projects; working to pay dance classes), alternative access to *regular or occasional places* for cultural practices (i.e. adolescents seek to multiply and change place on their own; institutional support for diverse local places for collective dance practice), and alternative way to *enrich social relations* (i.e. mainly long-term relations which for boys goes beyond the neighbourhood). Finally, even though collective

[210] This information we reached in one of our last interviews. We are aware that these may be similar actions, but adolescents were shy to unveil them. Also, listening to Kofi's words they adopt such behaviour when they have no other choices to do differently. Instead of sitting and not doing much, they try to manage the lack of economic resources somehow.

knowledge and experiences (Chapter 7) depend on proposed local projects, organized cultural events in and outside the neighbourhood, available facilities, adolescent boys engage actively in parallel (out-of-the-institutions) search for richer social relations among hip-hop dancers to go beyond the neighbourhood (i.e. through relation in youth hip-hop association). For more life opportunities they rely on the experiences they can have through institutionally offered services.

To conclude, both emancipating spaces in our research are spaces where youth microcultures find their *ideological "sanctuaries"* trying to escape passivity in their neighbourhoods, and dominant local adolescents' interest in consumption of goods (e.g. branded sports clothes, electronic devices) and a lack of their involvement in collective cultural practices. Having limited financial resources and observing passive leisure time spent by many local adolescents, our informants have found alternatives to reach consumption (i.e. access to different services, institutions, visits or short stay) and cultural experiences (i.e. access to cultural services and institutions, meeting and collaborating with artists or professionals; cultural projects), in and outside their neighbourhoods. Thus, local institutional support within both emancipating spaces fosters collective agency to bring some changes in the local youth cultural practices based on *alternative consumption* – i.e. based on cheaper options, spatially available services, and values of solidarity and sharing. Collective cultural practice within emancipating spaces enable consumption opportunities yet conditioned with limited services and financial capacity of local institutions. Despite this limitation, adolescents could have had consumption and cultural experiences thanks to being provided the access to services and institutions by local socio-educational institutions.

The outcomes of collective cultural practices within two emancipating spaces may be temporary or long-lasting which depends on what spatial constraints or consumption restrictions members of microcultures attempt to challenge (Chapter 7). Besides adolescents' desire to access services (i.e. for all our informants there are no specific services they want to access, except for hip-hop male dancers who search all cultural services in relation to dance or hip-hop dance), they emphasize their need for social support and social contacts. Here we may see differences between these two emancipating spaces (Table 27, page 339) and youth microcultures they comprise. Also, even though microcultures from the hip-hop spaces are more often in contact with cultural coordinators, artists/chorographers and access more often, at least, local cultural institutions, in both cases their roles are very rudimentary, occasional, and result in short-term contacts with our informants.

Table 27: Main similarities and difference between two emancipating spaces

	Emancipating spaces in two urban policy neighbourhoods	
	Institution-centred or *social centre* (remote neighbourhood)	**Culture practice-centred or *hip-hop dance* space (peripheral neighbourhood)**
Youth microcultures (duration and organization	Dominantly new microcultures; project-centred youth practices	Dominantly long-lasting microcultures; art-centred youth practices
Leading values	1) solidarity and sharing, (2) personal development; (3) co-production (project co-creation), (4) friendly and family-like atmosphere; and (5) anti-delinquency education.	(1) solidarity and sharing, (2) friendly and family-like atmosphere; (3) personal development and tenacity; and (4) creativity.
Institutional network character	Temporary and changing collaboration with institutions which depends on the youth project	Permanent network of institutional interventions for different purposes in youth practices
Main places/institutions	Social centre's place	Two local sports halls and a room in the neighbourhood centre/Secondary school, youth hip-hop association and neighbourhood centre
Materiality	*Multipurpose*; essential equipment; no permanent symbolic/visual signs of youth microcultures' activities	*Multipurpose*; equipment depends on the used places; no permanent symbolic/visual signs of youth microcultures' activities
Social relations	Purposeful and *temporary* (for the purpose of activity/project) with collaborating individuals and institutions; purposeful and *short-term* (for life opportunities) with the social centre coordinators	Multiple and purposeful; from *temporary* (meeting and co-creating with artists for local projects) to *long-term* (with coordinators, professors or other dancers for improvement of creativity, organisation of activities, or personal life opportunities
Alternative financing of activities	Mainly finances by the social centre; organized refreshments stalls for collecting money; reduced prices for activities	Cheaper options of activities; reduced prices for dance activities; organized refreshments stalls for collecting money; work to pay; illegal behaviour of some boys
Specific understanding of consumption and cultural practices	Youth cultural practices are not mere consumption practices; they are a combination of consumption, adolescents' interest in/ passion for the activity, and a search for life opportunities	

Section 2: Institutional support and transformative character of youth collective cultural practices

Both emancipating spaces, as we presented above, are composed of institutional network of local socio-educational, municipality facilities, and few cultural institutions. Such institutional support is oriented to fostering creativity (in contrast to youth passivity and focus on consumption of goods) and cultural and consumption experiences through collective cultural practices outside the neighbourhoods (in contrast to the lack of services). Thus, both emancipating spaces alleviate material and social deprivation of many young consumers from these neighbourhoods – i.e. enable access to inexistent services in the neighbourhoods and encourage diversity of cultural practices among local young populations. For our informants, relying on services proposed by local socio-educational institutions demonstrate *transformative character* of their collective cultural practices (1) *creative resistance* (creative expression and 'production') to limited life opportunities and cultural experiences, and (2) *cultural or consumption*[211] *experiences and access to cultural institutions* in and outside the neighbourhoods. However, two elements shape an understanding of transformative cultural practices. First, from the collective (microculture) perspective, transformative character depends on *collective control* (Figure 12, page 310) upon which a youth microculture can be established in dealing with dominant consumption restrictions they try to challenge. Yet, no microculture is independent in this enterprise (e.g. even youth solidarity association needs place for their activities). Second, from empowering spatial perspective (local institutional support), transformative character of collective practices is enabled through *openness* of emancipating spaces to other social environments through offered services and projects, *alternatives* to organize and finance cultural practices, and *changes* in local youth cultural practices (i.e. combination of consumption and creativity).

[211] Whenever we mention *consumption* separately from cultural practices or experiences in our interpretation it stems from our empirical data. That is, consumption, as mentioned above, is either misperceived (by the most creative adolescents and locally engaged) or perceived as a part of institutional services offered to younger adolescents (aged between 11 and 14). Indeed, often the content of their cultural practices is less project or creative expression-oriented and long-lasting but privileges access to cultural and other services for youth leisure outside the neighbourhoods.

Collective coping strategies of our informants attempt and succeed in challenging collectively spatial vulnerability and dominantly limited variety of services (Figure 12, page 310). Yet, real transformative outcomes are sometimes individual (e.g. searching for life opportunities) and stem from long-lasting engagement in local institutions or concern all members within their youth microcultures through both short- and long-term use of institutional services. Thus, we open here with some examples of transformative character through (1) *collective creative resistance* (*long-term* participation in institutional and collective cultural practices) - i.e. it reflects openness and change that emancipating spaces encourage through offered services and support to youth microcultures, and (2) *consumption experiences or access to cultural institutions* (short or long-term participation in less specific cultural practices) – i.e. it demonstrates openness of young consumers by undertaking collective practices in other social environments.

Subsection 1: Collective creative resistance

In both emancipating spaces adolescents, through their collective cultural practices, attempt to creatively resist different spatial constraints. Members of certain youth microcultures are more engaged in this creative process either by *reaching life opportunities* through their long-term engagement in creative collective agencies or directly by *producing a creative content* of their activities (e.g. choreographies and dance performances). Here we portray these two aspects of our informants' creative resistance to spatial vulnerability that are encouraged within emancipating spaces.

Searching for life opportunities

Both emancipating spaces in our research represent spaces of openness for the adolescents from the deprived neighbourhoods – i.e. local institutional support to adolescents' collective cultural practices results in short or long-term life opportunities. Consumption opportunities are a part of this process. The outcomes of collective cultural practices here are individual and short or long-term.

A search for long-term life opportunities. An example of adolescents who seek pleasure, consumption and life opportunities are boys, members of male hip-hop group from the peripheral neighbourhood. Our conversations brought out their search for life opportunities, specific for each member. Many of them, as they say, were "not very good at school" when

they were younger. Looking closely, the example of some older hip-hop dancers or other boys from the neighbourhoods that slid into delinquency or "life with no future", these boys wanted to find their way out from the life without any future. First, their secondary school sports professor has been a mentor, a friend, a parent and an advisor to them. Thanks to this close relation with her, boys have succeeded in focusing on dance as a meaningful cultural practice in their free time. Also, the professor encouraged, helped, and/or oriented their high-school education. For example, Kofi (a group leader) and two other boys (Fares and Youcef, both 16 years old), more interested in actively pursuing dance, have succeeded in entering circus arts high school specialization in Lyon. Karim (16 years) has been determined to become sports professor and choose other high school allowing him to reach higher education. For him, intensive dance trainings helped him to creatively express himself but also to better organize his daily and week activities since he opted for higher education.

Relations with sports professor allowed these boys to improve their understanding and interpretation of artistic performances, not exclusively related to hip-hop. These educative visits to and experiences in cultural institutions resulted in their more serious engagement with the dance practice, as a meaningful individual and collective agency opening doors for a future artistic career for some of them.

Second, thanks to the engagement in hip-hop emancipating space and rich social relations they developed in the neighbourhood, some boys (aged 18 and over) have reached job opportunities. This is the example of Kofi who has successfully become a youth coordinator in the neighbourhood centre working with children and teaching hip-hop with one of his friends (also a coordinator) from the neighbourhood:

> *"I have a contract so that I'm hired for three years. I've already done a year and, uh, as a youth coordinator, that's it ... I'm a permanent employee… I started a training last year. It's been ... since November 2017 and that allows me to be a cultural coordinator…"*

Thanks to his job he started a training to become a cultural coordinator which would not only helped him to organize leisure activities for children, but also prepared him to organize cultural projects related to urban culture in the future.

Finally, the search for life opportunities, in the case of the members of male hip-hop group, is not only the consequence of their sports professor engagement in their life success, but much of this empowerment through hip-hop dance is owed to boys' individual engagement and high collective control of spatial vulnerability (Figure 12, page 310). The collective control indicates adolescents' constant search for the new artistic experiences through their social relations

within local hip-hop association (informal) and within other local institutions (formal). This resulted in *long-term outcomes* of their collective coping strategy in dealing with spatial vulnerability.

A creation of new microcultures. An engagement of certain adolescents from hip-hop emancipating space has evolved and resulted in the creation of new structures. By the end of our fieldwork, through our discussions and participation in a cultural event in the social centre in Lyon agglomeration we have discovered that Kofi and his friend (the president of local hip-hop association) started a dance company with other young dancers outside the neighbourhoods. Kofi explains what this means to him and his friend from the neighbourhood in terms of life opportunities and how they personally created (looked for) more openness towards other social environments:

> Sonja*: What about* [Dance company] *relationship with* [Hip-hop association]*?*
>
> Kofi*: There are no relationships! It's just that ... I'm in* [Hip-hop association], [My friend] *is also in* [Hip-hop association], *but he is also in* [Dance company]
>
> Sonja*: And there are girls…* [Girl one]*?*
>
> Kofi*:* [Girl one, Girl two] *... and there are other* [raised voice] *people! There are lots of other people! And there are 10 of us!*
>
> Sonja*: Not necessarily from the neighbourhood?*
>
> Kofi*: No, not necessarily from the neighbourhood at all! There are some who are from St Priest, from V-en-V, ... a bit like Pokémon, you see, we meet in a place! Our goal in* [Dance company] *is… it's more about creation, you see! As much … we do battles, as much with* [Dance company] *it's more the show, team shows, creations of shows, you see, and to go more to the theatres and all that, you see! Like on Friday when you came to see us! And there are lots of things like that that we do with* [Dance company]! *And it's a little bit different from* [Hip-hop association], *you know!* [Hip-hop association], *it's a bit of battles, underground! While …. Ah, well, look! You see, what could make the distinction with society a little ... bah, when you talked about different people, bah that's it! For example, we, at least in the neighbourhood, we don't go to the theatre. For example, because it's more expensive and all that. In the battles, well, it's more the locals who come! And it's more the people of the neighbourhood who are watching us! Well, when we do theatres and all that, well, it's more the other people who watch us! We reach a different audience!*

Kofi's words illustrate what we understood during our fieldwork discussions with male dancers and their sports professor – a need to keep their relationships with the people from the neighbourhood where they grew up and who they appreciate but also to become open to new experiences outside the neighbourhood for more life opportunities and alleviation of social exclusion. For these young people, active engagement in creative process means working actively on this for their future carrier of dancers and choreographers. Further, younger

members (Fares, Youcef and Karim) created their hip-hop crew as a part of this hip-hop association through which they try to develop their style and gain in visibility within hip-hop artistic scene.

In sum, long-term engagement of certain adolescents in youth microcultures and emancipating spaces (one or more local institutions) results in concrete results (e.g. job, trainings, future education) beyond their mere consumption experience. These outcomes are caused by adolescents' passion for a cultural practice, and determination in collective agency.

A search for short-term or occasional life opportunities. Certain informants seek short- term life opportunities through their collective agencies thanks to their long-term engagement in both youth microculture and local institution. Our empirical data demonstrate that certain members of youth journalism project group from the social centre (the remote neighbourhood) attempt to reach such opportunities. In this case, adolescents' collective agency is not oriented in searching for life opportunities, at least not the permanent ones. This can be illustrated by their moderate collective control of spatial vulnerability they experience due to the instability in microculture's membership structure so that it has been difficult to establish frequent, journalism-related and long-term experiences within the group (Chapter 7, Section 3; Figure 12, page 310). However, the social centre is a space of adolescents' empowerment and those are the most passionate members of the microculture who have tried to reach some temporary job opportunities. Our discussions with the members and a youth coordinator demonstrate that these adolescents opt to challenge spatial vulnerability through higher education in order to have better life opportunities, and through collective agency for rich cultural experiences. In the meantime, they seek to find alternative ways to earn some money. In the previous section we explained how Leila and Mohamed had some short-term opportunities with the help of youth coordinators from the social centre. Also, their youth coordinator has helped them and assisted in forming local social relations which benefited Mohamed to become a part-time homework assistant in a local youth multipurpose centre.

Here, the social centre as an emancipating space for these adolescents is a space of openness but with *limited and short-term outcomes* for their life opportunities. This is due to the microculture's membership instability and moderate collective control of spatial vulnerability. Youth microculture's main practice – writing articles – has been a way of reaching creative expressions and navigate other social spaces for more opportunities for consumption and cultural experiences. Thus, the social centre intervenes only when adolescents ask for specific

help for some life opportunities which are here, in the case of Leila and Mohamed, related to a need to increase their financial resources.

Collective challenge of local youth cultural and consumption practices

Both emancipating spaces in our research are spaces of adolescents' creative resistance that is manifested through their creative production or co-production within long-lasting and creative-oriented youth microcultures (Figure 12, page 310). As presented in section 3 in the chapter, *female and male hip-hop groups* have focused on creative expression through dance and creation of choreographies, especially girls, while the members of *youth journalism projects* have expressed themselves through writing articles. *Co-creation*, in the case of our informants, refers to the adolescents' collaboration with youth coordinators and other adults within the emancipating spaces to prepare their dance competitions, to structure or restructure their journalism articles or their choreographies, to find institutional contacts for their cultural experiences (e.g. young journalists' stay in Granada, Spain, and hip-hop dancers' stay in New York). They co-create and develop contents of youth microcultures.

Creative expression or *production* refers to adolescents' individual engagement in the creative process such as writing articles at home or in the social centre (individual process), and hip-hop collective trainings in association, school or in public space (collective process). This process is separated from the adults interfering in the creative process. Furthermore, a recently created microculture (i.e. youth empowerment and solidarity association) is an additional example of adolescents' creative production independent of local institutions. These young people have created themselves their activities in and outside the neighbourhood demanding only occasionally, usually a material support from the social centre from the neighbourhood.

Spatial constraints of both neighbourhoods shape the *meanings of our informants' creative resistance:* they undertake collectively spatially available and financially affordable cultural practices (in socio-educational institutions); all informants desire to have a meaningful leisure time that contrasts youth passivity widespread in both neighbourhoods that they attempt to escape; and creative resistance enables them to challenge and avoid a widespread adolescents' focus on consumption of goods (usually big sports and other brands) they cannot financially afford.

Our empirical data reveal that several youth microcultures creatively resist this passivity and omnipresent materialism among local adolescents. They quickly understood that standing

outside in the public space ("holding walls") and "dreaming" about consumption of solely big brands would not help them at all. Thus, they have been engaged in their microcultures and/or institutional projects for a long time. Some of them combined well education with creative cultural practices (female hip-hop group; youth journalism project group) while those facing difficulties in school focused on their passion and creativity (male hip-hop group). However, *female and male hip-hop microcultures* are more engaged in purely creative process of resistance to spatial – i.e. more independent in creative expression or production. They insisted on microcultures' identities, personal development through cultural practices, solidarity and family-like atmosphere. Local institutions (previous section) are here to provide them with specific cultural experiences (related to dance) and thus to co-construct their microcultures to resist spatial constraints. For these young dancers, any consumption experience is an integral part of cultural experiences. A need for more and specific institutional support evolving over time for more effective outcomes. Further, any access to cultural services and experiences in and outside the neighbourhood have been dance-oriented. A creative process, for both boys and girls, has been a matter of personal development (e.g. self-confidence, open-mindedness, acquiring more dance skills) in challenging spatial vulnerability.

On the other hand, the members of *youth journalism project*, are also focused on creative expression, yet with different intensity. Regular and occasional collective practices and experiences are not exclusively related to journalism (writing articles) but comprise diverse experiences more or less topic related. Also, members are engaged in other collective practices, mainly sports activities. Their individual creative expression (article writing) has been much inspired and encouraged by youth coordinators from the social centre – i.e. they were dominantly engaged in co-creation process. Also, certain members have been more focused on consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood and thus left the microculture. Consumption experiences are here integral part of cultural experiences.

These youth microcultures exert *collective control* over spatial vulnerability differently: male hip-hop dancers exert higher collective control than female hip-hop dancers and young journalists. The difference is evident since male hip-hop dancers use their passion for active search of life opportunities and others use their creative expression or co-creation for their personal development, a meaningful leisure and a combination of these with an access to cultural experiences and services. All microcultures succeed to creatively resist spatial vulnerability regardless of their collective control. Their creative resistance is an outcome of institutional support within both emancipating spaces. Thus, female hip-hop group and young

journalists through the process of co-creation have succeeded to creatively resist spatial vulnerability despite their moderate collective control at the level of microcultures (Figure 12, page 310).

These collective creative resistance in both emancipating spaces generate some *changes* in local youth cultural practices in both neighbourhoods. It is apparent that a consumption and collective creative expression can be combined by the support of local socio-educational institutions and their offered services. Despite a limited offer of cultural services, adolescents have succeeded to enrich their experiences and access services that they have not been offered in their neighbourhoods.

Leading members of some youth microcultures are inspired to generate some changes and to influence other peers from the neighbourhoods. Among our informants these are male members, aged 18 and over and with strong visions and determination to empower and inspire other members of microcultures to do something for their neighbourhoods and local young population, or to challenge the stigma they live with. Youth microcultures are inspired and empowered to provide some changes through social relations and support they have within emancipating spaces. Otherwise, it would be a highly challenging task for adolescents to collectively reach alternative access to services and shared knowledge in their neighbourhoods, if not impossible.

Two youth microcultures - male hip-hop group and youth empowerment and solidarity association – have been guided by solidarity-oriented utopian ethos or transmission of their collective knowledge to other peers (Table 26, page 270). As presented above (Chapter 7, Section 3), leading members of these microcultures with the support of local institutions have shared their knowledge to others. Yet, male hip-hop dancers engaged in local hip-hop association work as dance trainers, twice a week, with their younger peers from the neighbourhoods in order to have financially and physically accessible cultural service.

Their idea is to share their hip-hop knowledge, keep collective spirit among local adolescents, and to distract them from passivity and "holding walls". Not all members are devoted to sharing knowledge (i.e. to give classes) but Kofi, their leader, inspires and tries to keep them all together. He prepares younger members (boys of age 16) to later take his place. During one of our discussions, male dancers emphasize that their creative expression and active engagement in hip-hop in and beyond the neighbourhood helped them avoiding social isolation and opened many opportunities that otherwise they would not get. They want to share their experiences,

hip-hop knowledge and their example of personal determination and collective agency with other young people from the peripheral neighbourhood:

> *"... show the right path because ... we have not followed the way of others and I think we have that way which ... leads to something ... "the most brilliant" ... and which advocates ... values, certain values and all that… And I think there is a bit of both! There is a little this utopian side because ... we dream … to leave our environment and at the same time we resist because ... we see that ... precisely the fact to go towards this way allows us ... better things!" (Kofi, 19 years)*

Combining a pure utopian vision with collective resistance to spatial constraints, these young dancers act collectively to share their experiences and knowledge with other adolescents with limited access to information or services. Further, during our discussion we recognized their personal convictions for solidarity and institutional support that encourage such visions. Understanding their marginalized position within this neighbourhood, these young people try to share their knowledge gained outside the neighbourhood with younger peers. Kofi has a project to bring some changes in the peripheral neighbourhood for the artistic/cultural services:

> *"... and my project was, well, to create a kind of school where, well, that it wouldn't only be the access to hip-hop but more to urban culture and that would involve, well, amateurs as ... painters for example, who do street art, hip-hop dance and so .... But that would turn more towards hip-hop culture and urban culture!" (Kofi, 19 years)*

Indeed, Kofi is not alone in his idea. By the end of our fieldwork we have, quite accidentally, met some dancers from other neighbourhood and discovered about so many other institutions existing outside the peripheral neighbourhood and collaborating with these young dancers whilst assisting them in reaching their personal goals of success. They constantly work on bringing changes in the social space as the older members have jobs related to their neighbourhood and development of their artistic carrier.

In chapter 7 we presented youth empowerment and solidarity association that has also attempted but encountered difficulties in transmission of general knowledge onto cultural topics to younger adolescents from the remote neighbourhood. Their aim to empower younger peers through informal, peer-to-peer education on cultural topics, unfortunately failed. Therefore, they reoriented their focus on participants (aged between 15 and 30) that have been easier to collaborate with.

In sum, regardless of whether or not these youth microcultures have succeeded in their attempt to influence cultural practices of local young populations, their collective agency represents certain, yet small changes that exist thanks to socio-educational institutions. All adolescents have reached different services, yet generally limited to the offer of socio-educational

institutions. To access diversified and plentiful experiences adolescents need to engage in institutional projects for a long time and to be actively involved. Yet, not all adolescents are interested in such engagement to reach consumption experiences (e.g. one examples are usually diverse experiences and short-term projects proposed at the social centre or local youth multipurpose centres in the remote neighbourhood).

Subsection 2: Consumption experiences and access to cultural institutions

Our fieldwork practice reveals that emancipating spaces may enable access to broader leisure services (e.g. going to swimming pools, theme parks, bowling, nearby lakes or mountains for weekends or holidays) and specific cultural services and institutions (e.g. visiting certain museums, nearby theatres and performance halls). Through an access to diverse services, especially those outside the neighbourhoods, emancipating spaces provide more openness for local young populations towards other social environments and different cultural and consumption experiences: (1) *hedonic and consumption experiences*, and (2) *access to cultural institutions and specific cultural experiences*. Local socio-educational institutions and associated emancipating spaces enable access to both types of experiences. Yet, the hip-hop emancipating space in the peripheral neighbourhoods proposes dominantly experiences related to dance in and outside the neighbourhood. Finally, both experiences that adolescents have had within local socio-educational institutions reveal that these are spaces of great openness of the adolescents from the urban policy neighbourhoods towards other social environments for their consumption experiences and collective cultural practices. That is, through these emancipating spaces adolescents find a possibility to navigate different spaces avoiding passive free time in the neighbourhood. Yet, for many of these adolescents, these experiences are *short-term* or *temporary*.

Hedonic and consumption experiences

Relying on services offered by institutions within both emancipating spaces is, for many adolescents, a way to engage in diverse consumption experiences[212]. Our fieldwork practice shows that members of ephemeral microcultures and female solidarity group as well as some

[212] According to our discussions with young informants aged 18+ and youth coordinators, adolescents from these neighbourhoods desire to have an access to consumption (usually opposed to cultural expression and production of creative youth projects).

members of youth journalism project group seek hedonic experiences outside the neighbourhoods (e.g. mainly visits to different places; short seaside stay or ski holidays). These are adolescents aged between 11 and 17 from remote neighbourhood gathered around social centre.

For the members of female solidarity group and youth journalism project group a desire of hedonic and consumption experiences is intertwined with their need for meaningful free time in the neighbourhood. Adolescent girls from female solidarity group have more consumption restrictions due to social, family norms that limit their leisure activities to their social space. Whenever possible they seek to go out from the neighbourhood together and with youth coordinators to reach different cultural, consumption and mainly hedonic experiences (e.g. spending weekends at the seaside, going to a nearby theme park). These are the services and experiences they cannot access alone or with their families. Thus, the social centre organizes them and helps them financially to access the services that do not exist in their social space. Collective occasional practices have purely hedonic (e.g. kayaking weekend in Ardèche; short camping on the Mediterranean seaside) or mix of creativity, education and hedonic experiences (e.g. one week in Granada, Spain).

In the case of youth journalism project group (a long-lasting microculture), a focus from purely hedonic experiences when they were younger has evolved over time towards a collective creative resistance to spatial constraints and consumption restrictions. Yet, certain members of the microculture desire to have more hedonic experiences, especially to travel/to visit places, than they had at the moment when we first met them in 2016.

Our fieldwork practice in the remote neighbourhood demonstrates that adolescents, mainly aged from 11 to 14, desire to have access to consumption experiences and to services outside the neighbourhood. Many adolescents are enrolled in social centre or youth microculture centres[213] in the remote neighbourhood since these institutions offer reduced prices and free leisure activities. Further, an emphasized focus of these adolescents (aged between 11 and 14) on hedonic and consumption experiences limits their collective control and creative resistance and causes eventually ephemeral youth microcultures[214]. These consumption experiences have

[213] These youth centres are not analysed in our research since they do not comprise youth microcultures as those we portray in chapter seven. We briefly mention them here since they provide access to different services outside the neighbourhoods (diverse sports and cultural services) and consumption experiences at reduced prices for the adolescents from the remote neighbourhood. In that sense, these local socio-educational institutions empower adolescents to navigate other social environments within their free time and through certain consumption experiences.

[214]The groups of adolescents from youth multipurpose centres and those of adolescents, aged from 11 to 14, at the social centre and coming from the remote neighbourhood have been excluded from our analysis on microcultures (see Methodology part). First, a collective aspect of their cultural practices is imposed by youth coordinators by

been criticized by older peer and by institutionally more engaged adolescents. Yet, youth coordinators foreground these experiences as a part of their support to adolescents' cultural and consumption experiences outside the neighbourhoods.

Access to cultural institutions for youth creative projects

Both emancipating spaces in our research enable adolescents' *access to cultural institutions*[215] for the purpose of youth microcultures' collective practices. Creativity-oriented youth microcultures (i.e. male and female hip-hop groups and youth journalism project group) have had more frequent and access to specific cultural services for their creative projects (e.g. learning hip-hop dance; radio broadcasting workshop). Yet, differences exist between these microcultures i*n type, duration and institutions* where the services have been accessed. First, in the case of both hip-hop microcultures cultural services are related to dance: dance trainings, meeting hip-hop artists, working with local cultural coordinators or dancers creating their choreographies. In the case of young journalists microculture, proposed services are diverse and not only related to writing newspapers' articles: radio broadcasting workshops, visits to similar foreign institution (social centre), writing on-line articles with a journalist. Second, hip-hop microcultures, especially male group, have gradually developed access to cultural services that have been continuously existing for years up to present. In the case of young journalists' group, the adolescents have accessed different cultural services that served the specific needs of their youth project. Finally, all youth microcultures have accessed cultural services in their neighbourhoods and within socio-educational institutions. However, male hip-hop dancers have accessed more cultural institutions within their collective practice (e.g. visiting museum exhibitions and dance performances, classes in the local hip-hop choreography centre, dance performances in the local performance hall) in comparison to female hip-hop group (mainly self-taught and access the cultural services through the local hip-hop association). This is due to the long-lasting engagement of boys in their microculture – i.e. their repeated activities in

including them into already defined youth cultural/artistic projects (e.g. drawing project, puppet show and music projects). Second, the activities offered to adolescents during holidays comprise much bigger offer of consumption experiences (e.g. going to ski weekends, to theme parks, to swimming pools) outside the neighbourhoods. Adolescents can enrol in the activities which they prefer. In both cases the groups are highly ephemeral. In contrast to all other youth microcultures we describe in our dissertation, these are extremely instable, short-time, based on friendship and/or consumption-oriented small-groups.

[215] Here we intentionally use the term *institutions* and not *services*. The difference in our research is important. For the purpose of youth microcultures (including ephemeral microcultures) *cultural services* are usually accessible within local socio-educational institutions over a year (e.g. dance classes in social centre, drawing workshops and guitar classes in youth multipurpose centres). That is, access to cultural services is mainly enabled by the social institutions and by using their facilities (e.g. invited artists and other professionals to come to teach or work with adolescents). On the other hand, *access to cultural institutions* is also provided by these local institutions, but is usually occasional, project-specific, and of educational character.

the local cultural institutions and new access to nearby or other cultural institutions within or beyond hip-hop emancipating space. Young journalists' group have had less access to specific cultural services in the institutions (e.g. the radio workshop has been organized in the social centre, while the local radio station has been only visited by the adolescents during a cultural event that they broadcasted; or improvisational theatre classes have been done in the social centre and not in a theatre).

These youth microcultures have had not the *long-lasting* access to a cultural institution for the purpose of their collective cultural practices. The exception is hip-hop youth microcultures, especially adolescent boys' microculture. In the case of these boys, their long-lasting access to cultural institutions have been developed within hip-hop emancipating space and through the intermediary role of school and the sports professor. They accumulated diverse cultural experiences that are not only limited to visits to institutions – i.e. they collaborated with choreographers from the local hip-hop centre for different events and artistic projects. Yet, their long-term access to this private cultural institution, among the most important local institutions in hip-hop emancipating space, is *not fully enabled*. First, members of male and female hip-hop microcultures (and other adolescents training hip-hop in secondary school) have had hip-hop trainings with choreographers not in the choreography centre but in the secondary school. Second, those adolescents more and frequently engaged in hip-hop dance could have gained from dance trainings in the choreography centre. The adolescent boys have succeeded in gaining access to dance trainings. Yet, in order to do so, they needed to win hip-hop battles, to be engaged in school artistic projects and/or to work extra to pay for the classes.

At the same time our fieldwork practice reveals that many adolescents, may they be members of the youth microcultures or not, enrolled in some of local socio-educational institutions have had *occasional access to cultural institutions for educative purposes*. Majority of adolescents' cultural experiences – i.e. visits to or organized projects with cultural institutions - have an educational character and are a part of temporary cultural projects[216]. Local socio-educational institutions have developed relationships with local or nearby cultural stakeholders (e.g. multimedia libraries, local theatres, music schools, choreography centres) in order to develop adolescents' cultural projects of which some are related to ephemeral youth microcultures. The examples are numerous within the youth multipurpose centres (the remote neighbourhood).

[216] For example, *a group of adolescents aged 12 and 13 from the social centre* (remote neighbourhood) participated in organized visits to the museum of cinema themes, toys and setting, and film projection in the classical film "Wizard of Oz" in the cinema of the film institute. While during visits there were only three adolescents per visit, later during weekly or holiday leisure and consumption activities (playing board games, going to swimming pool or to cinema for the showing of the latest films) more adolescents were present.

Adolescents aged between 11 and 14 have been included in cultural projects that provide them access to cultural institutions, mainly local or nearby their neighbourhood. For example, a group of adolescents from one youth centre assisted the production of a local theatre play in a "*Puppet theatre*" project. They attended music workshops at the local music school and had rehearsals with a puppeteer in their youth centre. Other group has had some *guitar classes* in the youth centre and at the local music school. In each case groups have been unstable – i.e., adolescents' interest in cultural projects decreases over time which impacts their participation in proposed collective practice and affects group's changing structure. Another youth centre from the remote neighbourhood has organized *two-day group visits to the opera house* for the adolescents to learn about the jobs, see different rooms and services in the Opera, and to in the performance.

Further, youth centres have offered different activities to adolescents around rap music and hip-hop dance in the remote neighbourhoods. During our fieldwork, several youth centres have organized occasional workshops or collective trainings with local hip-hop artists from the neighbourhood engaged locally in teaching hip-hop to the adolescents and collaborating with the municipality cultural service and socio-educational institutions, or included small group of adolescents in the cultural projects co-organized with local urban culture centre or multi-media library around rap music, writing slam and performing hip-hop. Thus, chosen groups of more involved adolescents have been taken to these local and nearby institutions for several hours' collective activities in urban culture centre or multimedia library nearby the remote neighbourhood. Thus, access to local or nearby cultural institutions included in local cultural projects within urban culture activities has been enabled occasionally and mainly low number of adolescents have participated in these activities. Also, we have noticed the same adolescents' groups interested in rap (mainly boys) and hip-hop dance (mainly girls) participating in various local cultural events organized in cultural institutions. The examples of such cultural institutions-oriented projects in the remote neighbourhoods are numerous[217].

Both emancipating spaces in our research (and youth multipurpose centres) enable adolescents with regular accesses to cultural services in their places during a year. Our fieldwork practice reveals that offered cultural services have been usually related to urban culture (hip-hop dance, rap music, or writing poetry slam) and occasionally to the playing instruments, drawing comics

[217] We do not portray these ephemeral youth microcultures (adolescents aged 11 to 14 years and several groups of boys and girls aged 15 and 16 years) since they have been extremely inconsistent in participation in regular (weekly) practices, difficult to discuss about their cultural experiences, and, in the case of certain youth projects, instable in being a member of collective practices – i.e., a membership changed greatly over the period of six months for certain youth microcultures.

and theatre workshops. However, access to cultural institutions in or outside the neighbourhoods are generally offered as part of youth cultural projects and purposeful (educational) projects. Access to cultural institutions for the purposes of youth microcultures' practices are more frequent in the case of hip-hop microcultures, and desired by adolescents as in case of male dancers[218]. That is, adolescents gathered around their long-lasting collective passionate cultural practice have enabled them a longer or repeated access to local cultural institutions and more contacts with artists and cultural coordinators for the purpose of their collective creative expression.

In sum, all these cultural experiences in cultural institutions, be they short or long-term, demonstrate an openness of both emancipating spaces manifested in the rich proposal of access to services and consumption experiences than they can have in their neighbourhoods. To have such experiences more often, adolescents access them by joining collective cultural practices within local socio-educational institutions. On the other hand, cultural experiences enabled through access to cultural institutions are specific – they either have an educative character (through youth cultural projects with a low number of adolescents who voluntarily participate in these projects) or certain youth microcultures (except hip-hop dancers) have diversified cultural practices so their members did not develop any specific and long-lasting relationships with the local cultural institutions.

In sum, adolescents' collective cultural practices within the social centre (remote neighbourhood) and hip-hop space (peripheral neighbourhood) have short or long-term transformative character. Collectively undertaken cultural practices enable some adolescents to reach different life opportunities (education, job, trainings, future career) that they cannot otherwise obtain through their family or social relations outside the local institutional support. Yet, this is the case of some adolescents, inspired or passionate by their cultural practices (e.g. boys inspired by hip hop dance; some members of youth journalism group by writing articles). These and other adolescents passionate about creatively expressing their personalities, identities, emotions, or life difficulties attempt and succeed, yet differently, to resist multiple consumption restrictions and youth passivity that surrounds them. Finally, there are some, if not majority of adolescents, who focus on gratifying their impulse on consumption experiences. For many of them consumption means visiting different places, undertake activities that their families do not do or cannot afford (e.g. ski weekends, seaside holidays, traveling abroad).

[218] Female hip-hop group members are self-taught, and they access cultural services thanks to the local hip-hop association – i.e., they did not participate at the dance classes in local hip-hop choreography centre as boys.

Collective cultural practices of our informants have transformative character in the contexts of consumption restrictions and limited life opportunities for many adolescents from both neighbourhoods. Transformative cultural practices result from more openness of our informants towards other social environments - different and specific services, and experiences that exist outside these neighbourhoods; and from changes that have been encouraged in their collective cultural practices (e.g. focus on collective (long-term) creativity in contrast to widespread consumption of material goods among local young populations).

Conclusion of the chapter

Both emancipating spaces presented in this chapter are composed of dominantly local socio-educational institutions located in these neighbourhoods or nearby. They support – ideologically, materially, financially and socially – youth microcultures and transformative character of their collective cultural practices. Transformative character is understood in relation to spatial constraints of both neighbourhoods and associated consumption restrictions that limit cultural and consumption experiences of our informants (i.e. to avoid passivity in free time; to enrich consumption experiences outside the neighbourhoods; to be creative in contrast to desired consumption of famous brands; to access services inexistent in the neighbourhoods, and to enrich life opportunities). Thus, emancipating spaces are *spaces of consumption alternatives* where adolescents' collective cultural practices represent a combination of *cultural* and/or *consumption experiences* and collective, creative resistance to *consumption restrictions* and limited life opportunities (i.e. dependence on local institutional services or support to access services).

Transformative character of collective cultural practices within the *social centre* (remote neighbourhoods) is manifested through the co-production of microcultures' knowledge (collective resource) between members and youth coordinators – i.e. encouraged collective creative resistance to passivity and adolescents' focus on materialism consumption. Also, through collective practices, adolescents have searched for life opportunities which are mostly short-termed (i.e. part-time jobs), and consumption (hedonic) experiences (e.g. to travel and visit different places). Adolescents' creative resistance – i.e. co-production of youth microcultures' contents – has allowed members to gain access to consumption experiences and to services outside the neighbourhood for over a long period.

In *hip-hop emancipating spaces* provided consumption and cultural experiences are homogenous – i.e. all experiences are related to hip-hop or dance in general. However, these experiences have lasted for several years (or still exist for the male hip-hop group) serving adolescents creative expression and co-production of their microcultures' knowledge (collective resource) and, thus, encouraging a transformative character of adolescents collective practices. Both female and male hip-hop groups from this emancipating space have searched for access to cultural practices and experiences. Male hip-hop groups have had a greater access to cultural institutions and services outside the neighbourhoods which resulted in their long-term life opportunities.

In both emancipating spaces adolescents' collective cultural practices for broadened cultural/consumption experiences and life opportunities demand their active and long-term engagement in both microcultures and local institutions. In the social centre this demands adolescent participation in creative and educational projects while a hip-hop emancipating space calls for their intensive dance practices and collaboration with different local institutions. Consequently, emancipating spaces allow alternatives for broader consumption and life opportunities are offered through locally available service and lower prices of cultural practices in socio-educational institutions (openness); and alternatives to youth passivity through shared ideas and values of solidarity, sharing and individual search for information and collective agency (creative resistance and changes in youth cultural practices) (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997)

Conclusion of Part Three

In this part we presented our data interpretation of youth microcultures from constraining and empowering spatial influences of two urban policy neighbourhoods in which we conducted our fieldwork. Despite spatial and social differences these two neighbourhoods' manifest similarities in dominant spatial constraints and consumption restrictions that affect lives and consumptive practices of our informants. These young consumers employ collective coping strategies by collectively undertaking cultural practices in local socio-educational institutions. Relying on locally offered services they try to access services they cannot afford or do not exist in their neighbourhoods, to avoid youth passivity, or, even to seek life opportunities.

Dependence of youth collective cultural practices on local socio-educational institutions – i.e. institutions provide them alternatives to finance their practices, share diverse information, provide them places for activities. Their creativity and consumption experiences through collective practices are conditioned by institutional offer, youth coordinator contacts and relations to other institutions. Despite diversity of their offer to local adolescents, it is still unequally diversified (i.e. many local adolescents are not interested in proposed services, cultural practices). First, from the *constraining spatial perspective*, this institutional dependence reflects adolescents' experiences of spatial vulnerability, dominantly in relation to the lack of variety of services proposed in both neighbourhoods and limited financial resources of adolescents' families. Second, from the *empowering spatial perspective*, local socio-educational institutions' support fosters *openness* of our informants and their collective practices towards other social environments for consumption and life opportunities they do not have in the neighbourhoods; and inspires *changes* in adolescents' cultural practices that combine creativity and consumption experiences enabled by these institutions with co-constructed microcultures collective resources and encouraged collective control over spatial constraints and consumption restrictions (Chapter 7). Transformative outcomes of youth microcultures within these emancipating spaces are different: temporary (i.e. hedonic consumption or access to cultural institutions for youth projects), or long-term (i.e. life opportunities or prolonged cultural experiences).

Our informants' microcultures reflect spatial influences on adolescents' collective cultural practice. That is, their collective cultural practices are the consequence of *consumption inadequacy (consumption restrictions)* and *institutional dependence* (from a constraining

spatial perspective), and *creative resistance and alternative access to consumption and institution within emancipating spaces* (from empowering spatial perspective). We are opening the next chapter with an interpretation of our data.

Chapter 9: Discussion and general conclusion

Here, in the last chapter, we discuss our results and provide concluding remarks about our research. This chapter is divided into four sections. The *first section* opens with a discussion on our results by relating them to the leading theoretical constructs that shaped our data interpretation. Thus, we demonstrate how our data reflect, contradict, or extend current consumer research adopting spatial perspective in understanding consumer agency, vulnerability, and consumption inadequacy. The *second section* introduces our theoretical contributions followed by the policy and institutions recommendations presented in the *third section*. Finally, we conclude with the limits of our research and proposal for future research to extend our work that we present in the *fourth section*.

Section 1: Discussion on main results

> *"The universe of adolescent street culture cannot be understood without the ecological and social context of its urban environment. This young and popular subculture, specifically French in some ways, is intimately linked to the setting of the large-scale high-rise social housing estates, which were built on the outskirts of the big cities about thirty years ago."*[219] *(Lepoutre 1997, 30)*

Lepoutre's (1997) adolescent street culture is not consumer culture but simply independent youth culture developed through adolescents' appropriation of public space of deprived neighbourhoods in Parisian agglomeration. In contrast to this, the purpose of our research is to understand and portray microcultures of young consumers (i.e. small group cultural practices), which are created within or in relation to local socio-educational institutions in French urban policy neighbourhoods, in order to manage spatial vulnerability. Yet, our data resonate with the inseparability of youth microcultures from their social space (Lepoutre 1997) reflecting constraining and empowering dynamics of both deprived neighbourhoods presented in our research (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Analysing youth microcultures through these spatial dynamics introduces their understanding as collective coping strategies in dealing with

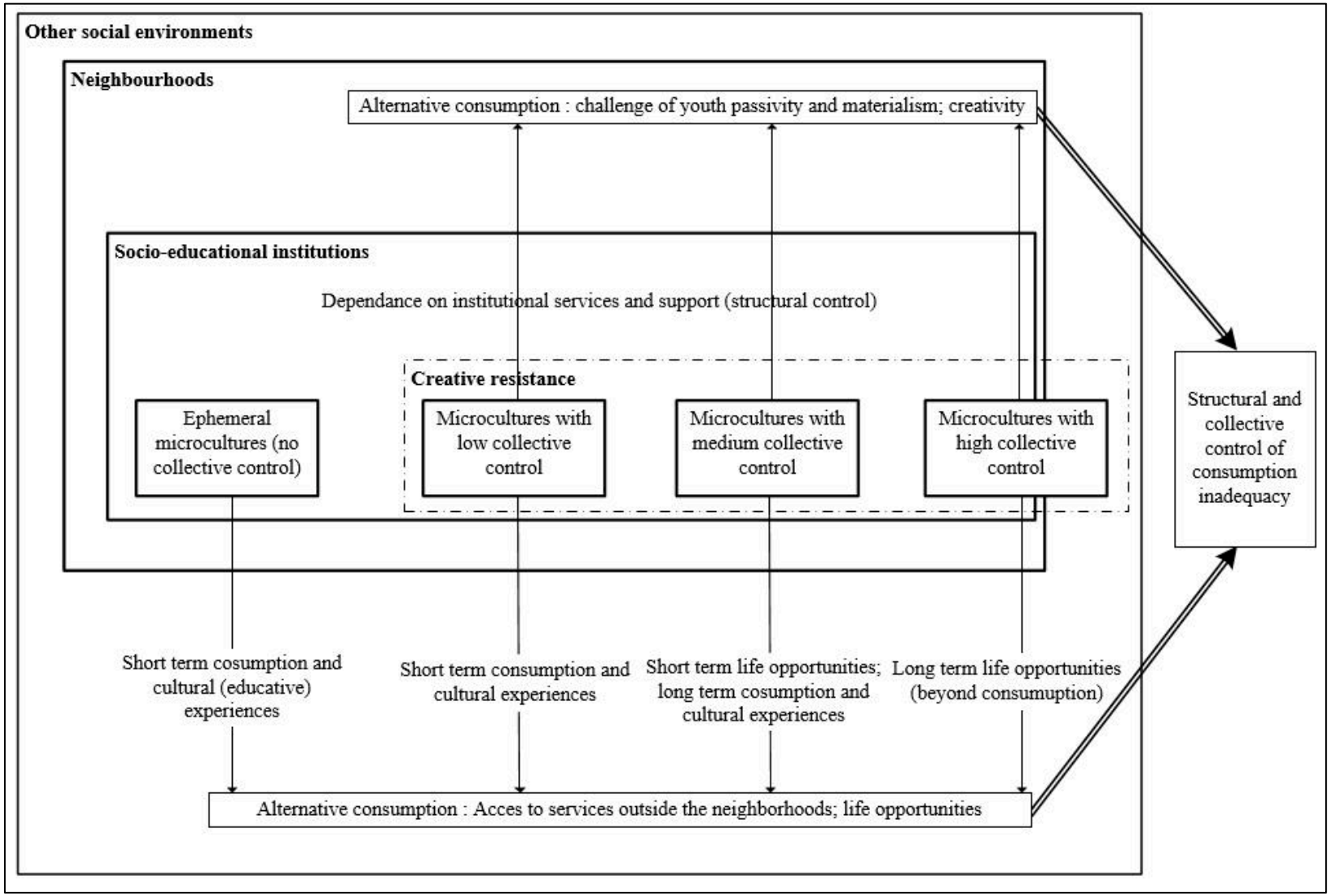
[219] Our translation.

spatial vulnerability. Also, adolescents' dependence on local socio-educational institutions' services is both (1) a consequence of consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002a; 2005) and (2) a source of creative resistance against spatial vulnerability and alternative consumption (i.e. emancipating spaces) (Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Figure 13 (page 361) presents a model of transformative consumer role of microcultures empowered by institutional support. This figure demonstrates that the established youth collective control (through microculture's experiences) over consumption inadequacy and youth passivity widespread in the neighbourhoods is dependent on the support of local socio-educational institutions. How successfully adolescents manage spatial vulnerability does not depend exclusively on local socio-educational institutions but on microcultures' collective resources and control over systemically deprived social and material context (Figure 12, page 310). Additionally, regardless of outcomes of microcultures' collective cultural practices, they all bring some changes in social space, therefore challenging widespread youth passivity and obsession with consumption of material goods.

Our empirical data imposed us to interpret data through both microcultures' and institutional perspective (Chapter 7 and Chapter 8) which guides our discussion. We mentioned above that microcultures' *dependence on* local institutional support has paradoxical meaning – i.e. a consequence of spatial vulnerability (e.g. diverse consumption restrictions) and a source of creative resistance and alternative consumption. This paradoxical meaning of institutional dependence results from the context – i.e. French urban policy interventions through local public services in deprived neighbourhoods (Dikeç 2007; Avenel 2016).

How does critical spatial perspective benefit our research? Askegaard and Linnet (2011) call for an understanding of *context of contexts* of consumer practices in revealing broader influences of "*social class, historical and global processes, and cultural values and norms*" (p 396). This approach is rewarding for consumer research scholars who study low-income or immigrant consumers' practices and vulnerabilities analysing wider social, historical factors and market dynamics (Hill and Stamey 1990; Peñaloza 1995; Gorge 2014). However, in the context of marginalized spaces it is crucial to reach geographical (spatial) dimension to critically understand their practices that influence social space and vice versa. Indeed, once we know *where they happen*, we are able to know *how and why they happen* (Warf and Arias 2009). Our data clarify that youth microcultures are a consequence of spatial constraints and multiple consumption restrictions for adolescents and a strong financial, material, and social

Figure 13: Model of transformative consumer role of microcultures empowered by institutional support



support from local institutions when they search for consumption and life opportunities. Thus, youth microcultures in our research are not mere consequence of adolescents' belonging to a low-income population, but of spatially available services and support. Also, these youth microcultures represent only one segment of low-income adolescents form these spaces. The adopted critical spatial perspective of youth microcultures in our research clarifies socio-spatial inequalities (Lefebvre 1974) and adolescents' collective creative agency within these economically and geographically marginalized urban policy neighbourhoods (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996).

How do our results align with consumer research scholarship on spatial dynamics on consumer practices? Critical spatial perspective of consumers' practices offers a contextual and pluralistic understanding of space revealing hidden social forces behind a spatial organization and consumers' practices (Soja 1989; 1996). Marketing and consumer researchers have shown their interest in and advocate for a broader application of critical understanding of consumer practices (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). Critical spatial approach with its focus on dominated human agency always brings out some kind of resistance and alternatives within marginalizes spaces. In that sense, much has been studied in consumer research scholarship about temporary escapism or emancipation and alternative practices in response to dominant market dynamics and mainstream consumer practices (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Maclaran and Brown 2005; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Roux, Guillard, and Blanchet 2018). Other scholars have been interested in constraining spatial dynamics caused by diverse social and structural forces (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) revealing how black consumers' practices are shaped by restricted choices intersecting with black ideology (D. Crockett and Wallendorf 2004) or how socially and spatially stigmatized low-income consumers negotiate their social status through moral capital-laden daily and consumptive practices (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a). These segregating spaces (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018) are spaces of struggles in the sense of Lefebvre, but at the same time they are not exposed to anomy but alternative social order (Hetherington 1997) or heteronomy that results from restricted consumption choices (Martin and Hill 2012). Whenever consumers face spatial inequality that is oppressive, systemic and manifested through multiple disadvantages, consumer research scholars may be interested in plurality of consumers' experiences and daily practices (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). These consumers face social and market exclusion more often than those from other spaces, and suffer from social

and spatial stigma that altogether shapes the experienced spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

Institutional dependence and spatial vulnerability. Our results bring out a strong youth dependence on local institutional services and support for their leisure practices and broader support (e.g. information about events or jobs; financial, material, and social support to organized projects or regular cultural practices). Consumer research scholarship acknowledges that consumers who experience vulnerability are dependent on institutional and other social support (Hill 1991; Hill and Stephens 1997; Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Following the reasoning of feminist ethical thinkers (Mackenzie, Rogers, and Dodds 2014) and consumer research scholars (Hill and Sharma 2020), vulnerability and dependence need not be problematic since we all, as humans and consumers, face diverse vulnerabilities in different life stages and situations. When consumer vulnerabilities endure and are caused by systemic disadvantages this may limit their participation in the society and its consumer culture (Hamilton 2009; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). In our research context, spatial inequalities (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) and consumption inadequacy for local young population (Hill 2002a; 2005) persists which limit their consumption and life opportunities. In consumer research, a spatial vulnerability is defined as "*a state of disadvantage and powerlessness that arises due to the tension and conflict that exists across multiple material, socio-spatial and ideological interests over social space*" (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016, 234). Spatial vulnerability that our informants experience resonates through their lack of control over multiple consumption restrictions caused by constraining structural factors (e.g. life in spatially concentrated low-income and mainly immigrant-origin populations; spatial stigma) and spatial constraints (e.g. lack of business and services, except of limited variety of those offered by public institutions; youth passivity, overrepresented desire for material goods and delinquency). The experienced spatial vulnerability of young consumers in our research reveals consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008) also common to adolescents in these deprived neighbourhoods. Following Roy (1995) this spatial vulnerability reveals also adolescents' dependence on local institutions (to access services and have material, organizational, financial and social support), have dominantly weak social relations that can provide them access to diverse cultural and consumption experiences, and have less opportunities for self-realisation in their free-time (without services offered by socio-educational institutions). Further, our informants experience spatial vulnerability since they live in the suburban spaces of widespread youth passivity and delinquency, and dominant adolescents' interest in consumption or material goods. In order to avoid this passivity, which leads to social isolation within the social space, as well as

consumption practices based only on material goods that many of them cannot afford, our informants find in local institutions their ideological sanctuaries and social and material support for their collective cultural practices (Chapter 8). Also, local social norms about leisure time that exist among local young population result from lack of variety of services, and cultural institutions and sports facilities (ONPV 2019), lack of financial resources to undertake activities outside the neighbourhood, and norms and values from their countries of origin (e.g. Comorian girls' parents did not use to go to museums since vising museums is not a common cultural practice in their country of origin). Consequently, our informants search for consumption and cultural experiences (Hamilton 2009) non-existent in the neighbourhoods, and opportunities for self-realisation (Roy 1995) in order to avoid social isolation in their social space. While our informants are concerned about lack of access to services, this shortage does not bother them in the sense of pure consumption since many of them are not used to having pocket-money and to consumption (Hamilton and Catterall 2005), therefore they do not consider themselves as consumers. Limited access to diverse services bothers them since this exacerbate their social distance and reflects their fear to stay isolated in their social space.

What does critical spatial perspective reveal about consumption inadequacy for local young consumers? Our research reveals that young consumers have restricted consumption choices (Botti et al. 2008) which introduces a debate about consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002a; 2005) and consumption restrictions of impoverished consumers (Hill, Martin, and Chaplin 2012; Martin and Hill 2012). Hill, Martin, and Chaplin (2012) underline that *"[r]estriction refers to the numerous ways in which consumers are inhibited from acting on their needs and desires in the marketplace*" (p 733). Consumer vulnerability experienced by low-income consumers is caused by their restricted consumption choices (Hill, Hirschman, and Bauman 1997; Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Botti et al. 2008; Hill and Sharma 2020). Young consumers and their collectively undertaken cultural practices indicate diverse externally imposed consumption restrictions (Botti et al. 2008). Our results (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) portray dominant consumption restrictions in relation to an access to services or institutions for their leisure practices (cultural or sports) purpose: limited financial resources of adolescents families, lack of variety of cultural institutions in the neighbourhoods, lack of availability of services in the neighbourhoods, limited information or knowledge about services for leisure activities in and outside the neighbourhoods, and family or social norms about the leisure time (Botti et al. 2008). In such restricted consumption context, collective cultural practices of our informants performed in local socio-educational institutions are the way to challenge these restrictions. Despite the offer of services that may be abundant, these are imposed upon our

informants and are not their first choices due to the lack of their individual access to services outside the neighbourhoods. Our youth microcultures reflect exactly these restrictions that differently affect the adolescents. That is, those who find an interest or are passionate about proposed cultural services (e.g. hip-hop dancers or young journalists) can access additional services or reach certain life opportunities through their engagement on weekly basis and long term participation in the microcultures.

Understanding adolescents' cultural (and consumption) practices in comparison to a broader French society, as a society of abundance of choices, one can understand that their access to diverse services and cultural institutions are restricted. Our informants rely dominantly (or exclusively as hip-hop dancers and girls from solidarity project) on services of local socio-educational institutions which offer them less artistic services, limited variety of places and destinations to visit outside the neighbourhood, and can involve limited number of adolescents in projects, excursions and short-stays at different destinations. Also, to access different services and experiences outside these neighbourhoods with local socio-educational institutions, adolescents have to take part in youth projects over a year and/or to organize cultural activities to collect money for their travel expenditures. To access diverse services, despite their lower prices, adolescents have to invest much of their time just for simple experiences. On the other hand, when there is no local institutional support for their practices, basic equipment and services for their activities are restricted (e.g. young hip-hop dancers faced struggles with adequate places, equipment, or finances to pay transport to events). Here we may join Hill and his colleagues (Hill, Martin, and Chaplin 2012; Martin and Hill 2012) in understanding of consumption inadequacy for impoverished consumers within the contexts of broader consumption abundance. Hill (2002, 2005) associates consumption inadequacy of impoverished consumers with the extreme lack of access to the essential goods and services necessary for a survival and refers to access to food, living place, health care and clothing. His concept may find his application in understanding of all socially isolated adolescents in French urban policy neighbourhoods outside any social institutions. Essential goods and services, that Hill (2002, 2005) advocates for, are provided for many adolescents in our research context. This is due to diverse special governmental programmes and investment in education in these poor neighbourhoods, guaranteed health care and housing for all. Yet, inequalities exist at the level of quality of these services in the deprived neighbourhoods (i.e. through exchanges with adolescents we understood a lower quality of education and housing). In such context of early school drop-out, lower quality of education, lack of services and cultural institutions and youth passivity and delinquency, access to diverse services aimed for cultural and leisure practices in

and outside the neighbourhood has educational and consumption character for our informants. Thus, in our research context of French urban policy neighbourhoods and focus on adolescents' cultural practices, Hill's (2002, 2005) concept of consumption inadequacy is extended to the lack of access to cultural experiences which allude to social deprivation and exclusion (Townsend 1987; Richardson and Le Grand 2002). In the French deprived contexts adolescents do not seek only access to material goods but the opportunities for self-realisation (Roy 1995) through locally offered cultural practices, yet limited, and to reach broader cultural and consumption experiences (Hamilton 2009). However, we join Hill (2002, 2005) by acknowledging that our passionate young hip-hop dancers have restricted access to adequate place for their trainings and generally adolescents do not have artistic and creative experiences in cultural institutions. Even though our informants do not complain about this as a restriction (i.e. since they are used to consuming locally offered services), we find that their access to variety of cultural services and cultural institutions in general, is restricted. This is a restriction in relation to: (1) the need of the most passionate and motivated members of long-lasting microcultures who seek diverse cultural experiences (individual perspective), (2) investments by the local governments in various youth leisure, art and cultural services (through collaboration of local socio-educational institutions, different cultural institutions and artists with local town halls) (Faure and Garcia 2005; Heyraud 2016) (spatial/local perspective), and (3) French democratization of access to culture and cultural institutions (e.g. reduced prices; collaboration of schools and cultural institutions) to alleviate social exclusion (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015). Finally, consumption inadequacy in relation to variety of cultural services offered outside the educational system is, in the case of our adolescents, dominantly spatial constraints that foster restrictions.

Collective resource-control interplay in managing spatial vulnerability. As mentioned above youth microcultures' dependence on services from local socio-educational institutions is a consequence of spatial vulnerability shaped by consumption inadequacy and youth passivity. That is, adolescents' cultural practices within microcultures represent their collective coping strategies. From psychological perspective, coping means emotional, cognitive or behavioural management of environmental changes that exceed individual's resources (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). In marketing literature, consumers' coping is dominantly related to their experience of vulnerability at the market (and society) be it temporary or persistent and systemic (Hill and Stamey 1990; K. Hamilton and Catterall 2005; Baker 2006; 2009; Hutton 2016). That is, a combination of diverse internal and external factors may cause consumers' loss of control over situations or persistent consumption restrictions which they try to establish by relying on

different resources (financial, material, social). Analysing more closely a combination of consumer's (access to) resources and control of these resources, it is possible to understanding whether a consumer is enabled or vulnerable agent (Hill and Sharma 2020). In their paper these authors call for an understanding of constraints/restrictions that may exist among individual (e.g. education, financial status, health), interpersonal (e.g. social capital, social support) and structural resources (i.e. affected by marketplace configurations, public policies, laws), and differences in individual, interpersonal or structural control over constraints (Hill and Sharma 2020). Our results on youth microcultures as coping strategies resonate with this understanding of young consumers' agencies experiencing spatial vulnerability. Table 24 and Table 25 (pages 268 and 269) illustrate resources and controls of members of youth microcultures in relation to access to leisure and cultural services. Generally, many adolescents have limited financial resources to afford individual access to cultural services, dominantly local social relations (in the neighbourhoods) and many of local services are provided by public socio-educational institutions. These institutions have a role of structural control (Hill and Sharma 2020) in that they enable access to diverse leisure services for many adolescents from these neighbourhoods and support collective cultural practices within youth microcultures (Chapter 8). Only the most passionate microcultures (male hip-hop dancers) have social relations beyond their neighbourhoods. Our empirical data have shown that these elements are not enough to understand how adolescents' cope with consumption inadequacy and youth passivity in their neighbourhoods. Indeed, our results indicate that adolescents face the challenge of consumption inadequacy more efficiently through their collective cultural practices (microcultures). Thus, we adapted Hill and Sharma (2020) resource-control combinations by adding collective knowledge as resource and collective experiences as control. These collective resources and controls stem from our comparison of microcultures' practices with all other youth institutional practices that have no collective or group character, and where adolescents only occasionally and for purely consumptive purposes use institutional services. Collective knowledge results from microculture practices and thus enables members to improve their creative or artistic skills, gain specific knowledge, develop their self-confidence, and gain organisational skills. This collective knowledge is in close relation to their collective experiences that they had through their cultural practices. The more collective experiences were richer and happening outside the neighbourhoods the more the adolescents succeeded in establishing some control over lack of cultural and consumption experiences they had in their neighbourhoods. Also, collective experiences are recognized as helpful since adolescents, through their microcultures (especially long-lasting), have succeeded in enriching their social contacts in and beyond the

neighbourhoods. We are aware that this collective resources and controls are very context-specific in comparison to the proposal of Hill and Sharma (2020).

On the bases of our adolescents' resource-control combinations their collective coping strategies resonate with Hill and Sharma's (2020) defensive strategies through which young consumers attempt to establish some control and challenge their consumption restrictions and spatial constraints. Collective coping strategies of members of microcultures (Table 26, page 270) belong to the strategies of transcending or creating new structures (Hill and Sharma 2020). On one hand, we have a collective coping strategy of girls form female solidarity group is transcending since they experience more restrictions due to family norms which limit them dominantly to practices in the neighbourhoods. Despite this, they relied on the support of local institutions and their services to access some services and to challenge boredom or routine in the free time. On the other hand, at the opposite side are collective practices of members of youth empowerment and solidarity association which represent a newly created youth structure. This is the group that due to their education and previous social contacts can organize their practices more independently and thus succeed in challenging their negative image. However, their collective experiences in sharing knowledge among local adolescents completely failed due to their individual limited capacities in working with adolescents aged 11 to 14 years. Their attempt was to enrich local adolescents' curiosity and out of the institutions to share knowledge that can help them have stronger individual resources to broader their cultural practices and avoid passivity in social space – i.e. they aimed at challenging dominant spatial characteristics of leisure or social reproduction of cultural practices typical for segregating spaces (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018).

Between these two extremes, there are all other collective coping strategies (of female and male hip-hop groups, and youth journalism project group) resonating with the strategy of creating new structures (Hill and Sharma 2020). All these long lasting microcultures have been created by the initiative of adolescents and have been based on their passions. If we observe their evolution closer, we recognize that they rely on the support of local socio-educational institutions and their professors (structural control), their friends and neighbourhoods (interpersonal support), and their capacities and talents for dance (individual resources). Regarding the hip-hop dancers, these resources and control have evolved over time and enabled greater independence against organisational support of local institutions. We do not see the coping strategies of female hip-hop group and youth journalism project group as transcending since they manifest their creative resistance and motivation in order to create their small youth

groups (which differs from the case of female solidarity group continuously and organisationally supported by local youth coordinators). In contrast to all examples provided by Hill and Sharma (2020) indicating consumers' entirely independent actions, our young consumers (mostly under 18 years of age) and their coping strategies cannot be understood apart and separated from institutional support furthermore as they are not independent as adolescent street cultures (Lepoutre 1997).

Institutional dependence and emancipating spaces. Youth microcultures' dependence on local institutional support has its additional meaning that reveals an empowering spatial dynamic – i.e. it is a source of collective creative resistance and alternative consumption. Our results in relation to emancipating spaces (Chapter 8), role of structural control over spatial vulnerability (Table 24 and Table 25, pages 268 and 269) and young consumers' collective defensive strategies, demonstrate an inseparability of microcultures' transformative outcomes from ideological, material and financial, and social support of local institutions. Our empirical data reveal that youth microcultures are performed within emancipating spaces or local socio-educational institutions (Chapter 8). These spaces apparently manifest critical spatial thoughts developed by Foucault (1986), Hetherington (1997) and Soja (1996) of creative resistance and alternative consumption. While our explanation of urban policy neighbourhoods and spatial vulnerability resonates with Lefebvre's (1974) centre-periphery analysis that reveals socio-spatial inequalities and consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002a; Martin and Hill 2012), our understanding of local socio-educational institutions as emancipating spaces opens more debate about young consumers' creative resistance and alternative practices. The concept of emancipating spaces have been to certain extent analysed in consumer research literature about marginalized consumer practices, as we mentioned above, in relation to escapism or emancipation from market domination (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012). On the other hand, less is known about how consumers, living in deprived neighbourhoods and experiencing spatial vulnerability, create spaces of resistance for their alternative practices (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Consumer emancipating spaces are created around consensus about practices and values that guide their collective agency and on individuals' decision to participate (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). In our research, members of youth microcultures voluntarily decide to take part in collective and institutional practices. In consumer emancipating spaces of creativity and alternatives certain authors recognize *heterotopias* (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986) or counter-spaces and spaced of difference (Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). From the Foucault's vision of *heterotopias*, socio-educational institutions in our research manifest such places since

they are real places where adolescents can access diverse leisure services and they juxtapose space of creative production, space of consumption and home or family space (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). However, his vision does not reveal exactly the emancipating character of socio-educational institutions for our young consumers. Analysing separately works of Hetherington (1997) and Soja (1996) we come across a missing element of an imaginary or an utopian ethos. In other words, whatever we call such spaces (e.g. of difference, alternative, counter, other, of resistance) these spaces combine real and imaginary spaces. If we look closely in our interpreted data (Chapters 7 and 8) we find that young consumers' collective agency is guided by spatial constraints and consumption restrictions that nurture their utopian visions about better life and consumption opportunities. While some adolescents try to improve their individual life and consumptive practices through collective agency, others make effort to empower other young consumers. Their utopian ethos are enacted through their microcultures within local socio-educational institutions. Their individual and collectively developed knowledge with the support of local institutions (e.g. provided places for practices; borrowed equipment; find alternatives of financing and organizing collective practices) takes shape of their collective agency and their collective and individual emancipation (Soja 1996).

To understand empowering dynamic of local socio-educational institutions and youth collective cultural practices (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) there is a need to understand what consumers resist against and what are the offered alternatives. First, certain consumer research studies recognize consumers' resistance to dominant culture and consumer society or mainstream consumption values that lead to youth delinquency (Ozanne, Hill, and Wright 1998) or to escapism (Kozinets 2002). In our research young consumer resistance is creative and results from boredom in deprived neighbourhoods and lack of variety and availability of services – i.e. a resistance to mundane reality (Hetherington 1997) and consumption inadequacy. While some adolescents have chosen to resist through delinquency, our informants opted for the support of local socio-educational institutions. Second, alternatives of socio-educational institutions that young consumers benefit from concern alternative access to services (e.g. diverse ways of financing, information, places for regular activities and visits and projects in diverse institutions in and outside the neighbourhoods) and alternative consumption values (i.e. cultural practices combine consumption experiences and creative expression). However, consumption may have ambiguous meaning for members of youth microcultures, especially for those engaged in creative cultural practices over a long period of time. Surrounded by youth obsession with consumption of material goods and passivity in the neighbourhoods and sharing values of creativity and collective agency within microcultures

and institutions, these adolescents do not consider themselves as consumers. This resonates with the fact that many of them do not have pocket-money and do not consume as adolescents from middle class but are not unhappy about material deprivation (Hamilton and Catterall 2005). They are rather bothered by a social deprivation and the lack of cultural consumption experiences (Hamilton 2009). Here is where the cause to another meaning of alternative consumption for these young consumers emerges, indicating that youth collective cultural practices are never desired for mere access to consumption experiences, but comprise a need for broader life opportunities (e.g. reaching social norms outside the neighbourhoods; succeeding in education and employment; finding part-time jobs).

Marginalized spaces are and may be spaces of opportunities (Hooks 1989; Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b). In our research socio-educational institutions are spaces of openness and change (Soja 1989; 1996) for our young consumers within microcultures but also for those from ephemeral microcultures (Chapter 8). Youth microcultures and other adolescents' leisure practices within these spaces enable more openness for these young consumers to navigate other social environments and to enrich their cultural and consumption experiences or to reach life opportunities. Nurturing creative resistance and enabling diverse experiences these emancipating spaces bring up changes among youth cultural practices and provide examples for others to follow – i.e. alternative access to services and experiences and the way out from sliding into social isolation, yet demanding in terms of engagement in institutions and not satisfactory in the terms of adolescents' needs for leisure and consumption. Thus, our results acknowledge the transformative consumer role of adolescents' collective agency through microcultures. However, long-term outcomes are partially reached. Concerning local young populations' need for diverse consumption experiences (e.g. the example represents ephemeral microcultures in our research), these spaces have limited capacities (material, financial and organisational). Local youth coordinators can provide limited life opportunities depending on their social and institutional contacts. In terms of the opportunities they offer to adolescents, these emancipating spaces dedicated to creative self-realisation (Roy 1995) and alternative consumption experiences resonate with the need to understand spaces of alternative practices for consumers from deprived neighbourhoods (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016). Finally, through our research we portrayed the meaning of youth microcultures and their relations to socio-educational institutions (as dominant local services for adolescents leisure and cultural practices) that helped us understand that their dependence on these services reveals spatial constraining dynamic (consumption inadequacy) and empowering dynamic (creative resistance and alternative consumption). It is through these restrictions and institutional support that young

consumers succeed in challenging their materially and socially deprived lives in urban policy neighbourhoods.

Section 2: Theoretical contributions

Through our doctoral research we manifest an interest in economically and geographically marginalized spaces and young consumers. This has led us towards a concept of consumer vulnerability (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). However, an adoption of critical spatial perspective of consumers' coping strategies aligns our research with the spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016), and the concept of consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002; Hill 2005; Martin and Hill 2012). We hope to provide a revised and additional perspective (MacInnis 2011) that stems from our context specificities. In our research we aim to understand the way young consumers manage spatial vulnerability (consumption restrictions) throughout their collective cultural practices in a specific French context of deprived neighbourhoods. Critical spatial perspective and collective level of young consumers' agency in managing spatial vulnerability indicate their dependence on local socio-educational institutions which demonstrates both constraining and empowering spatial dynamics (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017) – i.e. consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002; Hill 2005; Martin and Hill 2012) and spaces of young consumers' transformative practices (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016).

By adopting a critical spatial perspective of young consumers' cultural practices that collectively manage spatial vulnerability our research perspective aligns with Saatcioglu and Corus (2016). Our research shared their view that this spatial perspective can help in understanding spatial inequalities, multiple disadvantages that consumers from marginalized spaces experience. Recent marketing and consumer research works has analysed an interplay between spatial influences and consumer agency focused either on empowering spatial dynamics within the spaces of consumers' emancipation and creative resistance (Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012) or on constraining dynamics that restricts consumers' choices and imposes their adaptation and negotiation of their social status (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013a). In her works Saatcioglu and her colleagues (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013b; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) advocate for understanding how marginalized spaces with persistent spatial inequalities may be and are spaces of opportunities and critical thinking of their consumers. Thus, we may identify in their

works how they recognized empowering spatial dynamics (emancipating space or *heterotopias*) within broader constraining dynamics of marginalized or segregating spaces (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017; Castilhos and Dolbec 2018). In that sense, by recognizing empowering dynamics of local institutions our research shares the same view. However, our research with its contextual specificity brings out another view of consumer dependence and emancipating spaces. First, although consumer dependence indicates consumer vulnerability (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016), in the case of our adolescent consumers and social contexts with traditionally dominant and strong public policy interventions, as in the French society and their urban policy neighbourhoods, it can paradoxically be understood as a source of opportunities and creative resistance. Second, as our research context indicates, young consumers' creative resistance does not take place in typical *heterotopias* (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) opposed to social and market domination by providing alternative practices. Our emancipating spaces, as government grant-aided institutions providing alternatives to restricted consumption, are understood as *semi-alternative spaces* (Chapter 8). We recognize our contribution to an understanding of spatial vulnerability and consumer agency through our context of deprived neighbourhood that has not been much analysed in consumer research (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) with an exception of the studies of Crockett and Wallendorf (2004) and Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013a). Yet, their research reveals different theoretical backgrounds and research contexts with less or no impact of public policy interventions.

Second, we hope to provide an additional view of consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002; Hill 2005; Martin and Hill 2012) and interplay between consumers' resources and sources of control over vulnerability (Hill and Sharma 2020). Alongside with the specificities of our research context we align with the statement of Hill (2005) that consumption inadequacy depends on social contexts, norms, available resources, and other factors. We introduce an extendibility to Hill's basic entitlements of revealing material deprivation through the analysis of the lack of cultural and consumption experiences that reveal social deprivation of young low-income consumers.

Finally, our research allowed us to relate spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) with coping strategies in managing these through analysis of consumer resources and sources of controls (Hill and Sharma 2020). It indicates that a dependence of young consumers on local services, which results from a spatial vulnerability (or persistent consumption inadequacy),

represents structural control over vulnerability (Hill and Sharma 2020). Also, when a researcher focuses on adolescents and their tendency to undertake collective practices, then we propose to analyse collective resources and collective control in dealing with their persistent consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002; Hill 2005; Martin and Hill 2012). To propose cultural experiential dimension to Hill's concept of consumption inadequacy and collective resource-control level in understanding consumer vulnerability (Hill and Sharma 2020) we rely on Roy's (1995) view of the need of consumers, who experiences social and market exclusion, to find a way for self-realisation.

To conclude, our reliance on spatial critical theory (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1989; 1996) applied in the research context of cultural practices of adolescents from deprived neighbourhoods who experienced a spatial vulnerability (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016) has helped us to provide some contributions to the scholarship on consumer vulnerability by understanding that dependence of consumers coping strategies on local services is a paradoxical source of consumers' emancipation and alternatives against restrictions and within spatial constraints. Broader socio-historical factors that shaped contemporary meaning of French deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. spatial stigma) and their spatial constraints (e.g. social homogenization of population and lack of services and business) impacted our research context leading us towards these conclusions.

Section 3: Local institutions and policy recommendations

Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013b) acknowledge that critical spatial understanding of consumers' restrictions or inequalities may allow marketing researchers to provide recommendations for policy makers. This resonates with Hill's (1995) demand for critical ethnographic studies in marketing that allow emancipatory views and policy actions towards vulnerable consumers. French urban policy makers have already relied on critical spatial perspective – i.e. urban policy interventions have benefited from urban sociologists' research. However, while much ethnographic studies were done to understand adolescents' appropriation of public space (Kokoreff 1993; Lepoutre 1997; Marlière 2005), little is known about their needs for cultural and consumption experiences, or how and why they use local services, especially cultural, in their leisure time. Our research on youth microcultures (collective cultural practices) organized

around locally offered services introduces several recommendations for local socio-educational and cultural institutions. Our recommendations advocate for adapted institutional support for a broader access to cultural services to establish long-lasting possibilities for adolescents to vary their cultural and consumption experiences within and beyond their neighbourhoods.

How to assure long-term access to cultural services and cultural institutions?

There are several elements regarding youth cultural practices and their current access to services in their neighbourhoods that our ethnographic study reveals, all of which are important for furthermore inclusive and deeply considered policy actions than they are at present.

Meaning of alternative consumption/practices. cultural practices of young consumers reveal *alternative consumption* which means (1) chosen cultural practices are not their first and passionate choice but imposed by locally available services; (2) between two options a cheaper one will always be chosen; (3) cultural practices are not chosen for an individual consumption experience ("pay, come, consume/experience, and go"); (4) practice always include sharing, and (5) there is a need of group affiliation. These attributes of alternative consumption and cultural practices of local young consumers result from local social norms as a consequence of permanently limited variety of service in their space, their low-income status and different cultural background.

Stronger collaboration between social and cultural institutions/stakeholders. Marketing scholars from Transformative Consumer Research advocate for a collaboration between government, consumers, business sector and NGOs to help consumers who experience vulnerability to overcome their constraining consumptive lives (Baker and Mason 2012). Traditionally, local governments in charge of French urban policy neighbourhoods and local public institutions collaborate within the scope of youth cultural projects as one of the urban policy interventions (Heyraud 2016). To alleviate the lack of variety of cultural institutions and sports facilities in urban policy neighbourhood (ONPV 2019), urban policy makers attempt to provide access to cultural and other services *within or by the intermediary role of socio-educational institutions*. Despite this remarkable effort to provide equal access to services, our research demonstrates a need to rethink such a dominant approach for the benefit of long-term access to diverse services outside the neighbourhoods. First, our informants, as many local adolescents, try to adapt to consumer society (Avenel 2010) by relying on locally available

limited services to access other services outside their neighbourhoods. Second, putting their needs for cultural experiences into broader French policy interventions on eradication of social exclusion through democratized access to culture (Gorge, Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Toussaint 2015), our empirical data reveal that such access is financially possible due to reduced prices offered to the French adolescents in general, and those who receive benefits in particular, but experiences in cultural institutions are rare, temporary and organized by local schools or for educational purposes. We introduce here recommendations for different local stakeholders in order to rethink a long-term and regular access to cultural institutions and enrich cultural experience of young consumers from these neighbourhoods, based on a reconsidered collaboration between socio-educational institutions (e.g. youth multipurpose, social, and neighbourhood centres) and nearby cultural institutions.

How to make "access to cultural institutions and their experiences" become a part of adolescents' consumption experiences?

Recommendation 1 (for cultural institutions): Adaptation of cultural institutions' marketing actions towards local young populations

This recommendation is designated to cultural institutions that appear as main local cultural stakeholders for youth microcultures and other youth projects (except of multimedia libraries which are already used by adolescents). To adapt their marketing actions means to go beyond mere promotion of "cultural education" and to adopt them as regular consumers which further implies enabling them to an alternative access. This calls for (1) broader access to their places of collective practices, (2) intermediary person from the neighbourhood between institution and adolescents, and (3) alternative financing.

1 Adolescents' cultural practices and experiences need to take place more in local cultural institutions (whenever possible) and less in local schools and socio-educational institutions. They never directly demand that, but when we listen their desires to experiences something different, at different places, to meet artists, professionals, etc., it becomes crucial. For example, young hip-hop dancers who dance regularly during their free time and in schools should have their trainings available at hip-hop choreography

centre situated in the core of the peripheral neighbourhood. One option is to schedule the school hip-hop trainings (once a week) in one of new and well-equipped dance rooms of the chorography centre (these trainings are already a part of municipality art project). Another option, concerning male and female passionate hip-hop dancers we interviewed, is to enable them a regular access to the dance room in a defined time slot and day in a week. This will be beneficial for these young dancers since they may be directly surrounded by choreographers, have access to diverse information about local and other events, and meet other adolescents living in other urban spaces and passionate about hip-hop dance. These proposals make more sense since our empirical data have shown that adolescents have temporary access to cultural institutions (e.g. assist to concert or dance performance) but they did not get used to going regularly to these places.

2 Young consumers Young consumers originating from these neighbourhoods need an intermediary person to create an institutional cultural offer closer to their affinities or to inspire them for pursuing a specific, cultural practices yet unknown to them. Majority of adolescents from these neighbourhoods usually choose cultural practices not by their passion but based on local availability and recommendation from individuals within their social space circle. Actual situation demonstrates that cultural institutions rely dominantly on local schools to assure adolescents' access to their services. As much as this is a good solution to educate adolescents, our empirical data reveals that fewer adolescents are interested in school imposed cultural and art projects and their long-term relations with cultural institutions are not assured, at least not for the majority. Adolescents from deprived neighbourhoods prefer to undertake collectively cultural practices on the bases of advice from their peers or youth coordinators working in the socio-educational institutions with whom they have established very close and friendly relations. One of the solutions regarding the cultural institutions (e.g. theatre, music school) would be to develop long-term collaboration with local socio-educational institutions and to rely on youth coordinators, usually the most experienced and the most reliable ones the local young consumers can depend on in order to be assured that collective practices are going to take the place in the local and nearby cultural institutions. As some of our informants emphasize, this may be helpful since the above mentioned coordinators share their social norms of communication and collective practices, and majority of young consumers prefer to undertake practices in a friendly, family-like atmosphere and privileged collective, social acceptance of practice in a contrast to a purely individualist hedonic experiences.

3 An access to the private cultural institutions is impossible for young consumers. Despite certain efforts that have already been made (e.g. hip-hop centre from peripheral neighbourhood reduced annual fees), further improvement would be much welcomed. For example, one option for the passionate young hip-hop dancers (e.g. dance practices three time a week or more) would be to offer them at least one year of free trainings in the choreography centre.

Recommendation 2 (for all stakeholders): Include microcultures in local youth-driven cultural or artistic projects

Adolescents are very receptive to the information and suggestions that come from their peers, especially the ones related to the consumption and collective cultural practices. As our results indicate, members of certain youth microcultures have devoted their time and energy to share information and knowledge with younger peers with less access to cultural services. These adolescents' efforts should be considered by local authorities since local young populations need an intermediary person to access cultural institutions and to challenge the widespread passivity during free time. For an example, a local hip-hop association in peripheral neighbourhood has been established by providing peer-to-peer hip-hop training support. However, their activities, as older members indicate, remain "underground" (i.e. are exclusively related to the hip-hop battles) and consist of the audience from the other neighbourhoods, only. One option would be to make a direct attempt to initiate a collaboration between the latter mentioned association and artists from dance companies (i.e. dance styles other than hip-hop) from the municipality or Lyon agglomeration. Cultural sector of local town hall, socio-educational institution and hip-hop centre may help them in developing such actions.

Another example revels even more important concern of youth empowerment and solidarity association from remote neighbourhood. The leading members of the association are three excellent students that recognize the needs and constraints their neighbour adolescents are facing with as well as they are acquainted with these young consumers' communication. We recommend that local authorities reconsider the youth projects or ideas about peer-to-peer education through informal, cultural experiences in the form of workshops. These young men offer solutions about an improved way of communication to adolescents (e.g. through social media instead of flyers or billboards) and may bring more cultural topics about the local services during their workshops they organise for the local young population. The local authorities may

consider opting for different financial support of these activities, while other local institutions may support them in providing different places and contacts for the youth collective practices.

Recommendation 3 (for all stakeholders): Rethink cultural projects to enable adolescents' long-term participation

To make the outcomes of collaboration between cultural and local socio-educational institutions more efficient and beneficial to the adolescents, long-term cultural experiences need some improvements. Our empirical data have shown great variety of youth cultural projects and enabled access to cultural services. These services were found interesting or important to adolescents' collective practices. Yet, these experiences have been occasional or only a small number of them participated in those activities. For the groups of adolescents who are particularly interested in the proposed projects, it would be beneficial for their further broader access to services outside the neighbourhood (1) to rethink the collective practices together with adolescents and youth coordinators once a project is finished, and (2) to assure that their regular cultural practices are not only done in local socio-educational institutions (as much as possible). Other solution for local cultural projects, especially those centred around urban culture and hip-hop dance (Faure and Garcia 2005; Avenel 2010) is to bring more adolescents and more often to the nearby private cultural centres. For example, fewer adolescents participate in the local hip-hop event organized in the remote neighbourhood by urban culture centre, municipality theatre, multimedia library, and music school. One of the solutions would be to organize certain hip-hop dance workshops at the one of numerous modern rooms of the centre and to jointly rethink, with youth coordinators from the neighbourhoods, about some workshop proposals, for example, rap concerts adapted to adolescents tastes (i.e. according to the adolescents, a locally important cultural institutions has not adapted offer to the local adolescents). Regarding the concerts, they should reconsider reducing the ticket fees and sharing more information about the events. Also, cultural centre and socio-educational institutions have to make efforts to share information about culture centre services not only to adolescents taking part in institutional projects but to a broader local young population.

Recommendation 4 (for local authorities and socio-educational institutions): Material and social support to long-lasting microcultures

Long-lasting and passionate youth microcultures need a deeper consideration of their material and social support from local authorities and socio-educational institutions. These microcultures are rare (e.g. hip-hop dancers and young journalist groups in our research) but, as our empirical data indicate, have or may have a broader impact on their members only or, more broadly, on local young consumers' cultural practices. For example, one solution for young hip-hop dancers would be to assure they get a frequent access to a locally available room equipped for dancing (e.g. mirrors, speakers, heating during winter) which would facilitate their focus on creative process instead of searching for a place to dance. In contrast to these adolescents who have a large network of contacts among local cultural and social institutions, young journalists microculture needs more of a specific supervision (e.g. a journalist's support) during a longer period. This would enable their small-group practice to become a broader youth project, and to help them enrich social contacts and grant them an access to different services related to journalism. Finally, the most important challenge for these youth microcultures is to finance their projects and multiple short stays, travels and events outside the neighbourhoods. As a complement to organizing refreshment stalls to collect the money, these youth microcultures, with the support of individuals from local institutions and authorities with broader social contacts, should opt for crowdfunding to finance their cultural and artistic projects they organize abroad or in other parts of France.

Empirical evidences that open more debate on unsolved problems

Despite these recommendations on the practice improvement of the local institutions and authorities, unfortunately certain aspects of cultural and consumption experiences local young consumers desire to have remain unresolved at present, and do not have any immediate solutions offered by current local social and institutional situations. Our empirical data reveal that locally offered services are adequate for general leisure practices and mainly satisfy the adolescents younger than 14 years old. We find an explanation for this in dominantly local and restricted consumption experiences or over-educational character of cultural experiences. Despite the great efforts and support of local socio-educational institutions, consumption

choices of adolescents are restricted, and we have no solutions for that. First, socio-educational institutions have limited capacity and cannot provide all adolescents with the services and an access to consumption experiences outside neighbourhoods. Second, those who enrolled in these institutions in order to reach simple consumption experiences must engage in the long-term projects, mainly not passionate about, in order to gain a priority to reach consumption experiences outside the neighbourhoods (e.g. access to ski centres, short holidays at the seaside or lakes, visits to theme parks). Finally, greater access to cultural, consumption experiences and life opportunities is enabled thanks to adolescents' passion, talents, or long-term engagement in the microcultures. What are the solutions for all the adolescents that have no special talents or passion, but simply want to have diverse cultural and consumption experiences?

Section 4: Limits and future research

Our research faces some limits that we estimated important enough to be clarified. On the bases of these limits we propose future research that, in our opinion, can improve an understanding of both consumption restrictions and creative resistance of young consumers from French deprived neighbourhoods. Limits of our research stem from the fieldwork and lack of our prior knowledge of the social and institutional organisation of urban policy neighbourhoods.

First, adolescents hailing from urban policy neighbourhoods, regardless of their age, are very inconsistent in their collective practices and, accordingly, the limitations of the current work should be stressed and should provide a guidance for future research. Therefore, our participant observations demanded us to expand the number of the sites and situations. Also, it was hard to keep members in our group interviews in the same number as well as it was entirely challenging to simply be sure whether or not, who or not would attend the meetings and if they would be willing to talk. Furthermore, general adolescents' mistrust towards people outside the neighbourhoods is, in several cases, exacerbated by the mistrust of certain youth coordinators. All these factors imposed us with high flexibility and continual adaptation of data collection – i.e. types and organisation of interviews, more informal exchanges and variation of number of groups, situations and sites, since there was a risk of losing a contact with and hardly built trust of adolescents, at any given moment. Future consumer research that would be focusing on adolescents' views of their consumption practices and restrictions need much more time during the exploratory phase to gain trust of the key gate keepers which, in these contexts, are not only

adolescents but also youth coordinators. Also, this will help evacuating all the groups and individuals that are difficult or not willing to collaborate in the research.

Second, in our research we portray microcultures organized in local socio-educational institutions with a focus on services other than sports activities. This choice was strategical since we focused on leisure activities that are dominantly offered by local socio-educational institutions. Also, adolescents, we were looking for, were usually not in the public space in contrast to children, certain adolescents aged from 11 to 14 years and dominantly adolescent boys or male young adults. The last group represents socially isolated, passive, and/or young people that undertake illicit behaviour. These young boys are the groups that we did not include in our research since we needed to be trained to access them, to have intermediary persons (especially as a female researcher) and to adapt our data collection methods and our time. Based on these limitations, further consumer research may focus on either adolescents' individual leisure practices outside local socio-educational institutions or on deeper analysis of adolescents' general consumption practices and restrictions. This may bring new insights into local young consumers' needs and further than their access to local services and facilities as recognized by Mordret and Maresca (2009). By such extended approach it would be possible to provide deeper understanding of consumption inadequacy (Hill 2002; Hill 2005; Martin and Hill 2012) that we portray only in relation to cultural practices and leisure time in our research.

Finally, our ethnographic data indicate very plentiful and, yet, unexplored collective cultural practices and multiple consumption restrictions of young hip-hop dancers and only two few of which we portrayed while there are other groups as previous sociological studies revealed (Faure and Garcia 2005). These groups, especially male dancers in our research, are the most engaged in creative resistance and creation of alternative access to consumption and life opportunities due to their persistent consumption restrictions.

Future consumer research may attempt to understand deeply their individual and collective practices and to portray both multiple consumption restrictions and these adolescents' critical thinking and agency in the sense of Saatcioglu and Corus (2016). Furthermore, these small-groups reflect the characteristics of microcultures (Fine 1979; Hannerz 1992) that have much to offer to the process of understanding of consumption practices whenever they collectively undertake practices beyond the local institutional support.

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Glossary

A

Animateur (fr.): youth coordinator

- in our research: a youth coordinator refers to coordinator of various cultural, sports or leisure activities for children and adolescents in various local institutions.

B

Banlieue (fr.) : suburb ; (pejorative) deprived neighbourhoods (of social housing projects)

- banlieue chaude (fr.) : sensitive or bad neighbourhood; at-risk area

C

Cité (fr): a public (social) housing project that includes cheap high rises (with possible pejorative connotation, sometimes equal to American ghetto)

G

Grand ensemble (fr.): large-scale high-rise social housing estates (usually in peripheral neighbourhoods)

J

Jeunes de banlieues (fr.) : suburban youth

Jeunes de quartiers (fr.) : neighbourhood youth

Jeunes de cités (fr.) : social housing estate youth;

M

Maison des jeunes et de la culture (MJC) (fr.): Youth and culture centre

- a popular education association working on the individual and collective emancipation (of all the citizens); it offers various cultural and artistic activities to youth and adults equally; the approach is educative; it may be established in rural, urban or suburban areas

Maison du quartier (fr.): Neighbourhood Centre

- a place of gathering and leisure activities located in the neighbourhoods in big cities that offers residents access to the local services and socio-cultural activities and various social actions

P

Politique de la ville (fr.) : Urban policy

- an urban cohesion and solidarity, national and local policy, towards the disadvantaged urban areas and their inhabitants. It is deployed on intra-urban territories called "priority urban areas for urban policy", characterized by a gap of important economic and social development with the rest of the cities in which they are located (INSEE)

Q

Quartier prioritaire (fr.) : Urban Policy Priority neighbourhood (see *Zone Urbaine Sensible*)

- a new priority geography of urban policy, established by the planning law for urban affairs and urban cohesion of 21 February 2014. The list and the shapes of these neighbourhoods have been defined by the General Commission for Territorial Equality (CGET) (INSEE).

Z

Zone Urbaine Sensible (ZUS) (fr.) : a sensitive neighbourhood that is a space of French urban policy interventions (see Q*uartiers prioritaires*)

- Sensitive urban zones are infra-urban territories defined by the authorities as being priority targets for urban policy, according to local factors relating to the difficulties that the inhabitants of these territories are experiencing (INSEE)

Résumé étendu

Dans ce travail de thèse, nous nous intéressons au sens des microcultures des jeunes des quartiers défavorisés dans leur gestion de la vulnérabilité spatiale. Cet intérêt de recherche a son ancrage tant dans la théorie que dans la réalité que nous essayons de décrire ici en nous appuyant sur l'approche critique de l'espace (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault et Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1989; 1996). En adoptant cette posture il nous est possible de comprendre les pratiques collectives des jeunes consommateurs tout en nous éclairant sur les dynamiques restrictives et d'émancipation de l'espace social. Cette posture spatiale est d'autant plus utile dans le cadre de notre étude sur les jeunes consommateurs issus des *quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville*. Les recherches précédentes, pour la plupart sociologiques, menées sur les quartiers situés majoritairement dans les banlieues des grandes villes françaises nous montrent la déprivation sociale (faible capital social de la population locale) et matérielle (disponibilité et variété des services ainsi que concentration de populations de bas revenus) de ces espaces marginalisés économiquement et dont les consommateurs subissent la ségrégation urbaine (concentration spatiale de la classe défavorisée de la société). À cela s'ajoute le fait qu'un grand nombre d'immigrés ou de descendants d'immigrés vivent dans ces espaces marginalisés augmentant les risques d'exclusion sociale et limitant leurs pratiques de consommation. Dans ce contexte, dans ce phénomène social à part entière et assez récent, apparaissaient des jeunes souvent décrits comme délinquants ou encore dangereux dans le discours médiatique. Les travaux des sociologues français nous démontrent un tout autre univers via leurs pratiques quotidiennes qui sont marquées par de multiples facteurs qui découlent de leurs vies dans ces quartiers prioritaires, où règne un grand vide et des normes locales spécifiques, et auxquels un stigma social de charactère spatial leur est attribué. Les jeunes de ces quartiers ne représentent ni une sous-culture de délinquants ni de consommation, mais plutôt une variété de pratiques culturelles individuelles ou collectives. Si certains adolescents tombent dans l'isolation sociale et la délinquance, d'autres essayent de trouver des solutions pour sortir de ces quartiers, même temporairement.

Afin de décrire les microcultures des jeunes de ces *quartiers prioritaires,* nous nous sommes appuyés sur un cadre théorique constitué de la littérature de recherche des consommateurs autour de la vulnérabilité de ces derniers (Baker, Gentry, et Rittenburg 2005) et de la théorie critique de l'espace (Lefebvre 1974; Foucault et Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1989; 1996). En croisant

ces derniers, et en lien avec notre contexte d'étude et l'intérêt de notre recherche, certains concepts clés apparaissent, et mettent en lumière des dynamiques spatiales à travers les pratiques des consommateurs (Castilhos, Dolbec, et Veresiu 2017), les espaces marginalisés (ceux de ségrégation ou d'émancipation), la vulnérabilité spatiale (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016), les restrictions et l'insuffisance de consommation (Botti et al. 2008; Hill 2002; Martin et Hill 2012) ainsi que les mécanismes de *coping* des consommateurs vulnérables. Notre emploi de la théorie critique de l'espace nous permet de comprendre les contraintes spatiales reflétant les facteurs sociaux ou structuraux qui impactent les pratiques des jeunes consommateurs, et selon l'approche spatiale de Lefebvre (1974), les pratiques humaines dans les espaces économiquement marginalisés relevant de la domination et des inégalités socio-spatiales. Si les travaux de Lefebvre questionnent les pratiques capitalistes contraignant les populations les plus défavorisées à travers l'espace urbain, d'autres chercheurs ont pensé l'espace à travers la résistance créative ou la contre-culture tels que les *hétérotopies* qui proposent des pratiques et fonctionnements alternatifs (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). À travers leurs travaux, les géographes postmodernes enrichissent l'approche de Lefebvre, concentrée sur les inégalités et la lutte des personnes marginalisées, tout en voyant dans ces espaces et leurs pratiques des possibilités d'ouverture et d'émancipation (Soja 1996). Ces espaces « autres », c'est-à-dire ceux qui offrent la possibilité d'émancipation, contiennent toujours une partie des pensées et pratiques utopiques, permettant l'amélioration, la transformation ou l'émancipation des individus (Hetherington 1997).

Les récentes recherches en marketing trouvent leur inspiration dans cette théorie de l'espace social afin d'offrir une compréhension plus complexe du concept de l'espace (Castilhos, Dolbec, et Veresiu 2017; Castilhos et Dolbec 2018). Alors qu'un nombre important d'études sur les pratiques des consommateurs portent soit sur les lieux de consommation soit sur les effets d'émancipation à travers les pratiques alternatives de consommation (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, et Bradshaw 2012; Castilhos, Dolbec, et Veresiu 2017), peu sont produites pour démontrer les contraintes spatiales et les pratiques de consommation dans les espaces de marginalisation imposés ou subis (Crockett et Wallendorf 2004; Saatcioglu et Ozanne 2013a; 2013b). Ces derniers représentent des espaces où les habitants font souvent face aux inégalités spatiales, aux désavantages multiples et persistants, et qui ainsi n'ont peu ou pas de contrôle sur cette dynamique socio-spatiale restreignant leurs pratiques de consommation (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016). Par conséquent, les consommateurs dépendent de l'aide des autres ou de celle des institutions, ceci les amenant à faire face à la

vulnérabilité spatiale mais jamais de manière identique et homogène (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016).

Contrairement à la vision subjectiviste et expérientielle de la vulnérabilité des consommateurs mettant l'accent sur les situations de consommation ou les expériences collectives liées à des événements inédits (Baker, Gentry, et Rittenburg 2005; Baker, Hunt, et Rittenburg 2007), l'approche spatiale à la vulnérabilité des consommateurs offre une vision macro et permet de comprendre les facteurs sociaux ou structuraux à travers les pratiques des consommateurs et la matérialité de l'espace social. Cependant, cette approche ne représente en aucun cas une vision figée de la vulnérabilité, mais l'état dans lequel les consommateurs, au vu des facteurs structuraux et des influences spatiales, se trouvent (état de *disempowerment*) et auquel ils essayent de se confronter (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016). Le concept de la vulnérabilité spatiale s'approche de celui qui découle de dysfonctionnements de l'environnement dans lequel les consommateurs vivent, plus spécialement les consommateurs pauvres, et le stigma social qui leur est attribué (Hill et Stamey 1990; Hill et Stephens 1997). Ces consommateurs font souvent face à une multitude de facteurs de restrictions de consommation dont font partie le manque d'accès aux produits et services lié aux ressources financières, à la disponibilité et à la variété de services limitées mais aussi au manque d'information concernant ces derniers (Botti et al. 2008). Tous ces travaux sur la vulnérabilité des consommateurs nous dévoilent l'ingéniosité et la créativité des consommateurs pauvres (ou ceux vivant dans les quartiers défavorisés) pour faire face à leur état de vulnérabilité et dépasser leur état de vulnérabilité à travers différentes stratégies de *coping* (Lazarus et Folkman 1984). Ces dernières peuvent bien être individuelles ou provenir du milieu social auxquels appartiennent les consommateurs (Lee, Ozanne, et Hill 1999; Adkins et Ozanne 2005; Baker, Hunt, et Rittenburg 2007; Hamilton 2009; Hutton 2016). Plus précisément, à travers les combinaisons des ressources et des sources de contrôle sur l'insuffisance de consommation de la part des consommateurs vulnérables, il nous est possible de comprendre la gestion de la vulnérabilité de ces derniers. (Hill et Sharma 2020). Si le constat que les consommateurs vulnérables trouvent des alternatives pour avoir accès aux produits, services ou expériences, est fort présent dans les recherches, peu d'études sur le comportement de ces derniers s'appuyant sur la théorie critique de l'espace décrivent les espaces des pratiques créatives des consommateurs luttant contre la vulnérabilité spatiale dans les quartiers défavorisés (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016). Également, peu d'études montrent la manière selon laquelle les jeunes consommateurs font face aux influences de leur environnement social et les normes de marché (Ozanne, Hill, et Wright 1998). Conscient de ces travaux sur les consommateurs vulnérables et de la non-existence de sous-cultures de jeunes dans les *quartiers*

prioritaires, nous nous intéressons à l'approche interactionniste qui privilégie la compréhension de la culture à travers les pratiques culturelles réalisées en petits groupes et leurs interactions autour d'une pratique collective choisie représentant ainsi une petite partie de la culture plus large, en d'autre termes, une *microculture* (Hannerz 1992). À cela, nous ajoutons la dépendance des consommateurs vis-à-vis des institutions ou des individus, soulignée par les chercheurs en vulnérabilité des consommateurs, afin de comprendre les *espaces d'émancipation* des jeunes consommateurs dans lesquels se tiennent leurs microcultures visant à leur permettre de contrôler la vulnérabilité spatiale et de sortir de ces espaces contraignants et stigmatisants (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016).

Notre problématique de recherche découle de la posture épistémologique que nous avons adoptée dans ce travail de thèse. Nous nous alignons sur le courant interprétativiste ou constructiviste qui prête plus d'attention aux contextes socio-culturels des pratiques des consommateurs (Sherry 1991). Une telle posture nous permet d'effectuer un travail d'interprétation et d'attribuer un sens à la réalité étudiée (Soler 2009), celle des microcultures des jeunes des *quartiers prioritaires* en s'appuyant sur la théorique critique de l'espace. La posture interprétativiste nous ouvre la voie à la compréhension des comportements des jeunes consommateurs à travers l'analyse des contextes et des situations sociales de l'intérieur, permettant de saisir et de reconstituer le sens de ces comportements (Soler 2009). Cette posture nous a ainsi permis de comprendre les comportements collectifs de nos jeunes participants à travers une étude dans leur milieu social (Hudson et Ozanne 1988). Le savoir gagné sur les pratiques culturelles collectives des jeunes des *quartiers prioritaires* par son aspect idiographique et sa détermination par le cadre théorique sur lequel nous nous appuyons (Lincoln et Guba 1985; Soler 2009), reflète une partie de la réalité complexe de ces consommateurs.

Cette posture épistémologique ainsi que l'approche spatiale adoptée nous amènent vers l'emploi de la méthodologie qualitative (Spiggle 1994), celle de l'ethnographie, dans notre travail de thèse. L'ethnographie comme stratégie de recherche nous permet de cerner une vision particulariste et contextualisée des pratiques collectives de jeunes consommateurs des quartiers prioritaires. Malgré un fort usage des services locaux par les populations jeunes de ces quartiers, leurs pratiques culturelles collectives (soutenues par les institutions locales) nous montent une variété des lieux et de pratiques à l'intérieur et hors de ces *quartiers prioritaires*. Conscients de cela, et pour suivre les pratiques culturelles collectives des jeunes consommateurs (microcultures) à travers une variété de sites principaux et secondaires, nous avons employé une stratégie ethnographique multisite (Hannerz 2003; Ekström 2006).

Nos méthodes de collecte de données s'alignent sur la tradition ethnographique selon laquelle la multiplication de celles-ci nous permet de capter des pratiques de comportements déconnectées entre elles (Arnould 1998). L'observation participante est la méthode primordiale dans un travail ethnographique offrant une compréhension des pratiques des consommateurs dans leur contextes socio-culturels ou dans les lieux de consommation (Arnould et Wallendorf 1994). Cette méthode employée dans notre travail de thèse est moins applicable dans le cadre de l'ethnographie multisite dû à la mobilité des jeunes consommateurs (Ekström 2006). Cependant, elle nous a permis de comprendre les contraintes spatiales, les relations sociales, les lieux et les acteurs principaux qui déterminent et influencent les microcultures et leurs sens. De plus, cette méthode nous a servi à développer la confiance des jeunes participants. Tout au long du terrain ethnographique un journal de bord a été tenu dans le but de noter et de garder une trace des événements, des lieux, des acteurs et de leur comportement mais aussi de nos ressentis et de nous permettre une introspection a posteriori. Afin d'obtenir des données verbales, nous avons opté pour des échanges informels avec des adolescents et des acteurs locaux, ainsi que pour des entretiens ethnographiques. Ces méthodes nous étaient très importantes afin de saisir la perspective *emic* des situations observées (Arnould et Wallendorf 1994). Des échanges informels, utilisés autant que possible, nous ont permis de pallier à la timidité et au manque d'habitude de nos jeunes consommateurs pour les études, surtout celles s'étendant sur plusieurs mois. Des entretiens ethnographiques collectifs nous ont permis d'aborder progressivement les sujets (Spradley 1979) et de capter les visions individuelles et collectives sur leur pratiques culturelles au sein des microcultures (et des institutions locales). Le guide d'entretien, sur lequel nous voulions nous appuyer pour aborder les sujets, s'est présenté à nous plutôt comme un obstacle à la spontanéité de nos discussions avec la majorité de nos participants (Beaud et Weber 2010). À cela s'ajoute notre obligation d'appliquer des entretiens semi-directifs afin de pouvoir garder le rythme des conversations. Avec seulement quelques groupes, nous avons réussi mener des entretiens collectifs non-structurés. Ce défi était accompagné par l'incertitude d'une participation continue des adolescents impactant l'enchaînement d'entretiens récurrents. De plus, les pratiques observées ainsi que les lieux visités et leurs caractéristiques visuelles et symboliques ne nous offraient pas la possibilité de les refléter à leur juste valeur par la prise de photographies. Cependant, quelques photos et vidéos ont tout de même été enregistrées. Ainsi, quelques sources numériques et imprimées sont utilisées dans le but de comprendre le contexte et les services destinés aux jeunes à l'échelle locale. Notre rôle en tant que chercheur a bien été précisé aux acteurs locaux et aux adolescents, et notre recherche expliquée, avec plus ou moins de détails en fonction des différentes implications parmi les jeunes, suivant les impératif

déontologiques d'une étude ethnographique (Adler et Adler 1987; Hammersley et Atkinson 2007).

Nos données ethnographiques ont été collectées dans la période allant de mai 2016 à mai 2019. Cette longue période est divisée en cinq phases dont chacune a un rôle important dans le processus de collecte de données qualitatives (Miles et Huberman 1994). La phase 1 ou celle de l'exploration (de mai à mi-juillet 2016) est une toute première prospection dans les *quartiers prioritaires* et les institutions socio-éducatives locales potentiellement appropriées ou accessibles pour notre terrain ethnographique. Etant confrontés au temps limité pour ce terrain d'étude, pendant la phase 2 (de septembre 2016 à mi-février 2017) nous avons opté pour deux activités simultanées : la première consistait à élargir les contacts et les sites et collecter les premières données dans deux quartiers choisis au préalable et la deuxième à varier les stratégies d'approche des adolescents d'autres quartiers. Cette dernière activité entreprise a été la plus importante de cette période et nous a conduit vers diverses institutions culturelles (musées, sites patrimoniaux, etc.) de la région lyonnaise. Suite à la mise en place de cette stratégie visant des observations dans les musées et des entretiens réalisés dans les écoles, nous n'avons pas pu récolter les données recherchées. Sur la base de ces constats, à la phase 3 (de mi-février à fin juillet 2017) nous n'avons retenu que deux *quartiers prioritaires* (choisis à la phase 1) et travaillé sur la consolidation des pratiques sur le terrain en enrichissant le nombre et les types de sites et de groupes des jeunes. Plusieurs microcultures apparaissent alors dans cette phase. C'est alors que nous adoptons l'approche spatiale et interactionniste aux pratiques culturelles plutôt que celle des expériences culturelles liées à l'art et œuvres culturelles dans les institutions. Notre travail intensif sur le terrain nous a permis de multiplier nombre de groupes ainsi que de sites principaux et secondaires (structures sociales, événements, etc.). À l'issue de cette phase nous avons délibérément exclu certains groupes de jeunes de nos analyses ultérieures. Ainsi, pendant la phase 4 (de septembre à novembre 2017) nous avons collecté des données complémentaires concernant les groupes choisis pour notre étude finale. Finalement, après une pause de réflexion et d'analyse des données, nous sommes retournés à plusieurs reprises (entre avril 2018 et mai 2019) vers nos participants des microcultures clés afin de collecter d'avantage d'informations ainsi que de vérifier nos premières interprétations avec eux. Pour conclure, nous nous retrouvons à la fin de notre étude avec deux *quartiers prioritaire*s dans la région lyonnaise et cinq microcultures.

Selon la pratique de l'analyse des données qualitatives, nous avons réalisé plusieurs codages tout au long du processus de notre collecte des données (Miles et Huberman 1994). Afin

d'assurer un codage à visée théorique (Point et Voynnet-Fourboul 2006) nous nous sommes appuyé sur les étapes reconnues par la théorie enracinée (Glaser et Strauss 1967; Strauss et Corbin 1998). En s'appuyant sur les données collectées, la théorie critique de l'espace ainsi que le concept de la vulnérabilité des consommateurs et les restrictions de la consommation, nous avons conclu que la catégorie des stratégies de *coping* des consommateurs (ici microcultures) était centrale pour notre analyse et liée aux autres catégories (concepts). L'interprétation réalisée nous a permis de reconnaitre les dynamiques restrictives et celles d'émancipation de l'espace qui affectent les microcultures des jeunes.

Avant de présenter les microcultures en tant que stratégies collectives de *coping* des jeunes des *quartiers prioritaires* gérant la vulnérabilité spatiale, il nous paraît logique, voire important, de démontrer les dynamiques restrictives des deux espaces sociaux de notre étude qui déterminent la vulnérabilité spatiale. Les contraintes structurelles de ces espaces, de par une forte concentration spatiale de population à bas revenu causant des restrictions économiques de consommation (Botti et al. 2008), imposent par la suite aux jeunes de choisir les options de pratiques culturelles ou de consommation parmi celles les moins chères ou gratuites. Vivre confinés parmi les populations pauvres (celles qui subissent un taux de chômage assez élevé) amène les jeunes à ressentir les inégalités sociales qui s'expliquent à travers la matérialité de leur espaces sociaux ainsi qu'à travers leur capital social très bas et très autochtone (Cortéséro 2012) les forçant à rester orientés vers leurs quartiers. A cela s'ajoute le stigma spatial ou bien celui envers les *quartiers prioritaires* et leurs populations, qui les enferme dans leurs cercles sociaux. Si majoritairement les adolescents essayent de l'ignorer et de trouver des alternatives pour s'en sortir, certains se décident à le confronter.

Les dynamiques restrictives des espaces sociaux de ces *quartiers prioritaires* sont aussi exprimées à travers leurs matérialités étant caractérisées par le déficit ou la rareté des services. Nos données ethnographiques montrent un manque de disponibilité et/ou de variété des services et des institutions, surtout culturelles. Ce déficit est atténué par les actions sociales des institutions publiques envers les populations locales. Dans le cas de nos jeunes participants, nous constatons leur forte dépendance à l'offre culturelle et à celle de loisirs provenant des structures socio-éducatives locales telles que centres sociaux, Maisons de quartiers, etc. Cette dépendance témoigne non seulement des restrictions économiques des jeunes consommateurs, mais aussi des restrictions dues au manque de variété des services dans leurs quartiers (Botti et al. 2008). A cela s'ajoute le fait que les expériences culturelles, notamment celles liées à l'art,

ou encore certaines pratiques spécifiques, se déroulent dans des lieux polyvalents, souvent sans contacts prolongés avec les institutions culturelles locales ou aux alentours.

Les dynamiques restrictives des espaces sociaux de nos jeunes participants ne sont pas seulement dues au manque d'accès aux services, mais surtout dues au manque d'opportunités générales ainsi que de la forte limitation des contacts sociaux dans les quartiers. Être confiné~~s~~ parmi les individus ou les familles pauvres a imposé des valeurs de solidarité et de partage s'imprégnant dans les pratiques quotidiennes, culturelles et de consommation des jeunes. Leur dépendance aux services et au soutien des institutions publiques locales provoque une proximité entre les jeunes et les animateurs, reflétant une facette des pratiques culturelles de ces jeunes – collectives, solidaires, amicales, et englobant la consommation, la créativité et la quête d'opportunités. Une des fortes contraintes liées à ces espaces sociaux est la passivité des jeunes isolés et la délinquance de certains, que nos participants tentent d'éviter à travers leur engagement dans les microcultures et dans des activités institutionnelles. Les *quartiers prioritaires* sont des espaces remplis de pratiques spécifiques juvéniles de consommation (sport, musique, codes vestimentaires, etc.), et déterminés par des normes sociales locales provenant des contraintes de vie (manque de ressources financières) et d'origines culturelles variées pour beaucoup de jeunes. Pour certains de nos participants, les normes sociales peuvent aussi représenter une restriction sociale de la consommation et des pratiques culturelles (Botti et al. 2008). Toutes ces restrictions auxquelles nos jeunes participants font face (restrictions économiques et sociales, manque d'information sur les services hors quartiers, manque de disponibilité et/ou de variété de services dans les quartiers) nous montrent une insuffisance de consommation (Hill 2002; 2005; Martin et Hill 2012). Ainsi, cette dernière, accompagnée par l'influence négative de la passivité des jeunes dans les quartiers cause un manque ou un contrôle limité sur la *vulnérabilité spatiale* que ces jeunes ressentent dans ces quartiers (Saatcioglu et Corus 2016). Afin de faire face à cette vulnérabilité, ils s'appuient sur leurs microcultures et les structures socio-éducatives locales en tant qu'espaces nécessaires à leur émancipation à travers une résistance créative et une consommation alternative.

Les microcultures des jeunes des quartiers prioritaires dans notre travail de thèse sont définies selon la vision d'Aquatias (1997) comme de petits groupes de pratiques culturelles juvéniles organisés ou soutenus par les structures socio-éducatives locales autour de la passion de ces adolescents (âgés de 15 à 21 ans) pour l'expression créative, les actions solidaires ou l'engagement local. Ces groupes sont composés d'amis ou de connaissances reflétant des similitudes de trajectoires d'éducation, de ressources financières, d'accès aux services et aux

opportunités limités. Ces microcultures sont organisées autour d'activités à caractère créatif (danse hip-hop ou écriture d'articles de journaux) ou solidaire (aide matérielle ou sociale aux autres à travers l'animation auprès d'enfants, la distribution de nourriture aux sans-abris, ou le partage de savoir et de culture générale lors de cafés-théâtres organisés par les jeunes pour les jeunes). Cependant, les pratiques culturelles ne sont pas seulement définies par les goûts personnels des jeunes, mais surtout par l'offre locale des pratiques culturelles limitée. Ce qui unit ces jeunes consommateurs dans une microculture est leur confrontation à la vulnérabilité spatiale. Plus précisément, ce sont leurs idéologies utopiques collectives déterminées par ces dynamiques restrictives des espaces sociaux qui les regroupent dans leurs pratiques culturelles collectives et que nous pouvons caractériser ainsi : (1) les expériences créatives et de consommation (l'idéologie de la créativité et du développement personnel), (2) la participation aux pratiques collectives et institutionnelles (l'idéologie de l'accès à l'opportunité), et (3) le partage du savoir et *empowerment* des populations juvéniles locales (l'idéologie de la solidarité). Ces trois principales idéologies se croisent en guidant leurs pratiques collectives au sein des microcultures. Afin de pouvoir décrire ces pratiques collectives en tant que stratégies de *coping*, nous nous appuyons sur la proposition de Hill et Sharma (2020) pour comprendre la combinaison des ressources des consommateurs et leurs sources de contrôle sur la vulnérabilité qu'ils possèdent. Notre focus sur l'aspect collectif et les pratiques culturelles de nos jeunes participants nous a conduit vers la découverte de ressources collectives (savoir collectif au sein de la microculture) et de sources de contrôle collectives des opportunités limitées (expériences culturelles et de consommation au niveau de la microculture). Plus les expériences sont variées, et grâce à l'élargissement des contacts sociaux, même temporairement, souvent hors quartiers, plus les pratiques collectives sont riches et permettent aux jeunes de résister, à travers leurs expressions créatives, à la passivité omniprésente dans les quartiers. Ceci leur permet d'avoir accès à d'autres services et/ou d'avoir des opportunités plus larges (celles liées à l'éducation, aux petits boulots, etc.). Nous constatons chez nos jeunes participants que leur manque ressources individuelles et structurelles (variété des services limitée dans les quartiers) est surtout contrôlé ou pallié par un soutien des institutions publiques locales qui, dans l'esprit de Hill et Sharma (2020) se traduit par le contrôle structurel de la vulnérabilité. Dans le cas des microcultures des danseurs de hip-hop, le réseau de leurs relations sociales autres que celles provenant des institutions locales contribue à leur contrôle collectif des restrictions (économiques, matérielles, sociales, etc.). Cela nous amène vers le constat que les microcultures sont des stratégies collectives de *coping* que les jeunes consommateurs mettent en place, mais indiquent aussi leur dépendance envers les structures socio-éducatives locales, ces dernières

pouvant évoluer avec le temps (certaines microcultures devenant moins dépendantes). Sachant que ces microcultures se différencient entre elles en termes de restrictions de consommation, d'idéologies dominantes ainsi que de finalité des pratiques collectives (destinées aux membres ou aux population juvéniles locales), nous avons décrit chaque microculture en tant que stratégie de *coping*. Cette description que nous offrons, vise à montrer les restrictions de la consommation dominante, l'origine de la microculture, la ressource collective (le savoir partagé) et le contrôle collectif sur les restrictions (expériences collectives culturelles et de consommations). Cela nous permet d'associer une stratégie de *coping* à chaque microculture, qui, à cause d'un double objectif nous révèle deux stratégies différentes. Ainsi, nous distinguons trois groupes de stratégies collectives de *coping* : (1) les pratiques culturelles collectives pour pallier aux opportunités de consommation limitées (la microculture des jeunes filles solidaires), (2) la résistance créative collective aux opportunités de vie et de consommation limitées, et (3) la résistance créative collective à l'isolation sociale des jeunes et le stigma spatial. Le groupe (1) n'est composé que par cette unique stratégie collective. Le groupe (2) inclut trois stratégies collectives : (a) la résistance créative collective au manque d'accès aux services et aux expériences culturelles limitées (la microculture des danseuses de hip-hop), (b) la résistance créative collective aux opportunités de vie limitées (la microculture des danseurs de hip-hop), et (c) la résistance créative collective aux relations sociales et aux expériences culturelles limitées (la microculture des jeunes journalistes). Ces deux premiers groupes de stratégies ont pour objectif d'aider les jeunes individuellement à contrôler leur vulnérabilité spatiale, vécue de manière similaire, à travers leurs pratiques collectives. Le groupe (3) de stratégies de *coping* est constitué de deux stratégies qui de leur côté visent à contribuer aux changements des pratiques des jeunes populations à travers leurs pratiques culturelles collectives : (a) le partage de savoir collectif avec les jeunes consommateurs locaux afin de réduire leur isolation sociale (la microculture des danseurs de hip-hop), et (b) le partage de savoir collectif afin de défier le stigma et les inégalités spatiales (la microculture des jeunes regroupés dans une association de solidarité). L'analyse finale de ces pratiques culturelles collectives des jeunes consommateurs prises dans un but plus large que celui de la consommation temporaire et qui est de dépasser ou de contrôler la vulnérabilité spatiale collectivement, nous montre que des différences dans la réussite de ces entreprises collectives existent entre les microcultures qui fonctionnent pendant de longues périodes (microcultures orientées vers l'expression et la production créative) et celles qui sont récentes (microcultures orientées vers les actions solidaires et/ou l'accès à la consommation). Les contrôles collectifs de la vulnérabilité spatiale de celles de plus longue durée sont modérés ou élevés en comparaison à celles plus récentes, ce qui peut s'expliquer par

la participation à des expériences culturelles et de consommation plus fréquentes et mais aussi organisées hors quartiers prioritaires. Cependant, toutes les microcultures sont dépendantes des structures socio-éducatives locales renforçant notre compréhension de la vulnérabilité spatiale en termes d'insuffisance de consommation, mais ces structures se dévoilent comme étant des espaces d'émancipation des jeunes et de réalisation de leur microcultures afin d'assurer leur accès aux services et d'élargir leurs opportunités de vie.

Les espaces d'émancipation des jeunes sont des espaces de consommation alternatifs et de résistance créative à la vulnérabilité spatiale. Dans notre travail de thèse, nous en avons reconnu deux comme tels : (1) l'un, centré autour d'une institution socio-éducative (un centre social) comprenant trois microcultures et mais aussi d'autres adolescents croisés lors de notre terrain, et (2) l'autre, créé autour d'une pratique culturelle dominante (la danse hip-hop) incluant plusieurs microcultures dont deux que nous avons interrogés pour notre étude. Si le premier espace inclut une structure socio-éducative permanente et un réseau d'institutions participant temporairement aux projets destinés aux jeunes, le second espace représente en lui-même un réseau de différentes institutions du quartier et de la municipalité qui fonctionnent ensemble de manière permanente. Nous décrivons chaque espace à travers (a) ses valeurs, dont les plus dominantes sont celles du développement personnel, de l'engagement dans le processus mutuel de création des activités, de la solidarité et de l'esprit de famille, (b) ainsi que de la matérialité des espaces, nous montrant des lieux permanents et polyvalents mais souvent de qualité moindre ou non-adaptés aux activités artistiques ainsi que des lieux temporaires, souvent appartenant à d'autres institutions locales (culturelles notamment), et (c) les relations sociales que les adolescents développent à travers leurs pratiques collectives et les alternatives aux financements de ces pratiques, surtout lors de leurs projets culturels et artistiques. Cette description nous permet de passer des microcultures (groupes) aux institutions (espaces), ouvrant ainsi la voie à la compréhension spatiale et transformative de ces pratiques culturelles collectives. Aussi cette perspective spatiale nous permet de mieux comprendre les stratégies de *coping* des jeunes consommateurs. Cela nous montre le rôle crucial des institutions, en particulier le soutien social et financier mais aussi matériel (lieux, équipements) aux pratiques collectives afin que les jeunes consommateurs puissent améliorer leurs contrôles collectifs au sein des microcultures à travers des expériences culturelles et de consommation enrichies et multipliées à l'intérieur et hors des quartiers. Malgré des différences sur les contrôles collectifs de la vulnérabilité spatiale, toutes les microcultures arrivent à nous démontrer leur caractère transformatif. Ce dernier est exprimé à travers (1) la résistance créative aux opportunités de vie très limitées au sein des microcultures, et (2) les expériences culturelles et de consommation et

l'accès aux institutions culturelles hors quartiers prioritaires. Si les microcultures qui existent pendant de longues périodes (plusieurs années) représentent ces deux aspects – la résistance et la multiplicité des expériences, les microcultures récentes misent sur l'une de ces deux orientations en fonction des aspirations de leurs membres. Les membres des microcultures qui se focalisent majoritairement sur la résistance créative (les danseurs/danseuses de hip-hop, et les jeunes journalistes) tentent d'aborder des opportunités plus larges que celles de la consommation et des expériences culturelles. En fonction de leurs objectifs individuels, certains jeunes sont plus orientés vers la recherche d'opportunités à long-terme telles que la réussite scolaire ou un premier emploi stable alors que d'autres optent pour des petits boulots lors de leurs études via leur réseau de connaissance dans ces espaces d'émancipation. Pour ces jeunes, la résistance créative leur donne la possibilité de s'exprimer de manière créative afin d'éviter la passivité liée au temps libre et ainsi de défier les restrictions auxquelles ils font face quotidiennement. Ce côté purement créatif de la résistance nous montre les changements que ces jeunes apportent à travers leur créativité à leur espace social, plus particulièrement pour ceux qui se focalisent sur le partage du savoir dans le but de rendre les autres jeunes plus résilients à travers leurs pratiques culturelles.

Si la résistance créative qui vise la recherche d'opportunités nous montre les ouvertures que ces espaces d'émancipation offrent aux jeunes à travers leurs microcultures, cette ouverture est aussi rendue possible à d'autres jeunes cherchant majoritairement un accès aux différents services, surtout de loisirs. Les membres de certaines microcultures récentes ou éphémères (groupes très instables et imposés par des animateurs à travers des projets pour les jeunes) s'engagent dans des pratiques culturelles collectives afin de pouvoir accéder ainsi à d'autres services leur permettant des expériences de consommation majoritairement hédoniques. Ceci est dû au manque persistant de ressources financières de leurs parents et d'informations sur les services et les lieux/destinations à visiter. Si ces jeunes ne montrent pas un intérêt majeur pour les institutions culturelles, ils peuvent tout de même y accéder, même de façon sporadique et temporaire. Ces dernières se situent souvent à proximité des quartiers et leur permettent de varier potentiellement leurs expériences et de découvrir une autre offre à travers leurs activités de loisir.

Nos résultats révèlent que la réussite du contrôle de la part des jeunes consommateurs sur la vulnérabilité spatiale, notamment sur l'insuffisance de consommation, dépend de leurs pratiques culturelles collectives (microcultures) ainsi que du soutien constant des structures socio-éducatives. Cela nous montre l'importance de l'analyse des pratiques collectives des

jeunes consommateurs en tant que stratégies de *coping* et des structures locales en tant qu'espaces d'émancipation. Notre travail de thèse apporte quelques éclairages théoriques. Tout d'abord, la *dépendance* des jeunes consommateurs aux structures socio-éducatives locales pour accéder aux services et avoir des expériences culturelles et de consommation variées, prend une double signification, paradoxale même, qui est celle d'un indicateur de l'insuffisance de consommation (Hill 2002a; 2005), mais aussi celle d'une source de résistance créative à la vulnérabilité spatiale et d'une consommation alternative encouragée dans les espaces d'émancipation (Foucault et Miskowiec 1986; Soja 1996; Hetherington 1997). Ces résultats nous permettent de nous aligner sur Saatcioglu et Corus (2016) qui optent pour une analyse critique de l'espace social pour comprendre les pratiques alternatives des consommateurs dits vulnérables, et qui reflètent leurs *agency,*, leurs engagements pour repenser et réorganiser leurs pratiques de consommation, afin de pouvoir satisfaire leurs besoins mais aussi de se doter des moyens pour participer à la société de consommation. Cela ouvre la voie à la compréhension des espaces de ségrégation urbaine et de marginalisation économique en tant qu'espaces de possibilités et d'alternatives (Saatcioglu et Ozanne 2013b). Au vu de l'âge de nos participants et du contexte spécifique marqué par la dominance des institutions publiques, nos espaces d'émancipation et de consommation alternative prennent la forme d'espaces semi-alternatifs du point de vue extrêmement *hétérotopique* (Foucault et Miskowiec 1986). Autrement dit, ce ne sont pas des lieux de contre-cultures mais d'alternatives, soutenues par les collectivités territoriales ou les mairies. Aussi, notre contexte d'étude, portant sur des microcultures dans des espaces d'émancipation, apporte un éclairage manquant sur les pratiques créatives des consommateurs vivant dans les quartiers défavorisés comme prôné par Saatcioglu et Corus (2016).

Nos résultats s'alignent , par la suite, sur le concept de l'insuffisance de consommation (Hill 2002, 2005; Martin et Hill 2012) qui repose sur les restrictions de consommation (Botti et al. 2008). Cependant, notre contexte d'étude ne montre pas le cas d'un extrême manque d'accès aux divers services comme pour Hill et ses collègues, mais complète plutôt ce concept, en introduisant le manque persistant d'accès aux expériences culturelles reflétant la déprivation sociale et le chemin potentiel vers l'exclusion sociale (Townsend 1987; Richardson et Le Grand 2002). Nous montrons que la vulnérabilité spatiale dans notre étude englobe les restrictions de la consommation (Botti et al. 2008), la dépendance aux institutions locales, les faibles relations sociales (le capital social limité) et le manque de possibilités pour un épanouissement personnel à travers les pratiques culturelles lors du temps libre (Roy 1995). À l'insuffisance de consommation, les jeunes consommateurs répondent par leurs microcultures reconnues en tant

que stratégies de *coping*. Leurs ressources et contrôles collectifs, développés au sein des microcultures, leur permettent de défier et de surpasser l'insuffisance de consommation, de différentes manières. Nos résultats démontrent l'importance de cet aspect collectif des ressources et de contrôle car, ces adolescents, à travers leurs pratiques pendant leur temps libre agissent collectivement, en petits groupes, et ne s'engagent que très rarement individuellement dans les pratiques culturelles. De plus, à la différence d'autres jeunes qui sporadiquement utilisent les services des structures locales et cherchent les satisfactions temporaires, ces jeunes réussissent à dépasser cette insuffisance de consommation collectivement, à travers leur apprentissage, le partage de leur savoir artistique ou culturel, leurs engagements réguliers, l'enrichissement de leurs contacts sociaux et la multiplication des expériences culturelles et des accès aux institutions et services culturels. Leurs stratégies de *coping* sont toujours défensives (Hill et Sharma 2020), leur permettant de défier les restrictions de consommation toujours à l'aide des structures locales mais pourtant avec des succès différents.

Notre travail de recherche se heurte cependant à des limites qui nous amènent à proposer de voies pour de futures recherches dans le contexte des *quartiers prioritaires* au profit de l'amélioration de la compréhension des pratiques de consommation des jeunes. Concernant notre focus sur les pratiques culturelles collectives dans les structures socio-éducatives locales, nous proposons ici une prise en compte des pratiques individuelles des jeunes consommateurs en dehors de ces structures locales pour de futures recherches. De plus, une étude plus centrée sur les restrictions de consommation générales de ces jeunes consommateurs pourrait enrichir la compréhension de l'insuffisance de leur consommation (Hill 2002, 2005). Une telle étude rejoindrait Mordret et Maresca (2009) qui prônent une compréhension des besoins des consommateurs de ces quartiers plutôt qu'une analyse de leur accès aux services et aux structures à leur proximité. Enfin, nos données démontrent que les pratiques culturelles collectives des jeunes danseurs de hip-hop représentent les spécificités d'une microculture (Fine 1979; Hannerz 1992). Au vu du temps limité nécessaire à une analyse plus profonde de cette dernière, les futures recherches pourraient apporter un éclairage sur les restrictions de leur consommation (Botti et al. 2008) ainsi que l'analyse de leurs pratiques en dehors du soutien des structures locales. Cette dernière voie de recherche pourrait nous amener vers une compréhension plus profonde de leurs pratiques alternatives de consommation, à travers l'analyse des espaces appropriés, le financement de leurs pratiques, leurs relations sociales, l'aspect symbolique et créatif qui permettrait de reconnaitre potentiellement une sous culture de consommation.

Appendices

Appendix 1: French sociology of culture and cultural practices

French sociology of culture may be explained and studied from two perspectives: one is institutional, and other is intellectual (Fleury 2014). Institutional perspective introduces the creation of Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1959 (currently Ministry of Culture) and established primary interest in cultural institutions and visits to them through various studies realized during 1960s. Intellectual perspective of French sociology of culture relies greatly on the academic works of Pierre Bourdieu within sociology of education and sociology of cultural legitimacy (Fleury 2014). This has led French sociology of culture (1) to be focused on social hierarchies of cultural practices and (2) to be in the service of Mistry of Culture and to understand visits to various cultural institutions by analysing symbolical boundaries through Bourdieu's concept of "habitus", process of socialization, and the issues of spatial distance and price limitation (Fleury 2014). Consequently, French sociology of culture has been even more subspecialized and understood as sociology of cultural practices.

Starting from 1970s Ministry of Culture has been engaged in conducting a survey of cultural practices of French people ("*Les pratiques culturelles des Français*")[220] to understand their tastes and behaviours according to age, gender, level of education and social background. These data provide an insight into statistical data, much inspired, from the beginning, by the approach of Bourdieu and his explanation of taste designed by social class. What is criticized in this survey is its focus on the answers of respondents on their practices, and not on the analysis of cultural practices themselves (Fleury 2014).

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space of tastes and cultural practices through the concepts of "habitus" and "cultural-economic capital" has led towards structuring social positions of individuals economically and symbolically (Coulangeon 2010). Contemporary changes in consumption culture and decreasing predominant influence of social class in formation of

[220] The list of cultural practices is not only related to art, but to various activities such as reading, listening to music, watching TV, listening to the radio, playing video games, going to the cinema, a festival, etc. The list has evolved over time. For more information data are available on http://www.pratiquesculturelles.culture.gouv.fr

cultural practices and consumption and some contemporary research of cultural tastes (Peterson 1992) have led towards critiques of such a static explanation of cultural practices. First, postmodern visions of lifestyles which are not strictly defined by one's belonging to a given social class, but are rather influenced by different structuring features such as class, gender, age, ethnicity, etc. (Featherstone 2007). Social inequalities and distinction are thus not denied to individuals consumption practices, but they are more liquid, uncertain (Featherstone 2007).

Second, there has been a critical reconsideration of Bourdieu's approach to social class and cultural practices among French sociologists. Olivier Donnat (1994) has extended Pierre Bourdieu's models of culture (legitimate, middle and popular culture) to seven models of behaviours and attitudes of French people towards culture relying still on the theory of cultural legitimacy (universe of exclusion, universe of deprivation – typical for popular culture, universe of youth culture, universe of "average French person", classical universe, modern cultivated universe and "trendy" universe). Such classification of cultural taste has been criticized as stigmatizing (as in the case of category "average French person") and not critical to Bourdieu's theories since his classification is still based of Bourdieu's model (Fleury 2014). This should have been more contemporary explanation of cultural practices in France in the time of hybrid shapes of cultural tastes and lifestyles.

Sources: (Peterson 1992; Donnat 1994; Featherstone 2007; Coulangeon 2010; Lahire 2011; Fleury 2014)

Appendix 2: Interview example

Entretien avec Kofi (19 ans)

Date : 23 juillet 2017

Lieu : Banc, parc municipal, vue sur terrain de foot

Durée : Environ 1h10'

Kofi : Faire n'importe quoi et en quelque sorte gâcher le…tu vois, tout l'travail qu'elle a fait, tu vois. Et… C'est ça en fait. C'est grâce à elle un peu si, si…

Sonja : Et quand tu dis qu'elle, elle a fait tellement de chose. Qu'est-ce qu'elle a fait ? Parce que la dernière fois on n'a pas vraiment parlé de tout ça, de tout ce qu'elle a fait. Quand tu dis « tout », qu'est-ce qu'elle a fait dès le début en fait ?

Kofi : Déjà, elle m'a apporté plein de trucs ! Tu vois, déjà… Ma façon de penser c'était, c'était pas la même. Tu vois ? Elle m'a… Elle m'a dit… Elle m'a fait ouvrir l'esprit… C'est à dire, je suis parti voir plein d'choses avec elle. Elle m'a emmené dans… Grâce à elle j'ai ouvert d'autres portes… Tu vois euh... La danse pour moi déjà c'tait à l'époque c'tait quoi, c'tait… J'reste derrière YouTube et voilà ! Tu vois ? Alors que grâce à elle j'suis parti voir des spectacles. J'ai... J'ai fait des trucs de cirque, tu vois… Et en fait… Elle m'a fait ouvrir plein de portes. J'ai, j'ai, j'ai pensé autre… j'pensais autrement. Tu vois ?

Sonja : Euh… Ouais, Ce que, en fait, tu ne pouvais pas découvrir toi-même ?

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça.

Sonja : Et quand tu as dit vous êtes partis voir les spectacles, est-ce qu'il y a des endroits spéciaux où vous êtes allés… Est-ce que vous étiez, je sais pour [salle de spectacle], mais est-ce qu'il y a d'autres endroits ?

Kofi : [Quartier de Lyon], le cirque… Et c'est grâce à elle aussi, même après le collège, même si j'suis allé en… en école de crique, c'est aussi grâce à elle parce que… j'connaissais pas. Elle m'a fait découvrir… Honnêtement c'est… Même, même, même maintenant là, j'suis… j'sais pas comment le… lui… la… la remercier tu vois… Parce que… Sans elle j'serai, j'serai, j'serai pas comme ça… J'serai une autre personne, à c'te heure, tu vois. Donc euh…

Sonja : Et est-ce que… En fait j'ai compris qu'elle a créé ce groupe de… de danseurs hip-hop.

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Est-ce que tout a commencé avec toi ? Avec ta génération ? Ou est-ce qu'elle avait déjà fait cela avant ?

Kofi : Non, elle en avait fait avec d'autres. Mais j'pense on va dire que... C'est avec notre génération où... Ça a été vraiment « sérieux » où... Nous on voulait dev'nir des danseurs où… avoir une carrière de danseurs tu vois… Mais… Ça est resté quelque chose de ludique et de... d'amusant au début. Et c'est ça qui m'a fait accrocher au début. Avec elle, c'est, c'est ça qui, qui m'a fait accrocher. Et moi j'sais qu'elle m'a beaucoup appris... Elle m'a aidé à penser différemment et… ça y'a pas de, y'a pas de, de prix pour, tu vois… Y'a pas d'prix pour ça.

Sonja : Parce qu'en fait, moi j'me souviens quand on a parlé, elle a dit euh… quand elle a parlé de votre groupe, elle a dit que la danse c'est, c'est votre vie en fait.

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : C'est euh... Elle m'a expliqué cela dès le début.

Kofi : C'est carrément ça… Mais c'est vrai hein ! Pour ce qui est... J'ai pas dansé une semaine, et j'suis mal. Quand j'danse pas, j'suis mal, tu vois. C'est… C'est pas pour faire euh… pour, pour, pour faire le… le mec prétentieux ou quoi tu vois. Mais… J'suis pas bien quand j'danse pas. Ou… Quand j'ai pas… Là, là, j'ai... Toute la s'maine j'ai pas dansé... Hier j'ai ouvert mon gymnase pour danser tu vois !

Sonja : Ah c'est vrai !

Kofi : Ouais ! J'ai ouvert mon gym… mon gymnase hier, j'l'ai ouvert de… 18h à 21h30. J'ai dansé jusqu'à 21h30 parce que… Toute la s'maine j'ai pas dansé et… J'sais pas, c'est ça... C'est comme de l'eau en fait, tu vois.

Sonja : Ou comme de l'air.

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça. On est arrivé à un moment où... Je sais pas, c'est, c'est dev'nu vital un peu.

Sonja : Et quand tu dis euh... Donc j'ai compris, j'ai compris son rôle, est-ce que finalement quand tu as dit qu'elle t'a ouvert la porte qu'elle t'a permis de, d'avoir... De te faire d'autres contacts. Ça t'a apporté quoi exactement ?

Kofi : Déjà… c'est… Tu vois humainement c'est, c'est une bonne personne. Tu vois ? Et j'ai pris des exemples sur elle tu vois. Être ouvert, aller parler à l'autre. Moi j'étais renfermé sur moi-même à la base tu vois. J'étais... On dirait pas comme ça mais… J'suis vraiment quelqu'un de… de très timide qui qui s'renferme... Et ça j'ai, j'ai pris c't'exemple un peu sur elle tu vois. Et… Notamment aussi en danse ça m'a aidé beaucoup. J'me suis libéré en danse. Et…

Sonja : C'est intéressant.

Kofi : Et y'avait quoi d'autre… Y'a plein d'choses ! Par exemple euh… Y'a un moment elle me disait « il faut que tu varies les énergies » et… C'est… Et… Ça a été… Ça a influencé beaucoup ma danse, tu vois. Parce que… Quand j'ai commencé j'restais toujours sur un (inaudible). Elle m'disait quoi ? Ça, c'est ça sa phrase préférée c'est quoi c'était… « Rapide, et lent. Rapide et tu changes en fonction. Faut pas que tu sois tout le temps rapide ou faut pas que tu sois tout l'temps lent »

Sonja : Ah !!! Changer le rythme !

Kofi : Voilà

Sonja : D'accord, OK.

Kofi : Et ça, ça a joué beaucoup en ma danse tu vois. Et aussi, elle m'a ouvert… Elle m'a aidé à un truc, c'est de, de toucher aux autres arts. Et c'est… Et c'est grâce à elle si j'touche à d'autres arts.

Sonja : Comme par exemple ?

Kofi : Mai j'ai commencé la danse … Et j'pensais rester que dans ça. Mais j'suis parti dans l'cirque. J'ai vu d'autres choses qui m'ont apporté ma danse. Et c'est ça en fait ! C'est… Va voir ailleurs, et ramène tout à la racine. Et c'est ça qui va t'faire développer. Tu vois ? Et… J'ai f… J'ai fait d'la, des, des photos, et j'aurais jamais pensé faire des photos ! Et la première fois où j'ai, j'ai pr… j'ai fait des photos en noir et blanc elle m'a dit qu'c'était… elle c'étaient des photos magnifiques. Tu vois, ça m'avait encouragé à prendre des photos. Parce qu'il y avait un club, club photos au collège à l'époque.

Sonja : Et c'est elle qui gère ça ?

Kofi : Et c'est elle qui gère ça tu vois. Et j'suis parti en sortie une fois avec elle. Et j'ai pris… J'ai dû prendre 5 photos. Elle me dit le lendemain « Wouah ! Joel tes, tes photos elles sont magnifiques ! ». Tu vois, le juste le fait de m'encourager j'ai… m'encourager, déjà ça… Ça m'a donné envie d'faire des photos tu vois. J'ai, j'ai pris confiance en moi, j'me suis dit « ah, j'savais pas, donc pourquoi pas essayer » Tu vois… Et y'a plein d'choses comme ça

Sonja : Ah, super. Euh… Parce qu'en fait, je me souviens quand j'ai parlé avec elle, elle m'a aussi dit euh… Elle m'a expliqué aussi comment ça se passe le hip-hop, et l'idée de transmission de savoir, entre tous les danseurs en fait.

Kofi : Voilà.

Sonja : Et donc finalement, elle voulait mettre ça en place au collège.

Kofi : Oui.

Sonja : Pour qu'au final vous ayez les mêmes conditions que si vous étiez, par exemple, dans le quartier.

Kofi : Yes

Sonja : Et est-ce que finalement, est-ce que t'as ressenti que tout ce que t'as fait avec la danse, est-ce que ça te fait sortir euh… du quartier ou des gens avec qui tu es ? Est-ce que tu rencontres d'autres personnes en fait.

Kofi : Carrément. Carrément et… J'sais que sans la danse j'serai jamais parti dans [département limitrophe] où aller faire des trucs, tu vois ? Sans la danse, il y aurait pas des gens qui seraient venus vers moi et m'dire « C'que tu fais c'est bien » et ça, ça aurait pas changé ma mentalité. Tu vois. J'suis, j'ai fait beaucoup d'voyages grâce à la danse tu vois. Et… Ça m'a sorti du quartier et heureusement. Tu vois…

Sonja : Quand t'as dit des voyages, par exemple où ?

Kofi : J'suis parti à New York. Ça c'est le plus gros voyage que j'ai fait tu vois !

Sonja : Oh ! C'était quand ?

Kofi : C'était, Wow ! Y'a… En 2016.

Sonja : Ah donc l'année dernière ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Et euh… C'était quoi, comment ? Ben, juste, c'était quoi, une compétition ?

Kofi : Ben, en fait on est parti à Broadway. Broadway Dance Center, on a pris des cours là-bas. Et on est resté une semaine !

Sonja : (inaudible)

Kofi : (inaudible)

Sonja : Avec les euh…

Kofi : [Maison du quartier] et mon groupe de danse, [association hip-hop]. Du coup on a fait, en fait on a fait un projet sur 2 ans… Où… Chaque événement qu'on faisait et ben… On faisait des buvettes. On dansait ! Et… l'argent qu'on récoltait ben c'était pour s'voya… là… s'voyage là tu vois. Et ça c'est l'projet dont j'suis un peu fier ! Parce que... Ma maman elle m'a donné zéro. Mon papa m'a donné zéro tu vois ! Et à l'époque quoi, j'devais avoir quoi, 18 ans. Et à 18 ans y aller tout seul sans… sans avoir à… sans avoir besoin de ses parents qui t'ai… qui te donnent des sous ou quoi. Et j'ai tout fait par moi-même, tu vois c'est… c'est une grande fierté.

Sonja : Ah ben carrément ouais.

Kofi : Tu vois, et j'y allais lui rapporter des cadeaux ou… et qu'elle me dise « Wouah ! » Tu vois ? Et ça, c'est, c'est ma plus grande fierté.

Sonja : Et euh… Comment ça se passait à New York ? Est-ce que vous aviez un contact là-bas ? Est-ce que vous aviez une association à rencontrer ?

Kofi : Ben en fait, [nom d'une animatrice] C'est…

Sonja : Ah ! Celle qui organisait le, le hip-hop contest ?

Kofi : Ouais, voilà c'est ça. Et ben elle, elle l'a déjà fait c'projet. Avec d'autres filles. Du coup elle connaissait déjà le… les lieux tu vois. Et en plus, elle était au Canada juste avant et… en fait au début elle voulait nous rejoindre du Canada… Mais... J'sais pas… Elle… Elle, ça s'est pas pu. Du coup on est parti ensemble, on y est allé et... Elle nous a fait découvrir Harlem, on est parti par le pont de Brooklyn, on a fait plein d'choses tu vois. Et c'était génial.

Sonja : Et qu'est-ce qui t'a vraiment marqué à New York ? Qu'est-ce que tu peux me recommander parce que moi j'y suis jamais allé.

Kofi : La nourriture ! (rires)

Sonja : (rires) Quoi les burgers ?

Kofi : Non, pas les burgers !

Sonja : Non, pas ça !

Kofi : Ben en fait c'est que… Y'a un truc qui m'a marqué c'est que… Les gens… C'est toujours la fête. Et c'est bien tu vois ! Mais… Ça m'a attristé un peu quand j'ai vu euh… les gens dormir dans la rue euh… qui étaient pas bien tu vois. Et… un peu j'me suis dit : « En France, on est un peu bien » parce que…

Sonja : Y'a moins de…

Kofi : Voilà… Tu vois. Ou quand j'ai vu à Mc Donald par exemple où… en France il y a que des… que des jeunes qui sont pris quasiment. Et j'voyais des… des seniors !... Qui travaillaient à McDo tu vois. J'me suis dit c'est… Y'a le revers du décor en fait. Tu vois. Y'a plein d'choses comme ça qui… qui m'ont touché. Et... Voilà c'est…

Sonja : Est-ce que c'était pour toi, c'était un premier grand voyage ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Est-ce que… c'est quoi qui t'as un petit peu… Mis à part ça, est-ce que tu as eu un choc ? Les personnes qui s'comportent peut-être différemment, parler une autre langue, la vitesse de la vie…

Kofi : (rires) Tu vois, ouais, ben la vie ! C'qui me... J'voudrais raconter une anecdote.

Sonja : Vas-y ! Vas-y !

Kofi : Tu vois quand on est parti à… on était à l'aéroport, on rentrait … Et ben y'a mon ami qui... Qui nous a fait une frayeur ! Parce que, il a été pris dans, avec les gens de sécurité. Et on est resté, on s'est inquiété pendant 1 heure 30 là-bas ! Parce qu'ils voulaient pas le laisser partir... Et pourquoi ? Parce que son nom de famille c'était euh… [Nom à consonance arabe]. Tu vois ? (rires)

Sonja : D'accord oui.

Kofi : Et on a essay... C'est ça qui m… C'est c'qui nous a fait une grande frayeur ! Tu vois.

Sonja : Ah ben carrément ouais.

Kofi : Et.. (rires) Nous on voulait… Nous dans notre tête, on… on allait pas rentrer à New York, on allait repartir à Lyon… et… au final ils nous a laissé passer et… au final on en rigole de ça tu vois… Mais… Notre voyage à New York, il allait, il allait nous passer sous l'nez en… en 2 secondes. (rires)

Sonja : (rires) Et bon carrément, au final c'était, c'était pas mal.

Kofi : Après quand tu… quand tu rentres dans New York aussi euh… c'est… c'est beau hein ! Honnêtement c'est beau, c'est grand…

[…]

Kofi : Après, nous on s'est… on a été dans une auberge de jeunesse tu vois, … Et… Là aussi c'était bien … Parce que y'avait toutes les personnes du monde entier qui v'naient ! On a vu des français qui… Une colonie de Air France. Et… on a vu quoi, on a vu des allemands, on a joué au billard avec des… des grecs. Ça c'était trop magnifique tu vois ! On a, on a vraiment échangé. C'est comme le soir par exemple où… On restait à 2 heures du matin … et y'avait une canadienne qui, qui, qui est v'nue et qui nous a parlé, on a bien… On a sympathisé et tout, tu vois.

Sonja : Ah! super

Kofi : Mais les gens là-bas ils sont… bien ouverts d'esprit. Tu vois. Et… ça j'aime bien.

Sonja : Oui, les américains sont très, très ouverts.

Kofi : Voilà.

Sonja : Ils sont moins, moins réservés, moins coincés…

Kofi : C'est ça, c'est pas comme…

[…]

Sonja : (rires) J'aime bien les personnes qui sont ouvertes.

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça tu vois !

Sonja : Très dynamiques…

Kofi : Voilà…

[…]

Sonja : Mais ils sont très spontanés comme ça !

Kofi : Tu vois, ouais.

Sonja : Y'a pas de soucis euh…

Kofi : C'est ça qui est bien ! C'est ça qui… On vit vraiment l'instant, tu vois, comme ça.

[…]

Kofi : Moi, ça m'a touché euh… (inaudible) puisque, même dans l'métro tu vois… Y' a des, des SDF de partout. J'en ai eu… Même à Lyon y'en a tu vois, mais… c'était choquant un peu.

[…]

Kofi : C'est ça. Aux Etats-Unis, ils pensent pas à toi.

Sonja : Ouais, ben là-bas, il faut vraiment, il faut se battre pour toi-même. Mais mis à part ça, t'as voyagé où encore ? Parce que tu m'as, tu m'as dit « j'ai voyagé beaucoup grâce à la danse »

Kofi : Parti à Nice récemment, c'était bien (rires)

Sonja : (rires) D'accord

Kofi : C'était… C'était génial. En fait on devait y aller pour euh… pour un battle, mais ça s'est pas fait… Du coup on a profité de la plage, on est resté… 3 jours ! C'était génial. Tu vois on… même là-bas tu vois. J'pense que, la plupart d'endroits où j'suis allé, les aires où… où il y a des flux… Quand j'dis des flux, c'est… les rencontres avec euh… des différents pays. Les gens sont plus ouverts. Comparé à nous à Lyon où… on est un peu renfermés tu vois. C'est pas tout l'monde qui vient à Lyon. Et j'pense…

Sonja : Ah, ça c'est vrai (rires)

Kofi : (rires) C'est, c'était bien. Après quand j'étais tout p'tit euh… J'restaiq jamais euh… chaque semaine j'partaiq à… à chaque événement. C'est là où j'ai… j'ai rencon… J'ai remporté un concours à… dans Isère. J'sais plus comment c'était, mais j'sais qu'c'était dans l'Ain J'suis parti en, en Isère. Tu vois. On a dû faire toute la France un peu !

Sonja : Oh, ben c'est bien! Et comment tes parents regardent ça ? Bon, là maintenant, t'es adulte !

Kofi : Ouais

Sonja : Mais… Avant…

Kofi : C'était dur, très très dur.

Sonja : Le… Le fils qui est danseur. J'imagine juste mes parents, déjà leur dire « Ah, j'vais faire de la danse ! »

Kofi : Ben même maintenant, ils acceptent pas. Tu vois, parce que… ils veulent la sécurité ! D'un côté, j'les comprends, tu vois.

Sonja : Ouais, c'est ce dont on a parlé, même la dernière fois.

Kofi : D'un côté j'les comprends tout à fait et ils… ils veulent la sécurité, ils veulent quelque chose de sûr pour c'que… Le monde de la danse c'est... C'est vaste, c'est dur, c'est… Tu gagnes… c'est, c'est pas des salaires que tu touches tous les mois, tu vois. Mais… moi c'est ma passion et c'est c'que, c'est c'que j'ai envie d'faire tu vois.

Sonja : Ben, est-ce que, parce que tu m'as dit que tu travailles, euh, aux [nom du quartier], est-ce que finalement c'est grâce à cette danse ou… non. Comment ça, ça se passe ?

Kofi : Hum… plus ou moins… Tu vois ? Plus ou moins parce que… Si y'avait pas la danse, j'aurai pas connu là-bas (rires)

Sonja : C'est ce à quoi j'ai pensé (rires)

Kofi : C'est ça. Si y'avait pas la danse ben… En fait, j'de… Ils m'ont d'mandé de donner des cours là-bas. Parce que je dansais avec un groupe de là-bas. Et… Au fur et à mesure, des années sont passées, et ils m'ont dit « Viens on t'embauche, on va essayer de trouver d'autres cours pour toi » … Mais en même temps, ben je m'suis dirigé vers l'animation avec les petits, les grands J'ai passé une formation… Et tu vois… Et ça m'a beaucoup aidé.

Sonja : Et ça t'plait ? Même si c'est euh… c'est fatiguant par moments, je peux imaginer.

Kofi : C'est vraiment fatiguant.

Sonja : (rires), c'est assez… (rires)

Kofi : Mais…

Sonja : J'ai compris quand j'ai entendu ta voix (rires)

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : J'me suis dit "il est crevé complètement ! » (rires)

Kofi : Mais, tu vois ! On est très, quand on est en animation aussi c'est que… Moi j'ai un peu mon âme d'enfant tu vois.

Sonja : Oui (rires)

Kofi : (rires) et euh… Y'a des moments, c'est moi j'fatigue les enfants, tu vois ? Et ça c'est bien (rires) C'est moi j'les fatigue plus que, qu'ils me fatiguent. Donc euh…

Sonja : Non, mais toi, t'es motivant quand même ! Moi j't'ai vu avec… Quand j'étais à [association hip-hop], ou quand on était à… quand il y avait le contest, quand on était à Rillieux-La-Pape ou quand… Vous étiez là-bas !

Kofi : Yes

Sonja : Ça se voit que t'as plein d'énergie en fait, et ça c'est... Après, il faut qu'ils te suivent !

Kofi : C'est ça aussi.

Sonja : Ça c'est une autre chose.

Kofi : Ça c'est vraiment autre chose, parce que… faut trouver la bonne méthode en fait, la bonne manière de… pour les emmener. Si tu l'as pas, ah ! Ils vont te regarder bizarrement et ils vont dire : « T'es qui toi ? »

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Tu vois ?

Sonja : Et c'est ça

Kofi : Ça c'est… J'pense c'est leur phrase préférée ou… Et ça tous les enfants hein ! Même moi là… A leur place j'aurai été comme ça tu vois.

Sonja : Ouais

Kofi : « T'es qui toi ? » (rires)

Sonja : (rires) Oui, ça c'est vrai. Et je me souviens en fait, j'ai, j'ai plein de questions mais bon…

Kofi : Oh, mais t'inquiète, on a notre temps.

Sonja : Euh… J'me souviens la, la dernière fois quand on a, quand on a parlé, tu m'as parlé comment c'est important de, de ramener quelque chose de… Attends… J'ai noté… Euh, Comment c'est important d'être différent. Toi, tu voulais être original.

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Montrer quelque chose de différent à travers la danse.

Kofi : Hum Hum

Sonja : Ça, j'ai compris et aussi, tu m'as parlé comment c'est important aussi pour le quartier euh… de trouver quelque chose comme ça, de, de ne pas rester justement, trainer dans le quartier mais vraiment euh… faire de la danse. Désolé de toucher cette question.

Kofi : C'est pas grave

Sonja : Mais c'est quelque chose qui est…

Kofi : C'est normal.

Sonja : J'entends beaucoup euh… ça, même ici ou à [quartier distant] « trainer dans le quartier ».

Kofi : « Trainer dans le quartier »

Sonja : Pourquoi finalement… Pourquoi c'est important ?

Kofi : Pourquoi c'est important ? Ben j'pense que…

Sonja : Pourquoi c'est important de faire la danse ou… faire, je ne sais pas, autre chose parce que finalement toi c'est la danse qui t'a donné une autre euh… qui t'as ouvert une autre dimension finalement ?

Kofi : Ouais, c'est ça. Ben… Honnêtement… Même sans la danse, j'aurais jamais pensé trainer dans le quartier. 'fin, quand j'dis « trainer dans l'qua.. », nous on dit pas « trainer dans le quartier », mais « rester au quartier », « tenir les mou… les murs » c'est… J'pense que, quand j'étais p'tit, j'pensais, j'pensais trainer au quartier… Rester, tenir les murs. Mais… à partir de... allez, 9 / 10 ans, t'es un fainéant si tu restes au quartier, qu'tu traines ! Tu vois ?

Sonja : Est-ce que c'est quelque chose qui se transmet ? En fait, les petits qui voient les plus grands…

Kofi : Carrément, carrément

Sonja : C'est quelque chose qui euh… qui se…

Kofi : C'est ça c'est euh… Y'a tout qui est transmissible, et ça aussi tu vois… C'est… Y'a des gamins qui… qui voient les vi… les grands du quartier qui trainent … Et ils admirent ça aussi

tu vois. Tu peux, tu peux, tu peux toi admirer ! Mais… moi jamais, ‘fin euh… J’pense que quand j’étais p’tit, je… j’admirai aussi . Mais à partir de 10 ans ou… Quand tu penses à autre chose, quand tu penses à la danse, ou quand, par forcément à la danse tu vois, mais quand tu penses à quelque chose d’autre, de plus important que le quartier, ben l’quartier… On s’en fout un peu du quartier tu vois.

S Ouais, vous … Ben finalement, ce qui m’a intéressé, c’est juste parce que j’ai vu un petit peu votre état d’esprit… ‘fin le tien, un petit peu Youcef, Karim, tout ça. Donc finalement, est-ce que euh… vous êtes différents des autres au final ? ‘Fin vous êtes réunis par la danse en fait.

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Vous avez cette euh…

Kofi : C’est ça.

Sonja : C’est ça qui vous réunit euh…

Kofi : Exactement, mais… mon quartier il est important ! Et j’dis pas que, je ne traine pas partout. C’est pas parce que je ne traine pas au quartier, qu’il m’importe pas, tu vois ? J’aime, le quartier, j’aime toutes les personnes qui, qui y vivent. Sans eux, ben… j’serais pas comme je suis parce que ils… Même si y’a des gens qui trainent dedans, c’est mes amis, tu vois ? Donc euh… J’aime pas l’aspect, ‘fin, le fait de trainer au quartier, mais… J’ai des amis qui trainent et qui, qui… Qui sont bien là-bas.

Sonja : Oui, oui

Kofi : Tu vois. Et puisqu’ils sont bien là-bas, ben tant mieux pour eux mais… Moi j’ai pas trouvé mon bonheur là-bas,... Donc euh… Ça m’donne pas envie de rester.

Sonja : D’accord, d’accord. Les adolescents des fois c’est difficile, il faut trouver la motivation.

Kofi : C’est ça

Sonja : Euh… C’est pas, c’est pas quelque chose qui va venir de vous-même.

Kofi : Exactement.

Sonja : Moi j’me souviens, même moi quand j’étais euh… Quand j’avais cet, cet âge, il fallait me motiver.

Kofi : C’est vrai !

Sonja : C’était super difficile. Sauf pour ce qui me plaisait vraiment ! Comme par exemple, j’adorais jouer au violon. Je voulais tellement, mais mes parents ne voulaient pas.

Kofi : C’est vrai !?

Sonja : Ben oui voilà, et ça c'est quelque chose que j'ai jamais fait dans ma vie et je voulais tellement !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Et ben voilà. Peut-être un jour, un jour quand j'aurai 50 ans, je m'inscrirai « tut, tut ; tut ! »

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Parce que j'adore, j'adore le son de...

Kofi : Ouais, c'est beau.

Sonja : Le sont du violon. Y'a d'autres instruments non ! Mais ça j'adore.

Kofi : Le violon t'aime, t'aime bien.

Sonja : Oui, ça, le son.

Kofi : C'est vrai que c'est beau, mais moi ça m'endort un peu.

Sonja : Mais pas… Ça, ça dépend, des fois t'as, t'as un petit peu le jazz, le jazz tzigane, un petit peu.

Kofi : Ouais, j'vois.

Sonja : Ça peut être ça.

Kofi : Oui c'est…

Sonja : Y'a des chansons orientales, si tu, surtout les chansons turques par exemple avec le violon, c'est super. Juste quand j'entends, cette euh… cette mélodie, ah moi j'suis aux anges.

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : (rires) J'adore, c'est vraiment quelque chose que j'adore.

Kofi : Tu sais c'que moi j'aime bien moi ?

Sonja : Non, non.

Kofi : C'est l'accordéon.

Sonja : Ah c'est vrai ?

Kofi : Tu vois ?

Sonja : Oui, oui, l'accordéon, oui oui !

Kofi : J'sais pas, ça m'rends fou quand euh… chaque fois qu'j'entends une note, ça m'rends fou.

Sonja : C'est vrai ?

Kofi : J'sais pas, j'ai envie de danser euh… c'est…

Sonja : D'accord !!!

Kofi : Je sais pas c'est… Lorsque... Le… C'est vrai qu'le violon c'est beau ! Mais… Ça m'endors un peu moi.

Sonja : Non, non, c'est, c'est normal, chacun, chacun, chacun ses goûts, comme par exemple mon copain, il adorait le piano,

Kofi : Ouais !

Sonja : Il en a joué

Kofi : J'en ai joué ça un peu moi

Sonja : Et ben… C'est vrai ?

Kofi : Ouais, quand j'étais au lycée.

Kofi : Et quand on faisait rien, et ben nous on avait une euh… une, une médiathèque un peu, où y'avait plein d'instruments ! Mais la dame elle voulait pas qu'on rentre. Du coup, on rentre en cachette et on jouait (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : On fermait la porte et on jouait, c'était trop magnifique.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Et euh… Ouais d'ailleurs, c'est ce que je voulais te dire… Tu vois, y'a toujours quelque chose qui reste un petit peu euh… euh… Donc, quelque chose qui est au fond de toi, que tu n'arrives à expliquer pourquoi tu l'aimes, mais tu l'aimes.

Kofi : Ouais, c'est vrai.

Sonja : Juste comme ça, mais pour plein d'autres choses, il te faut la motivation un petite peu de l'extérieur. Et euh… En fait, est-ce que, est-ce que tu, est-ce que tu vois en fait, parmi les jeunes, par exemple dans ton quartier, est-ce qu'ils s'intéressent un petit peu plus à la musique ? ou euh… la danse finalement c'est votre groupe. Est-ce qu'il y en a d'autres qui, qui peuvent être intéressés ? Est-ce qu'ils dansent avec vous ? Est-ce qu'ils dansent plus euh… dans le quartier ?

Kofi : Moi, j'sais qu'ils m'encouragent, tu vois. J'sais qu'j'ai un ami qui… qui traine comme on dit. Mais qui à chaque fois que j'le vois, il m'fait, il m'dit « Ouah, t'as pas lâché, ça fait…

Tu t'souviens au début comment les… comment on s'la raclait sur toi ? Mais t'as pas lâché, c'est bien. Continue fréro » Tu vois ?

Sonja : Ah, c'est bien !

Kofi : Juste ces phrases-là, déjà c'est… Ou à chaque fois que j'porte ma baffle et j'passe à côté, il m'dit « Ouah ! T'es toujours là toi ? Tu continues ? C'est bien ! » Ça veut dire que… J'pense… Si j'deviens quelque chose grâce à la danse un peu, ça s'ra leur fierté, tu vois ? Parce que j'viens d'là. J'viens d'là et… J'ai réussi … Et… J'viens de là où il est aussi, tu vois. Donc euh…

Sonja : Comme quoi, ça montre en fait, toutes les capacités en fait finalement des…

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Des personnes.

Kofi : Parce que j'sais que… Notre battle [nom de la compétition]. Quand on l'a fait euh… La moitié du quartier était là. Tu vois, la moitié du quartier était là à nous encourager. Moi en tout cas, ma toute première battle [nom de la compétition], c'était le le le, mon premier battle… Et quand j'ai dansé où les les gens du quartier m'ont vu danser pour la première fois, ils m'ont dit « Ouah ! Tu sais faire ça toi ? Tu sais danser comme ça ? » Tu vois ?

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Et… Y'a eu des hauts et des bas mais… J'pense on… On… Ça va être… C'est, c'est un peu une fierté pour eux. Tu vois ? Si… Si j'réussi à faire quelque chose ou quoi, si tu vois, c'est… ça s'ra leur fierté un peu.

Sonja : Moi je pense, c'est, c'est quand même, c'est normal parce qu'en fait euh… euh… Surtout pour… Quand on fait partie, d'une, on va dire d'une communauté ou d'un quartier, ou d'un endroit, en fait c'est toujours, on est fier si… Même si c'est même pas nous, c'était quelqu'un d'autre qui…

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça.

Sonja : Qui est proche de nous. Ben, qui réussit.

Kofi : Carrément.

Sonja : On dirait qu'on fait une petite partie en fait, de cette réussite.

Kofi : C'est ça, c'est comme [personne célèbre]. Il vient de [ville] donc euh…

Sonja : Ah oui oui oui !

Kofi : (rires) Tu vois !

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : C'est un peu, c'est comme si c'était une partie d'nous qui, qui a joué au foot et… Voilà.

Sonja : Euh… Y'avait d'autres choses, mais en fait je voulais juste te poser une question. Parce que finalement, tout ce que je fais, ça tourne un petit peu autour du temps libre. Ce que vous ne faites pas vraiment à l'école. Bon la danse, ça a commencé avec [nom d'un professeur] mais ce n'était pas, c'était pas quelque chose qui était vraiment imposé.

Kofi : Non.

Sonja : Cela vous était proposé.

Kofi : Ouais

Sonja : Donc au final vous acceptez ça et puis après, c'est votre passion hors… Hors école, hors boulot.

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Et euh… et en fait ton, vraiment ton temps libre, quand t'as rien à faire.

Kofi : Quand j'ai rien à faire du tout ? J'dors ! (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : J'dors.

Sonja : Tu récupères l'énergie.

Kofi : Ah, j'm'appelle… Tu vois un peu Pokémon ?

Sonja : Oui, oui

Kofi : Ronflex

Sonja : Oui, oui

Kofi : Et ben c'est moi.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : (rires) Non, sérieusement, euh… C'que j'fais pendant mon temps libre ?

Sonja : Ou comment tu ? Ou, autre question, comment tu imagines le temps libre idéal pour toi ?

Kofi : Ah, le temps libre idéal… (rires)

Sonja : Oui, parce que moi, je peux imaginer mon temps libre idéal pour moi, mis à part dormir.

Kofi : Mis à part dormir… Et ben, tu sais quoi ? C'est manger ! (rires) C'est... Ah j'mange trop, j'mange trop ! J'aime trop manger.

Sonja : T'aime bien cuisiner un petit peu ?

Kofi : Ben…

Sonja : Ah !

Kofi : J'cuisine avec ma mère.

Kofi : Mais… j'pense ma mère aussi, j'suis né à midi ! Elle m'a dit ça la dernière fois que j'étais né à midi tu vois.

Sonja : Ah ! Ça explique !

Kofi : C'est pour ça qu'j'mange beaucoup, qu'j'aime trop la nourriture tu vois. (rires)

Sonja : D'accord (rires) Non, mais ça se voit que t'es un bon vivant.

Kofi : Tu vois ? Et… Et j'aime quoi faire, faire quoi pendant mon temps libre ? J'regarde beaucoup de vidéos, de tout et de n'importe quoi. Et euh… Des fois quand j'suis, j'suis… Je sens qu'j'suis un peu trop gros. Ben j'vais aller courir

Sonja : D'accord.

Kofi : Tu vois (rires).

Sonja : Et est-ce…

Kofi : Parce que m…

Sonja : Ah pardon !

Kofi : Non ! Mon frère il est à… Il était à l'armée. Tu vois, donc lui euh… C'est tout l'opposé d'mon en fait. Il est tout maigre, c'est un sportif.

Sonja : Ah il est vraiment sportif, ouais.

Kofi : Alors que moi ! (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : J'suis un Ronflex et… tu vois, c'est c'est… C'est lui qui m'a… qui m'pousse un peu à, à faire, à aller courir, à aller… tu vois en plus là, là c'est le circuit d'habitude ! On court, on fait tout l'tour.

Sonja : Ah ben carrément ouais!

Kofi : Jusqu'à là-bas.

Sonja : Tout autour de… ouais, ouais.

Kofi : Jusqu'à là-bas. On revient par ici et on s'pose à la barre là-bas. Tu vois la barre qui est derrière là ?

Sonja : Oui, oui

Kofi : Pour la musculation ?

Sonja : Oui, oui

Kofi : Ben on… Et lui il continue. Des fois j'dors (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Tu vois, des fois il, il vient chez moi j'fais semblant de dormir parce que j'ai pas envie d'y aller. (rires)

Sonja : Ah !

Kofi : Il vient, il part. (rires)

Sonja : (rires) Ah bon, chacun, chacun son style ouais. Mais est-ce que par exemple, si tu penses ah… ben à l'âge de l'adolescence en fait, que tu as passé ici. Est-ce que en tant qu'adolescent, est-ce que certaines structures t'ont manqué ici ?

Kofi : Des structures ?

Sonja : Quand je dis structure, est-ce que... Vous étiez content avec les cinémas que vous avez, euh… Est-ce que par exemple, ça, la salle que vous avez pour la danse, est-ce que ça vous convient ?

Kofi : Ah oui.

Sonja : Euh… Je sais pas, ou est-ce que… Est-ce que vous avez besoin d'autres choses pour bien vivre ?

Kofi : Ah non.

Sonja : Pour vivre comme vous voulez ?

Kofi : Non, honnêtement euh…

Sonja : Ah, tu peux me dire si, si y'a des cho...

Kofi : J'veux pas t'mentir euh… On a d'la chance ! Honnêtement on a eu d'la chance euh… Sonja. Parce que…

Sonja : C'est-à-dire ?

Kofi : On a d'la chance d'a… Moi j'suis au quartier, j'ai d'la chance d'avoir un grand parc à côté d'chez moi ! Tu vois, j'ai pas b'soin de prendre le bus pour y aller. C'est à 500m de chez moi !

Sonja : Ah ça c'est vrai.

Kofi : Tu vois ! C'est le… le cinéma il est à 500m de chez moi aussi ! Tu vois ! J'ai, j'… Honnèt'ment à [ville] on a beaucoup d'chance . Parce que y'a tout qui est à côté et on a plein d'choses qui sont bien.

Sonja : Et par exemple, juste je t'interromps, euh… Le cinéma, bon c'est un petit cinéma en fait !

Kofi : Ouais c'est un p'tit cinéma.

Sonja : Ouais parce que moi je me souviens quand je discutais avec certains jeunes à [quartier distant], on a parlé de cinéma, et c'est aussi un petit cinéma là-bas !

Kofi : Ouais, il y a le euh… le Pathé là-bas !

Sonja : Euh... Non, non non, c'est vraiment, moi j'étais, j'étais aux [quartier distant] et là-bas ils...

Kofi : Ah j'vois ! Ouais !

Sonja : Et ils m'ont dit « Ah mais c'est un p'tit cinéma ! » Et beaucoup d'jeunes préfèrent les grands cinémas.

Kofi : Ah…

Sonja : Ah, j'ai dis…

Kofi : Ah ça c'est... Ça, ça dépend d'eux.

Sonja : Ouais

Kofi : Mais honnèt'ment ils… La ville a bien fait bien le… son… 'fin, la ville... C'est bien fait. Honnêtement… J'ai…non, j'ai, j'ai pas... J'ai pas manqué d'quelque chose, j'ai pas eu à avoir besoin d'quelque chose, parce que ici il y avait tout. Et après ça aussi j'pense que… quand t'es ado tu… tu remarques pas. Tu vois, c'est… C'est en c'moment qu'j'l'ai remarqué en fait. Et c'est … Justement il y a 2 semaines, où j'ai parlé avec mon, mon ami, il s'appelle [prénom ami], où il m'a dit euh… « P't'être on a beaucoup d'chance ? P't'être on a d'la chance d'avoir un parc à côté. On a la chance d'avoir le… des transports qui, qui passent de partout ! »

Sonja : Ben ouais, finalement.

Kofi : Tu vois ?

Sonja : Il y a le T2 qui te ramène euh…

Kofi : Tu vois y'a…

Sonja : Jusqu'à [station de tram]

Kofi : Y'a plein d'trucs ! On a la chance après, c'est c'est nous on l'remarque pas. Parce qu'on est déjà dans l'confort. C'est, c'est comme on dit, la phrase qui dit euh… « C'est quand t'en a le plus besoin que tu... Que tu remarques euh… » Tu vois, son, son… Son existence entre guillemets tu vois. Quand… Si on l'avait pas, ben… C'est là où on s'plaindrait.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : On s'plaint par c'qu'on a déjà et on, on veut autre chose !

Sonja : Et est-ce que, est-ce que vous pensez que finalement pour, pour la danse, vous a…, vous avez de la chance d'avoir euh… bon… Au collège, [nom du professeur] !

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Euh… Les collèges qui collaborent avec [école de danse]. Bon, [école de danse] s'est installé euh… en 2000… Lequel, 2008 ?

Kofi : En 2008 ouais.

Sonja : Ouais un truc comme ça ouais

Kofi : 2008

Sonja : Ben est-ce que finalement c'est un réseau qui est tissé, finalement ? Vous avez le soutien de la ville aussi ? de la mairie ? Est-ce que… Moi je te pose juste la question, tu peux m'dire oui ou non.

Kofi : Ouais !

Sonja : Parce que… Est-ce finalement tout ça, parce que euh… [professeur] elle collabore avec euh… [école de danse]. Bon, après on a parlé euh… La dernière fois quand on était au [association hip-hop], est-ce que c'est d'aller prendre les cours ou juste suivre les cours euh…

Kofi : A [école de danse] ?

Sonja : Oui, voilà. Ou faire juste seul. Mais, je pense, souviens toi juste quand t'as commencé. Quand t'as débuté en fait avec tout ça. Est-ce que finalement, d'avoir euh… tout ce réseau, est-ce que ça aide ?

Kofi : Carrément… Carrément parce que euh… Quand j'ai grandi j'ai… J'ai pensé différemment. Et… j'pense que j'ai pensé juste. Mais quand j'étais p'tit aussi ! J'ai pensé différemment et c'était juste aussi parce que… Quand j'ai commencé il y avait le.. ben [nom du professeur] euh… [nom du professeur] avec moi. Mais j'allais à [école de danse]. Avec [école de danse], c'était euh… c'tait une grande bibliothèque [école de danse]. Tu vois ? Parce que… Y'avait l'festival [nom du festival], où y'avait euh… Ça regroupait les 18, 18 compagnies. 18 compagnies ça veut dire, 18 spectacles ! Déjà ton, ton cerveau il est euh…

fuuuh… Tu vois, ton, ta créativité tu la, tu la boostes au maximum là, tu vois ? Parce que tu vois du pop, du break, tu… tu vois du théâtre, tu vois ci, tu vois ça et… C'est enrichissant ! Et ça m'a beaucoup apporté !

Sonja : Et vous étiez assistés par euh… Vous avez suivi les spectacles avec [professeur] ?

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça. J'en av… J'en ai suivi ! J'ai été bénévole pour des euh… Pour avec [école de danse] tu vois ?

Sonja : Ah ouais !

Kofi : Ça aussi c'est d'l'expérience ! Et ça m'a beaucoup apporté. Après euh… J'pense que... Au fur et à mesure où on grandi où... On réfléchit différemment… On voit certaines choses qui nous plaisent ou qui nous plaisent pas et tu vois ?

Sonja : Tu commences à créer ton propre avis.

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça, personnel.

Sonja : Ouais.

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Ouais, ouais. Ce qui est tout à fait normal, après, tu choisis ce qui te convient.

Kofi : Voilà.

[…]

Sonja : Et euh… Et en fait euh… Ben, est-ce que par exemple, vos danses hip-hop, est-ce que c'est influencé par euh… certains types de musique ?

Kofi : La danse hip-hop ?

Sonja : Ouais. Qu'est-ce que tu aimes, qu'est-ce que tu préfères ?

Kofi : Ah j'aime tout. Moi j'aime tout parce que… En fait, moi j'pense que j'suis une éponge un peu.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : J'aspire, j'aspire tout. C'est pas comme mes amis qui écouteraient pas euh… Du chill Bump. Chill Bump, c'est pas tout le monde qui écoute. Ça, j'ai découvert ça quand j'étais en cirque. Parce que j'ai… j'avais un ami qui s'appellait [prénom ami]. Il l'écoutait et… Au moment où j'ai écouté, Wouah ! Révélation ! (rires)

Sonja : Ah bon, révélation.

Kofi : Révélation. (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : (rires) Tu vois, il y a… ou du classique ! Ou j'connaissais pas ! euh… Comment elle s'appelle ? Pavarotti

Sonja : Ah !

Kofi : Pavarotti et… Les, les saisons. J'connaissais pas moi ! Euh… Donatella Mobile, J'connaissais pas !

Sonja : Et t'as découvert ça grâce aux…

Kofi : Voilà, tu vois !

Sonja : Lycée du cirque

Kofi : Grâce, 'fin pas forcément grâce à ça, mais c'est que… j'étais ouvert d'esprit. Et quand j'te disais « la monte en ligne », j'regardais beaucoup de vidéos. Ben… Tous les soirs, même maint'nant, tous les soirs, j'mets des musiques que j'connais pas. Et… j'vois si ça m'plait, ça m'parle. Et au fur et à mesure, ben j'clique... Tu vois j'ai… j'ai des idées sur ça.

Sonja : Donc tu… Tu regardes, tu écoutes plutôt la musique en fait ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Qui va t'inspirer pour la danse.

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça.

Sonja : Et tu regardes pas des films, ou…

Kofi : Ah les films ! Ouais, j'suis un grand amateur de films aussi ! (rires)

Sonja : Ah c'est vrai !

Kofi : J'suis un grand amateur de films.

Sonja : D'accord ! (rires)

Kofi : Ben avant d'venir là, t'sais c'que j'ai regardé quoi ? Troie.

Sonja : D'accord !

Kofi : Tu vois c'est quoi ?

Sonja : Oui, oui.

Kofi : (rires) J'regardais ça. Parce que j'avais vu une vidéo qui… qui montrait Achille... Achille qui criait « Hectooor ! ». Tu vois, le, la, la…

Sonja : Oui

Kofi : Le moment culte du… du film. « Hector !! » Et… Voilà. Ça m'avait donné envie, et j'ai regardé « 300 », j'ai regardé « Troie ».

Sonja : D'accord.

Kofi : Euh… hum… J'suis un grand amateur de films. Après, des classiques, c'est un peu dur pour moi parce que euh…

Sonja : Ben !

Kofi : Voilà.

Sonja : Ça dépend des fois, il faut s'mettre un p'tit peu dans le mood.

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça, dans l'mood.

Sonja : « Oui j'veux, j'veux regarder ça ».

Kofi : C'est ça. Mais sinon…

Sonja : Ben justement, tu te souviens la dernière fois tu m'as parlé de… chorégraphie pour, pour un spectacle que t'as fait pour la fin de l'ann... pour le bac, je crois ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Et tu m'as parlé de Edith Piaf, et des années 30.

Kofi : Ah ouais !!

Sonja : Et moi, je voulais te poser la question. D'où venait cette idée vraiment ?

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Cette inspiration ? Parce que tu m'as parlé de l'époque…

Kofi : Voilà !

Sonja : Des relations un petit peu. Comment les gens se comportaient.

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : On a parlé de tout ça et je me suis dit « mais d'où ça vient ? »

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Cette envie de faire… Parce que moi j'adore les années 30 aussi.

Kofi : Yes !

Sonja : C'est quelque chose super, mais je voulais te poser la question de savoir d'où ça vient.

Kofi : Ouais. C'est surement des, des films. C'est surement des films euh… Comme quoi, j'en ai vu aucun… J'en ai vu tellement tu vois ? Et, c'est ça en fait c'est… Même dans les films, y'a... C'est pas tout qui reste, tu vois ? C'est les moments cultes, où des euh… Y'a des choses qui vont te sembler banales à toi. Mais moi ça va me… ça va m'parler ou… Tu vois … Ou les ambiances. C'est ça le, le noir et blanc. J'avais joué sur ça parce que… J'aimais bien l'noir et

blanc où… A l'époque des claquettes tu vois ? Et les euh… Les Gomez Brothers. Tu vois ? Y'a pleins d'truc comme ça qui m… En fait c'est bien d'être une éponge ! C'est bien, t'aspire tout. Et c'est… Tu vois quand j'te parlais de, de la différence aussi ? Et ben j'pense, c'est à partir de, de c'moment là où tu… Tu deviens différent. Tu vois ? Parce que… Quand on nait… En fait quand on nait, on n'est rien ! C'est à… C'est grâce à l'expérience de ci, de l'autre, de l'autre, de l'autre, que tu deviens toi, parce que t'as appris de là, de là, de là, tu vois ? Et j'pense que c'est, c'est c'que j'recherche pour ma danse et… C'est dur à trouver ! Mais…

Sonja : Mais tu cherches ?

Kofi : Voilà.

Sonja : T'es comme un chercheur ?

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Mais dans un autre domaine. (rires)

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça. (rires)

Sonja : Est-ce que, est-ce que tu penses finalement que les gens autour de toi, de ton âge, plus jeunes, un peu plus grands, est-ce qu'ils sont similaires à toi ? Ou tu te trouves plutôt seul avec cette idée de... d'être une éponge, de trouver d'autres styles…

Kofi : Ouah ! Ça c'est une bonne question !

Sonja : Juste comment tu ressens, comment tu vois euh… tu vois les gens.

Kofi : (longue pause) Euh… C'est à dire… c'est dur à répondre ça ! Tu vois, c'est simple à… Tu vois c'est, c'est une simple question tu vois ? Et c'est dur dans l'sens où…

Sonja : La réponse est difficile.

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça. C'que...

Sonja : Euh… Ou je sais pas, est-ce que tu côtoies les… les jeunes, les garçons ou les filles qui ont un p'tit peu le même état d'esprit que, que toi.

Kofi : D'éponge ?

Sonja : Oui, comme ça.

Kofi : Non.

Sonja : Qui s'intéressent un petit peu à…

Kofi : Qui s'intéressent à des… Qui s'intéressent oui ! Mais… à tout comme moi, j'pense pas. J'pense pas que… J'dois en avoir des amis qui s'intéressent mais… La plupart c'est pas des éponges.

Sonja : Est-ce que, est-ce que ça te manque un petit peu, est-ce que t'as envie d'aller p'têtre euh… travailler dans d'autres endroits, rencontrer d'autres personnes…

Kofi : Ah ouais ! Carrément.

Sonja : Qui sont peut-être similaires.

Kofi : Carrément.

Sonja : Que toi.

Kofi : Carrément ! Ben euh…

Sonja : Que ces esprits d'éponge…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Ben non non ! Mais oui mais…

Kofi : Qu'ils se rencontrent…

Sonja : Ben oui !

Kofi : Et qu'ils deviennent d'autres éponges.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : (rires) Et on ferai une grosse planète d'éponges !

Sonja : Plein, pleins d'éponges c'est ce que je voulais dire ! (rires)

Kofi : Ben oui ! Carrément !

Sonja : J'trouve…

Kofi : Carrément.

Sonja : J'trouve carrément important

Kofi : Ouais c'est ça.

Sonja : Euh… Pour hum… Pour vraiment se sentir bien, pour être productif, pour créer quelque chose ou… Ben… je sais pas…

Kofi : Ben c'est vrai, carrément, parce que… J'aimerai des fois… j'parle de trucs il m'dit « Qu'est-ce tu m'raconte toi ? » Tu vois ? Il… j'ai, j'ai des amis comme ça. j'leur dit des trucs il m'dit ; c'est comme quand, quand on crée des chorégraphies, avec les, les [association hip-

hop] où il y a un moment j'leur ai dit euh… « C'est comme dans l'film euh… » C'tait quoi comme film déjà ? Là… là… les temps modernes d'Charlie Chaplin

Sonja : Oui.

Kofi : Et il y a un moment où… il rentre.

Sonja : Oui.

Kofi : On dirait des moutons.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Tu vois ? Comme des robots qui, qui rentraient à l'abattoir un peu ; tu vois ? Et, j'voulais faire cette métaphore-là. Et mon ami il s'retourne, il m'dit « Mais c'est quoi ça ? ». Tu vois, parce qu'il connaissait pas. Tu vois et… Et j'm'a… J'ai, j'ai essayé de simplifier au maximum mais… Il m'comprenait pas. Parce que… Ben il avait pas vu les temps modernes, il connaissait pas. Tu vois ? Il y a plein de choses comme ça.

Sonja : Des fois… Ouais dans certains, dans certains cas ça peut être difficile parce qu'en fait tu veux transmettre...

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça.

Sonja : Le message. Mais si… mais personne qui te regarde. En fait si elles ne comprennent pas ça…

Kofi : C'est ça, tu vois.

Sonja : Et en fait c'est juste que je ne t'ai pas posé la question. Dans [association hip-hop], j'ai vu il y a, il y a les plus petits, il y a les plus grands et donc au final, il y a quoi, il y a combien d'équipes en fait ? J'ai, j'ai essayé…

Kofi : En ce moment on a… En ce moment, j'dirais pas qu'y'a une équipe en ce moment. Y'a juste]association hip-hop] en ce moment. Avant, y'avait une… y'avait des équipes… Y'avait euh… [noms d'équipes], euh… Au tout début début début euh… Y'avait un crew de filles [nom du groupe]

Kofi : Elles ont grandi maint'nant, elles ont mon âge tu vois donc euh… Y'en a qui, qui travaillent, qui, tu vois ? Donc elles ont, elles ont dû arrêter. On était beaucoup avant ! Mais en c'moment, c'est un peu moi qui reprend l'flambeau parce que… les… j'suis l'grand maintenant.

Sonja : Ouais.

Kofi : Tu vois. C'est moi le grand maint'nant et… Et les grands qui sont sensés être avec moi en ce moment ils sont… Ils sont occupés. Du coup, j'suis tout seul… J'peux pas tout gérer non

plus. Donc euh… on est juste [association hip-hop] pour l'instant. J'essaye de faire au mieux, de… d'apprendre… Pour l'instant et… On verra par la suite.

Sonja : Et euh….. C'est [Garçon] ?

Kofi : [Garçon]!

Sonja : Comment ?

[…]

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Lui il est aussi avec toi ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Il gère…

Kofi : Un peu…

Sonja : Il gère…

Kofi : Quand, quand il est en forme ! Quand il est en forme il...

Sonja : Oui, oui, c'est c'que j'ai compris !

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Quand j'ai…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : « Ah oui, maintenant, moi j'fais d'autres choses » Allez !

Kofi : (rires) C'est ça…

Sonja : Il a plein d'énergie aussi.

Kofi : Ouais, [Garçon] ouais.

Sonja : Ouais.

Kofi : Ben c'est lui qui m'a donné envie de danser à la base. J'dansais déjà chez moi tu vois ? Mais… Les premiers pas ou… Les, les top rocks, les premiers pas, ben c'est lui qui, qui m'a donné envie ? c'est lui qui m'a appris. Et par la suite, on est dev'nus rivaux parce que lui il… Moi j'étais là, et lui il était toujours un cran plus que moi. Fallait qu'j'le dépasse. S'il faisait ça ! J'devais l'faire. S'il tournait, tournait sur la tête, j'devais tourner sur la tête tu vois ! Il fallait que j'le rattrape, que j'le dépasse et… Tu vois il y… c'était une… une bonne compétition entre nous deux et… Ça m'a aidé à me… à progresser. Tu vois.

Sonja : Ben dans ce cas-là, c'est un petit peu ta… ta personnalité en fait.

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Il y a p… Ben oui ! ‘fin... J’écoute ce que tu me dis, donc il y a pas que… [nom du professeur]. Y’a pas que... Ces possibilités. En fait, c’est au fond de toi que t’as cherché euh… A être différent, à te dépasser toi-même euh…

Kofi : C’est ça aussi.

Sonja : Y’a ça qui compte ! donc euh…

Kofi : Y’a plein d’facteurs ouais.

Sonja : Ouais. Ouais

Kofi : C’est vrai.

Sonja : Et euh… et par exemple quand… Quand tu cherches des infos chez toi, c’est YouTube euh… plutôt pour t’informer ou…

Kofi : Les infos pour ?

Sonja : Ben, par exemple pour t’inspirer, pour la danse, la musique. Pour regarder… ‘fin, les chorégraphies.

Kofi : Ah euh... Hum...

Sonja : Ben j’pense sur…

Kofi : La plupart du temps c’est YouTube. C’est vrai. La plupart du temps. Après euh… Y’a un site qui s’appelle le… hum… Numéridanse

Kofi : Tu devrais l’noter ça, c’est bien.

Sonja : Ah déjà c’est là, mais bon allez…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Numéri, Numéridanse !

Kofi : (rires) Numéridanse, en gros c’est euh… Ah ouais, c’est vrai… J’avais oublié qui y’avait ! (rires)

Sonja : Le truc ben oui !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Tu penses que je peux, j’peux me souvenir de tout ?

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Non mais, attends, t’inquiète. Ça c’est juste pour moi donc euh…

Kofi : Ah putain j’oublie à chaque fois.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Et euh…

Sonja : Non mais c'est… Déjà c'est pas mal, parce qu'avec certains, ben la dernière fois quand j'ai parlé avec Youcef, j'ai pas allumé.

Kofi : Ah ouais ?

Sonja : Oui, oui. Ben parce que j'lui ai dit euh… là toute première fois j'ai vu que ça… ça l'a stressé.

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : J'ai dit « Tu voulais pas le dire mais moi j'ai ressenti hein ! »

Kofi : Ah la la ! (rires)

Sonja : Après les galères pour moi quand j'suis rentrée à la maison ! Noter tout !

Kofi : Ah la la !

Sonja : Ouais. Bon pardon tu m'as dit Numéri… ?

Kofi : Numéridanse.

Sonja : Numéridanse.

Kofi : Tu penses à Numéricâble et tu meus (inaudible)

Sonja : Oui, (rires) Numéricâble c'est ça. OK.

Kofi : En gros c'est un site de… faite par la Maison de la Danse tu vois ? Et euh… Quand les compagnies passent dans… à la Maison de la Danse. Et ben ils filment leur scé… leur spectacle et le mettent sur leur mur. Et ils ont un blog ou un site comme ça. Hé… (souffle) C'est… c'est magnifique.

Sonja : Et comment t'as découvert ça ?

Kofi : Comment j'l'ai découvert ?

Sonja : Ouais.

Kofi : Par des amis. Par des amis et… Et par qui d'autre ?

Sonja : [nom du professeur] non ?

Kofi : Non même pas !

Sonja : Non même pas ?

Kofi : Ouais par des amis. On parlait comme ça une fois et… Et y'a une amie qui m'a dit euh… « Ben va voir sur Numéridanse il y est encore ». Moi j'connaissais pas et euh… J'suis allé, j'ai découvert ça. C'était… C'était… C'était l'feu !

Sonja : Et euh… Et ben la, la dernière fois on s'est rencontré on était à… à [lieu dans Lyon] ! C'est vraiment complètement par hasard !

Kofi : Oh la la ! (rires)

Sonja : (rires) Je me suis dit…

Kofi : J'l'avais oublié.

Sonja : « Il a fallu qu'on se retrouve à l'autre bout de… de la ville ! »

Kofi : Voilà, c'est ça. (rires)

Sonja : Mais euh… Comment ça ? Vous êtes... Ben tous les danseurs ? Mais vous n'avez pas dansé que du hip-hop en fait ?

Kofi : Ouais !

Sonja : Ben c'était plus house ou…

Kofi : House ouais.

Sonja : House ouais.

Kofi : Ben moi c'est… En fait en dans le hip-hop y'a plein de… C'est comme quand tu fais une thèse, (inaudible) grande thèse après y'a tes sous-parties et tout ! Et ben c'est comme ça en danse aussi tu vois ? On dit « hip-hop » en général mais… Il y a le popping, le breakdance, la house, le new style.

Sonja : Ah, la house appartient au hip-hop ?

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Ah d'accord.

Kofi : Tu vois ? Y'a la house, et danse la house y'a plein d'trucs tu vois ? C'est comme une grande dissertation. Y'a une première partie, deuxième partie, troisième partie. Tu vois ?

Sonja : Oulah…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Et donc toi t'es... C'est quoi qui t'intéresse le plus dans le hip-hop.

Kofi : Dans le hip-hop ?

Sonja : Oui.

Kofi : Le hip-hop. (rires) Le hip-hop.

Sonja : Tout (rires) Le hip-hop en…

Kofi : Le hip-hop en général. Parce que… Faut savoir que… Quand j'ai commencé j'étais euh… J'ai commencé par le popping. Parce que… Parce que j'ai, j'arrivais pas à faire du break.

Sonja : Ah ouais ! Tu m'en avais parlé de ça! Ouais.

Kofi : Parce que j'arrivais pas à faire du break, j'étais trop gros. Et euh... J'arrivais pas à bien bouger, j'bougeait pas bien ! Et tout ce que j'arrivais à… un peu à réussir c'était tous les mouvements de popping, de… de smurf et des vagues et tout ! Et y'avait un grand danseur à l'époque. 'fin, grand danseur toujours hein ! Qui… et j'voyais ces vidéos, il s'appelait Salah. Et… C'est, c'est ça qui m'a donné envie. C'est, c'était l'feu. C'est la lumière en guillemets (rires) !

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Parce que lui aussi il était polyvalent tu vois ? Mais… Il f'sait des trucs de oufs, des… c'était magnifique ! Et… Ça m'est resté, j… j'avais envie d'lui ressembler. Et… C'est, c'est, c'est parti comme ça. Au fur et à mesure ben… j'ai un peu maigri, j'ai fait du sport (rires).

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : J'ai fait un peu d'sport. J'ai commencé l'break. C'est pas toujours ça mais…

Sonja : Mais au final est-ce que c'est important…

Kofi : …portant de…

Sonja : Ouais de, de se… d'être meilleur dans tout ou vraiment de développer ton style et de s'avoir euh…

Kofi : Après ça dépend. Ça dépend parce que…

Sonja : Est-ce que dans le monde de… des danseurs de hip-hop…

Kofi : Ouais

Sonja : est important surtout pour les hommes par exemple…

Kofi : Ouais

Sonja : De montrer, ben qu'on sait bien danser. Euh… Le break

Kofi : Savoir bien danser ?

Sonja : 'fin ou…

Kofi : Non !

Sonja : Savoir, ouais.

Kofi : Mais, être le plus fort.

Sonja : Ah !!!

Kofi : C'est la base même du… C'est ça notre base tu vois ? C'est euh… A la base c'est, c'est. La danse hip-hop est née parce que euh… On voulait se battre. Se battre, mais différemment. Ne pas faire mal.

Sonja : Ouais.

Kofi : En tout cas, transformer sa colère en… en joie.

Sonja : En mouvement.

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça, en mouvement, quelque chose de plus beau que…

Sonja : Hum Hum, que sortir les flingues et…

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça.

Sonja : Tchik, Tchik.

Kofi : Donc euh... Ouais !

S: (rires)

Kofi : Le but c'est d'être le plus fort. Le plus fort de… C'est une question d'ego dans le hip-hop, tu vois ? C'est…

Sonja : Ah !!!

Kofi : J'ai envie d'être le… le…

Sonja : Ah c'est pour ça, ben…

Kofi : Tu vois !

Sonja : Ben quand tu regardes ces battles ! Ah tu vous comment j'ai progressé !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Ben oui, il fallait connaitre l'origine de la danse pour qu'on, pour com…

Kofi : …prendre

Sonja : Pour comprendre.

Kofi : Voilà !

Sonja : Au final pourquoi c'est le battle.

Kofi : Voilà ! Battle parce que c'tait une bataille, c'était…

Sonja : Oui, voilà.

Kofi : Faut s'battre, tu vois.

Sonja : D'accord. OK.

Kofi : Donc euh… Mais… C'est plus, y'a plus beaucoup d'gens qui… qui prennent d'ça maint'nant, qui qui ont gardé cette euh…

Sonja : Cet esprit vraiment…

Kofi : Cet esprit … Parce que... C'est ça qui nous anime, tu vois ? C'est plus trop ça maint'nant à notre époque actuelle. C'est plus euh… On y va, même quand on y, on y va avec la haine mais on s'amuse !

Sonja : Oui

Kofi : Le but c'est d's'amuser tu vois. C'est plus trop ça maint'nant, le but maint'nant… Quand moi j'regarde maint'nant, c'est plus euh… j'y vais, j'vais crâner, j'vais montrer que… bling bling tout ça, tout ça tu vois. Et... c'est dommage parce qu'à l'époque c'est… les meilleures battles que moi j'ai vu, c'était les anciens. Les anciens euh… où y'avait l'ambiance, l'ambiance de ouf… Et… pfff… Kamel c'est un grand noir ! Un grand noir i… Il avait le style, il s… Tu vois c'est y'a, y'a plein d'choses à raconter ! Mais c'est plus… notre époque le… on fait parti d'la new school un peu tu vois. Nous on a eu d'la chance, quand moi j'ai commencé, j'étais à la fin d'la old school ! Et j'étais au début d'la new school. Tu vois du coup… … j'ai été influencé par les…

Sonja : Par les deux ouais.

Kofi : Voilà.

Kofi : Du coup, j'remarque… les…

Sonja : Les différences qui existent ouais…

Kofi : C'est ça. Mais… j'préfère la old school.

Sonja : Ah c'est vrai ?

Kofi : J'préfère la old school. C'est vrai que dans la new school y'a plein d'choses auss… qui… qui sont bien. J'dis pas qu'c'est mauvais. Mais j'préfère la old school. Et j'pense que… les autres, les futurs qui arriveront, ils diront que qu'ils préfèreront la… la old school qui deviendra la euh…

Sonja : Oui voilà !

Kofi : Tu vois ?

Sonja : Comme c'qui est new il va devenir…

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça.

Sonja : euh… old. Voilà

Kofi : Une boucle.

Sonja : Ah ben… c'qui ouais! C'qui est tout à fait normal ! Et est-ce que tu penses en fait que… des fois euh… dans le monde de ceux qui sont dans le hip-hop, est-ce qu'il y a… ceux qui vraiment qui s'concentrent euh que sur euh... que sur un, un style de musique…

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : … ou un…

Kofi : Yes.

Sonja : Ils sont vraiment enfermés euh…

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : 'fin est-ce que…

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : Moi par exemple c'que j'ai bien… c'que j'ai bien aimé, c'que j'ai vu à [salle de spectacle] c'était pour la fin de l'année quand euh… quand il y avait euh… ben j'ai, j'ai vu Karim et euh… Youcef …Ils ont dan… C'était le mix entre euh… la danse contemporaine et hip-hop !

Kofi : Yes !

Sonja : Et c'était euh… c'était super bien !

Kofi : C'était beau.

Sonja : Euh toi t'as dansé aussi euh... la danse contemporaine ? 'fin le mix comme ça ?

Kofi : Ouais. Ben quand j'ai…

Sonja : Parce que j't'ai pas vu danser ça donc… (rires)

Kofi : (rires) Ouais et ben euh… La danse contemporaine ça, ça aide beaucoup en fait. On va dire pour moi, quand j'vois la danse contemporaine et le hip-hop… Il doit avoir deux différences. C'est quoi, c'est que… on va dire que… il y a la danse contemporaine… Et y'a l'break. 'fin le… la… le hip-hop entre guillemets. Y'a pas une grande différence. La seule chose qui y'a c'est que… On va dire que le hip-hop prend une passe sur la scène... Elle devient un peu contemporaine. Mais sinon euh… Tu vois ?

Sonja : Ça c'est intéressant comment tu expliques ouais.

Kofi : J'vois pas une… c'est juste que le hip-hop perd son… sa notion de…

Sonja : La danse de… de rue finalement euh…

Kofi : Voilà de… un peu de « voyous ».

Sonja : Street euh…

Kofi : Voilà.

Sonja : Comme euh… Street art?

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Finalement.

Kofi : Et quand elle passe sur scène pour moi elle devient d'la… contemporaine un peu.

Kofi : Et…

Sonja : D'accord !

Kofi : Et voilà.

Sonja : Ah, j'comprends c'que tu veux dire moi euh… J'ai vu aussi un p'tit peu les, les subtilités, les différences entre euh… dans les mouvements en fait. Parce que des fois le contemporain c'est… c'est très euh…

Kofi : Grâce.

Sonja : Fluide.

Kofi : Voilà c'est ça.

Sonja : Voilà un p'tit peu plus comme la danse classique…

Kofi : Ouais.

Sonja : On va dire. Pas totalement…

Kofi : Pas totalement ouais.

Sonja : Ouais. Parce que le classique c'est un petit peu trop euh…

Kofi : C'est trop strict !

Sonja : … Figé euh…

Kofi : C'est ça…

Sonja : … trop euh… strict ouais. La contemporaine est euh… est plus euh… plus fluide en fait. Et c'est… c'est ça ce qui, c'qui m'a plu en fait quand j'ai vu parce que hip-hop peut être super dynamique.

Kofi : Hum Hum

Sonja : Et finalement la dan… la danse contemporaine a donné juste un petit peu la fluidité en fait.

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : C'est comme c'que j'ai vu en fait et ça je… je pense que c'était très euh… très joli parce que c'est certes qu… quand j'étais vendredi euh… au collège, moi j'ai vu du hip-hop…

Kofi : Ouais

Sonja : Et en fait je n'ai jamais vu Youcef et Karim danser ça…

Kofi : Danser euh… voilà.

Sonja : … Et quand j'ai vu j'ai dit « ah ben c'est, c'est super bien ! ».

Kofi : Tu vois !

Sonja : Ils dansent très bien le hip-hop ! Et quand j'ai vu ça, c'est euh…c'était très très euh… très joli… D'accord ! ben je sais pas, j'pense peut-être j'ai encore des euh… des questions mais euh…

Kofi : Pose ! Moi j'aime autant.

Sonja : Mais non mais… Ah ! on parle depuis une heure !

Kofi : C'est vrai ?

Sonja : Oui, oui, une heure !

Kofi : Déjà ?

Sonja : Oui mais on va faire euh... 'fin on va arrêter et puis on va…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Moi j'vais écouter s'il y a d'autres choses euh…

Kofi : Dis-moi, y'a pas d'soucis, moi j'suis là.

Sonja : Euh… Je sais pas, tu m'dit. Euh… Tu m'dis si tu as d'autres choses à faire euh… puis…

Kofi : Non, c'est bon.

Sonja : Hum Hum. Ça on a… on a fait, j'ai posé les questions… Hum, hum, hum… Euh… Est-ce qui euh… Est-ce qu'il y a euh… Mis à part tout euh… toutes les rencontres dans le monde de la danse en fait. J'ai compris euh… soit vous êtes là, dans le [nom de l'association], ou soit peut-être vous avez d'autres endroits euh… Où aimez-vous, où aimes-tu bien aller avec les amis pour danser ou pour passer du temps en fait ? Hors du quartier. Parce que moi j'regarde aussi, vu que je suis dans le domaine de la consommation aussi on regarde les notions… quand j'dis consommation, c'est, c'est pas seulement la consommation pure, même si quand on parle dans, dans un, par exemple comme Maison de la Danse fait aussi parti de la consommation.

Kofi : Hum hum…

Sonja : Parce qu'on consomme quelque chose. On a payé l'entrée ou…

Kofi : Yes !

Sonja : Voilà. Est-ce que… quand vous êtes ensemble, quand vous dansez ou… quand vous passez du temps… Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits préférés où vous aimez bien euh… partir (inaudible)

Kofi : Dans la ville … En ville … J'aime trop chiller moi ! Tu vois, quand j'suis assis… J'regarde…J'suis posé Donc euh… ouais ! Y'a l'toit d'Perrache… Où… (inaudible) des fois j'vais pour danser là-bas. J'me pose là-bas, tu vois. Parce qu'il y a une belle vue ! Et… sinon euh…

Sonja : T'es pas le genre de personne qui va aller euh… euh faire le shopping dans les euh…

Kofi : (rires) J'ai commencé.

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : J'ai commencé c't'année.

Sonja : (rires) Comme tout le monde un p'tit peu ouais.

Kofi : Ben j'ai commen… Comme tout l'monde ! Comme toutes les filles tu (inaudible) ! (rires)

Sonja : Ah ben, attend. Moi j'vais te dire…

Kofi : Hum hum.

Sonja : Moi quand j'étais plus jeune.

Kofi : Hum hum

Sonja : J'adorais ça. Maint'nant, ah !!!!

Kofi : Ah faut les sous maint'nant ! (rires)

Sonja : Mais non ! Mais même pas ça ! Ça me saoule !

Kofi : Ça…

Sonja : Ça.

Kofi : Tu vois.

Sonja : Me. Saoule !

Kofi : Ben moi…

Sonja : Je rentre j'vois…

Kofi : Trop d'monde !

Sonja : Tell'ment d'chose !

Kofi : Pfff

Sonja : La musique « dou, dou, dou, dou » Les trucs, les, les euh…, les lumières.

Kofi : Tu vois !

Sonja : Donc j'vieillis, j'vieillis.

Kofi : Tu vois !

Sonja : C'est mort !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : (rires)

Kofi : Ben c'est ça aussi ! Moi c'est, c'est ça qui m… me choque (inaudible), c'est ça qui… Ça m'a jamais donné envie pour ça. Parce qu'y'avait trop d'gens… Tu fais une longue queue pour aller à la caisse. J'achète sur internet c'est mieux. (rires)

Sonja : Ah oui. Et tu fais ça ? Tu achètes par internet.

Kofi : Ouais, j'achète sur internet

Sonja : Ouais. Bon après, c'que tu dis, ouais, certes il nous faut d'l'argent…

Kofi : Hum.

Sonja : Pour s'acheter euh… Bon après, on a des soldes on peut… Mais y'a, y'a des… y'a des jeunes qui aiment bien aller euh… 'fin aller dans les centres commerciaux juste comme ça, regarder. Surtout les filles. C'est pour ça que je te pose la question. (rires)

Kofi : Non non. Moi ça…

Sonja : Ben…

Kofi : Ça a jamais… J'aime pas. Et j'm'ennuie en fait !

Sonja : Ça ne colle pas avec ta personnalité (rires)

Kofi : (rires) Tu vois c'est… J'perds mon temps quand j'fais ça. Tu vois, j'ai, c'est… Après… Y'en a qui aiment bien. Mais… Pas moi. Ça m'a jamais plus d'aller regarder. Si j'veux pas acheter donc euh…

Sonja : Hum Hum. Bon après, ça c'est un petit peu l'esprit des hommes hein !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Parce que des fois, quand on va… acheter des… des trucs, mon copain il me dit « mais pourquoi tu regardes ça, on a pas dit qu'on va l'acheter ! »

Kofi : « Pas l'acheter ! » Voilà.

Sonja : J'dis « Mais je veux voir ! Juste pour voir ! »

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Il me dit « Mais on va… On va même pas acheter ! »

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Mais je veux savoir pour une prochaine fois éventuellement !

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : Donc tu vois, ça c'est les, les logiques vraiment des hommes et des femmes.

Kofi : Hum.

Sonja : Et...

Kofi : Ben… Hum… Y'a quoi d'autre ?

Sonja : Est-ce que, est-ce que vous avez tendance en fait euh… est-ce que vous aimez euh… des fois bon, là, on s'est vus à [lieu dans Lyon], euh… d'aller dans, dans certains bars, ou je sais pas. Est-ce que vous consommez dans ce sens-là, en fait. Ou c'est quand même, c'est très lié à l'argent…

Kofi : Non !

Sonja : …ça reste quand même un petit peu cher ou…

Kofi : Euh…

Sonja : Ou vous… vous…

Kofi : Ben tu veux savoir quoi ? En été…La plupart des soirs... Ben tu vois l'MacDo qui est là, vers [centre commercial]. Et ben… Jusqu'à 5h du matin…

Sonja : Oui

Kofi : Allez j'abuse. Jusqu'à 3h du matin. De... Allez. De 23 heures jusqu'à 3 heures du matin. On est là-bas.

Sonja : Ah c'est vrai !

Kofi : On est là-bas on mange. Et on discute, on rigole, on parle. Parce que c'est un... J'sais pas.

Sonja : C'est proche, c'est pas…

Kofi : Hum…

Sonja : C'est pas très… Euh ouais…

Kofi : On est toujours posés là-bas

Sonja : Vous pouvez y aller à pied en fait !

Kofi : Ouais, c'est ça !

Sonja : Ben oui, oui oui.

Kofi : On est toujours posés là-bas et… on discute. C'est même là-bas où j'ai rencontré des nouveaux amis, tu vois. Donc euh… Ben en vrai il nous faut pas grand-chose à nous hein pour euh… (inauble)

Sonja : Bon, ça… Ça c'est normal parce que… Moi je… Bon, j'pose la question juste comme ça mais après c'est vrai euh… pour les ados c'est… les ados ou les euh… un p'tit peu plus grand euh… On cherche pas autant de confort euh… comme quand on est euh…

Kofi : (rires)

Sonja : On est… plus euh… plus âgés on va dire. (rires)

Kofi : Hum…

Sonja : Après ça dépend aussi c'que tu fais euh…

Kofi : C'est ça aussi.

[…}

Sonja : D'accord, OK. Et euh… Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres chose que t'aimerais bien faire mis à part la danse ?

Kofi : La danse ? A mais tellement… tellement… Ben… Ouais j'ai plus… Déjà ça c'est euh… C'est ma base des bases en fait. T'façon même si y'aurait pas la danse ou quoi, j'voyagerai. Parce que… … j'ai envie d'ren… mon… J'pense que ça s'rait une perte de temps si euh… Si encore d'ici 3 ans j'suis encore à… A [quartier] ! Ou… j'ai pas voyagé, fait des trucs, j's'rai déçu d'moi-même. Parce que j'ai envie d'aller voir ailleurs, aller… courir en Chine. Les gens, comment ils vivent, manger d'là-bas !

Sonja : Et pourquoi ça… ça t'intéresse ?

Kofi : J'pense que… j'sais pas ! C'est… c'est t… J'pense j'ai l'impression d'me découvrir moi comme ça. Tu vois ? Parce que j'pense que… c'est quand t'es livré un peu euh... à autre chose, où t'évolue. C'est comme un boxeur par exemple. Quand il s'tape contre un petit et… la même personne tous… tous les jours, et ben… il évolue pas. Tu vois ?

Sonja : C'est vrai.

Kofi : Alors que… Tape contre plus fort que toi, plus rapide que toi, plus… plus balèze, et c'est un peu comme ça les autres pays, tu vois ? Y'en a où c'est… c'est des pays pauvres. Y'en a ça va être des pays riches où… Y'en a où… ton, ton, ton hôtel il est là mais il va falloir que tu

marches, y'a pas d'bus. Quand y'a les euh… Tu vois la gare où y'a plein d'trucs ! Et c'est ça qu'j'ai envie d'faire, qu'j'ai envie de découvrir, qu'j'ai envie d'voir d'autres personnes ! Et d'voir d'autres monde (inaudible) tu vois ! Parce que moi ça m'soule, honnêtement ça m'soule de rester à [quartier]. Si pfff… Ça m'fatigue. C'est…

Sonja : Ben déjà si t'as… cette envie-là, j'pense ça va, ça va t'emmener.

Kofi : Tu vois !

Sonja : C'est sûr. Si, si t'as vraiment envie, tu vas trouver euh… la manière euh…

Kofi : C'est ça.

Sonja : Dans un… 'fin… Dans une manière ou un autre, tu vas trouver le chemin pour euh… pour vraiment euh…

Kofi : Hum.

Sonja : Aller…

Kofi : Parce que moi ça m'rend fainéant d'être là.

Sonja : Bon, j'vais… j'vais arrêter… On peut parler euh…

Kofi : (rires)

Appendix 3: Socio-demographic, educational and economic characteristics of the peripheral neighbourhood

	Peripheral neighbourhood	Encompassing Town 1	Comparison Neighbourhood / Encompassing Town*	Lyon Metropolis	Comparison Neighbourhood / Metropolis*
Population	4 759	38 746	12,28%	1 336 994	0,36%
% of foreigners	30,8	12,3	18,55 (2)	9,0	21,85
% of households with 6 or more members	7,1	3,3	3,83	2,1	5,04
Children from 11 to under 15 years old	269	1 772	15,18%	59 726	0,45%
Children from 15 to under 18 years old	202	1 167	17,31%	38 792	0,52%
Children from 18 to under 25 years old	178	801	22,22%	25 560	0,70%
% Of people under 25 years old	40,4	34,7	5,68	34,1	6,27
Youth index [1]	2,1	1,2	0,86	1,2	0,85
Secondary school	1	3	33,33%	117	0,85%
Secondary school in Priority Education Network ("REP")	1	2	50,00%	14	7,14%
Secondary school in Priority Education Network Plus ("REP Plus")	0	0	N/A	14	0,00%
High School	0	3	0,00%	119	0,00%
School enrolment rate of people 16 to 24 years	50	65,9	-15,92	69,8	-19,81
Population receiving benefits	3 981	22 929	17,36%	763 026	0,52%
Population's income made of more than 50 % of benefits	655	2 423	27,03%	74 798	0,88%
Population's income made of 100 % of benefits	358	1 462	24,49%	44 038	0,81%
% of income based on work	57,5	72,9	-15,40	77,5	-20,00
% of income based on benefits	27,9	6,7	21,20	5,7	22,20
Median (in euros) of disposable income per consumption unit	12 248	19 565		21 057	
Poverty rate at the threshold of 60% of the median metropolitan standard of living	49,8	19,4	30,37	15,4	34,36

Legend: * our calculation based on official data (% and differences); [1] Youth index: population from 0 to 19 / population from 60 and more.
Sources: Système d'information géographique de la politique de la ville : https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/; *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* : https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3646746/REVN_2018_V1.xls , https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3646666/DEMO_2018_V1.xls , https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3146665/qpv-education.xls

Appendix 4: Socio-demographic, educational and economic characteristics of the remote neighbourhood

	Remote neighbourhood	Encompassing Town 2	Comparison Neighbourhood / Encompassing Town*	Lyon Metropolis	Comparison Neighbourhood / Metropolis*
Population	21 966	79 220	27,73%	1 336 994	1,64%
% of foreigners	25,2	16,7	8,53	9,0	16,25
% of households with 6 or more members	9,8	5,0	4,83	2,1	7,74
Children from 11 to under 15 years old	1 583	4 784	33,09%	59 726	2,65%
Children from 15 to under 18 years old	1 015	2 997	33,87%	38 792	2,62%
Children from 18 to under 25 years old	896	2 321	38,60%	25 560	3,51%
% Of people under 25 years old	45,1	36,5	8,60	34,1	10,97
Youth index [1]	3,0	1,6	1,43	1,2	1,75
Secondary school	4	7	57,14%	117	3,42%
Secondary school in Priority Education Network ("REP")	0	2	0,00%	14	0,00%
Secondary school in Priority Education Network Plus ("REP Plus")	4	4	100,00%	14	28,57%
High School	0	4	0,00%	119	0,00%
School enrolment rate of people 16 to 24 years	49,9	54,8	-4,90	69,8	-19,91
Population receiving benefits	17 154	57 691	29,73%	763 026	2,25%
Population's income made of more than 50 % of benefits	2 621	5 993	43,73%	74 798	3,50%
Population's income made of 100 % of benefits	1 481	3 480	42,56%	44 038	3,36%
% of income based on work	57,6	66,7	-9,10	77,5	-19,90
% of income based on benefits	25,7	13,6	12,10	5,7	20,00
Median (in euros) of disposable income per consumption unit	12 483	15 636		21 057	
Poverty rate at the threshold of 60% of the median metropolitan standard of living	48,1	30,5	17,60	15,4	32,66

Legend: * our calculation based on official data (% and differences); [1] Youth index: population from 0 to 19 / population from 60 and more.
Sources: Système d'information géographique de la politique de la ville : https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/; *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* : https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3646746/REVN_2018_V1.xls , https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3646666/DEMO_2018_V1.xls , https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/fichier/3146665/qpv-education.xls

Appendix 5: Creativity-oriented youth microcultures

Microculture 1: Male hip-hop group (peripheral neighbourhood)

Period. This is the first microculture we have met during our fieldwork. This simply means much longer period of adaptation of the members of the groups and the development of trust.

Intermediary person/institution with the group. We had no prior connection to this group. The intermediary person was a junior high school sports professor and dance instructor who has been also very much involved in the cultural and artistic youth projects in the municipality (a connection between youth from the neighbourhood and local socio-educational and cultural institutions).

Contact person with the group. Kofi – the oldest among boys, a leader/motivator of the group members and one of the leading hip-hop dancers of his generation in the urban policy neighbourhoods. He was our contact person for the meetings with the group and the source of information about the life in the neighbourhood.

Comment. This is one of two groups of adolescents with whom we have had the prolonged relation and the easiest contact. For two and a half years we have known these adolescent boys, they have gained in maturity, have had various jobs, education and personal experiences that influenced their augmented interest in our research gradually. Also, our prolonged relation and confidence created with a school professor, who was very closely related to the group, has helped in creating trust with the group. This is one of the groups with which we discussed our primary data analysis and conclusions we made.

Members of the group. This is very atypical microculture since four boys are the very core of this group while the members make a part of local youth hip-hop association that comprise around 40 members but also of the hip-hop dance group at the local junior high school

- Number of members: four
- Changed members' structure: decrease from ten to four;
- Members age: from 16 to 19 years;

- Origin: Togo, Comoros, Maghreb (North Africa) and West Indies[221]; two born outside France;
- Education: one is repeating last year of secondary school; two are in high schools; one has finished the high school (during our research he reached a job of local youth coordinator near the neighbourhood) [by the end of our fieldwork three of four have followed the education for circus performers]

Main cultural practices. The group main practice are hip-hop dance trainings – break dance for younger members and upright moves for the leader. Yet, all of them have danced different styles of hip-hop according to their personal preferences and they have adopted some contemporary dance movements. Further, their participation in various municipality and some city events, battles and competitions out of Lyon are an inseparable part of the main cultural practice.

Time, place and organization of activities:

- **Regular collective trainings and preparation of performances/battles (excluding weekends and school holidays):** once per week (free training hours with sports professor in secondary school sports hall); twice per week (older members teach younger ones within youth hip-hop association in primary school sports hall);
- **Regular collective trainings and preparation of performances/battles (beyond above mentioned schedules):** sharing and learning movements among members, any place in the neighbourhood's public space; learning movements or simply access to hall of other 'crews' from Lyon; different local or beyond neighbourhood's crews trainings in dance hall in the local neighbourhood centre;
- **Temporary collective activities:**
  - *Participation in locally organized hip-hop battles* (within the local choreography centre, neighbourhood centre, youth hip-hop association and school artistic projects) – in the organization or as dancers
  - *Participation in various hip-hop battles through school sports events* (in France);
  - *Participation in various hip-hop battles* (in Lyon and France) through their *personal contacts with breakers* outside the neighbourhood;
  - *Participation in several hip-hop workshops in local choreography centre;*

[221] Other members of a local hip-hop associations are almost all of immigrant origin (born or not in France). We say *almost* since we have not met all the members.

- *Visits to various cultural institutions for dance-related content of expositions, performances, etc.* (in organisation with school sports professor);
- *Participation (dancing) at various cultural events organized by the local town hall and private events (*e.g. weddings of residents from the neighbourhood); *etc.*

Parallel collective cultural practices. There are no parallel cultural practices of members; not at the organized level and within any cultural or sports institution. Any other activity (e.g. sports training in the local park) is related to hip-hop dance. They usually do the sports for being in form for the break dance or for pleasure and fun with friends (some boys play basketball at the local court).

Duration of the microculture. There has been more than four years that the members have danced together within the school hip-hop trainings. Some of them started dancing hip-hop even earlier in the neighbourhood. Youth microculture was developed spontaneously during school trainings and has continued existing within the local youth hip-hop association.

Part of a broader structure. This microculture belongs to the local youth hip-hop association that comprises different youth groups (different age, gender, and style of hip-hop dance).

Leading local institution and its intermediary role. There is not only one institution important for the microculture's practices. Among the most important institutions for their usual activities are: (1) local secondary school, (2) youth hip-hop association, and (3) the neighbourhood and social centres. These institutions intervene in different stages of youth microculture development and with different purposes. Their main intermediary roles are to enable them places where to practice dance regularly to create relations between members and hip-hop artists and relations between members and local cultural institutions, and to help them to develop and improve their dance skills.

Main local place(s) for the practice. Neighbourhood public space; primary school sports hall (youth association trainings); secondary school sports hall (school dance trainings); neighbourhood centre's dance room. Apart public space, these places are not equally accessible during a week/holidays and some have become gradually accessible due to the high youth involvement in dance trainings.

Leading values: individual and collective creativity; sharing and solidarity ('family'); passion and tenacity; personal development.

Shared knowledge and experiences:

- **Knowledge:** over years gained hip-hop dance skills that they share among themselves and transmit to other young people from the neighbourhood; critical view of dance performances (learned from school sports professor); learned contemporary dance movements; basic knowledge on artistic project management and financing alternatively activities
- **Experiences:** participation in different cultural events (in the neighbourhood and the municipality), battles (Lyon and/or elsewhere in France); meetings of hip-hop artists (local choreography centre and youth hip-hop association); visits to various cultural institutions in the municipality and Lyon (with school sports professor)

Microculture's goal(s):

- Individual: self-expression; life focus; constant progress in dance; reach life opportunities (education or job);
- Group: development of social relations with the hip-hop artists and cultural institutions;
- Local youth: transmission of hip-hop skills and knowledge;

Microculture's outcomes:

- *For members (creativity-related)*: almost everyday trainings for hip-hop battles (or other events) or for themselves; participation in the neighbourhood and municipality events (e.g. local weddings; school artistic projects; local hip-hop contest; hip-hop choreography centre's events); individual dance improvement;
- *For other youth from the neighbourhood (solidarity-related)*: twice per week dance trainings for younger adolescents from the neighbourhood

Microculture 2: Female hip-hop group (peripheral neighbourhood)

Period. This is the last group we have met at the end of our fieldwork. In contrast to all other groups and time-consuming trust development of their members, this group and its members have appeared to be very easy going, with developed self-mockery and without a fear to show their interest in our research.

Intermediary person/institution. We had no prior connection to this group. The intermediary person was Kofi, the leader of the male hip-hop group. It appears to be normal since Kofi is a

leading hip-hop dance figure in the neighbourhood and he became a youth coordinator in the neighbourhood centre, so he knows many young people.

Contact person with the group. No special contact person from the group. They have usually decided together about the best moment for the interviews based on our proposition.

Comment. This group of adolescents was the only one in the research about which we had no prior knowledge and who easily talked about their activities and constraints. Also, this was the only group with which a WhatsApp account was created to organize the meetings and during each meeting all the members were present (in all other groups that was not the case). Due to the girls' daily activities (university lectures, job…) less extended contact was possible. Finally, despite the lack of cultural experiences outside the neighbourhood, the group of girls has been the most easy-going and most open to discussion group.

Members of the group:

- Number of members: six girls;
- Changed members' structure: at the beginning; stayed stable for years
- Members age: 19 year all;
- Origin: all Comorian and one Laotian;
- Education: all finished high school, but different trajectories (BA student of English and Arab languages, one is BA student in psychology, two are in work/study training programme for a pharmacy technician; one is a sale assistant and one is preparing for military nurse)

Main cultural practices. The group's main activity is hip-hop dance – a creation of choreographies. In addition to this their participation in various municipality and some city events are an inseparable part of the main cultural practice.

Time, place and organization of activities:

Adolescent girls' activities are diverse in terms of time and space. That is, dance training practices within the group have been *regular*: at the beginning they danced whenever possible. *Temporary* collective activities have been related to special events – hip-hop dance workshops (to improve dance skills) or events (to perform their choreographies).

- **Regular collective trainings (when younger):** collective trainings and the sharing of dance skills among members whenever possible depending on the members free time (at the beginning of the microculture); collective trainings in secondary school hip-hop

trainings (secondary school sports hall); collective trainings once or twice per week in youth hip-hop association (after several years of microculture existence);

- **Regular collective trainings (currently):** usually on Sundays (dance hall in the neighbourhood centre);
- **Temporary collective activities:**
  - Participation in several hip-hop workshops in local youth hip-hop association;
  - Participation (dancing) in various cultural events organized by local town hall and private events (e.g. weddings of residents from the neighbourhood; local cultural associations events);
  - Participation (dancing) in several events in Lyon.

Parallel collective cultural practices. There are no parallel cultural practices of members; not at the organized level and within any cultural or sports institution. Due to the lack of time now (university studies and work) they dance less (once per week) but do the sports together in local parks (jogging) once in a week.

Duration of the microculture. The microculture have lasted officially seven years so far. The members do not do any public performances, but they continue dancing for themselves or help in the local events of their friends, hip-hop dancers.

Part of a broader structure. After some years of youth microculture's existence, the group has been associated with the local youth hip-hop association.

Leading local institution and its intermediary role. There is not only one institution important for the microculture's practices. Among the most important institutions for their usual activities are: (1) local secondary school, (2) youth hip-hop association, and (3) the social and neighbourhood centres. These institutions intervene in different stages of youth microculture development and with different purposes. Their main intermediary roles are to enable them places where to practices dance regularly, to create relations between members and hip-hop artists and relations between members and local cultural institutions, and to help them to develop and improve their dance skills. Yet, in contrast to boys these girls have had more self-taught pathway.

Main local place(s) for the practice. Neighbourhood public space; local social centre' rooms; primary school sports hall (youth association trainings); secondary school sports hall (school dance trainings); neighbourhood centre's dance room. Apart public space, these places are not equally accessible during a week/holidays and some have become gradually accessible for the

girls as their collective practices become frequent and well-known in the neighbourhood (and by local institutions).

Leading values: friendship; individual and collective creativity; passion and tenacity; sharing; keep group's identity.

Shared knowledge and experiences:

- **Knowledge:** *playful and creativity-related:* over years learned hip-hop dance movements and skills in creating choreographies;
- **Experience:** in relation to time and space of their practices; within *temporary activities* adolescent girls (1) have participated (danced) in diverse cultural events thanks to the intermediary role of youth hip-hop association and its relation to other socio-educational institutions and municipality cultural service sector (in the neighbourhood or beyond); and (2) have met different hip-hop artists thanks to the intermediary role of youth hip-hop association). *Regular activities* (trainings) enabled members to work on individual expression of emotions – creative expressions – and develop self-confidence; and due to time constraints and parents' disagreement, to become better in school and in dance equally.

Microculture's goal(s):

- Individual: individuals' expression and sharing of emotions through creation of choreographies (creative expression for self-confidence);
- Group: individual involvement to create hip-hop choreographies coloectively; public performances of their creativity and skills; reaching group visibility in the neighbourhood.

Microculture's outcomes:

- *For members (creativity-related)*: improved dance skills/knowledge in hip-hop; individually created choreographies of mixed style - African traditional sounds, New Style in hip-hop and other tendencies (pop, house, etc.) for participation in neighbourhood, municipality and some city events (e.g. local weddings; Comoros and West indies cultural associations' events, retirement homes events...); developed group dance style and expressed their collective identity; a development of members' self-confidence.

Microculture 3: Youth journalism project (remote neighbourhood)

Period. This is a group we met rather early during our fieldwork. However, due to the members lack of time (preparation of high school diploma at that moment) and less free time spent in the neighbourhood we needed much time to gather them together for interviews.

Intermediary person/institution. Youth coordinators from local social centre have helped us in contacting and organizing meetings with members of the group, especially at the beginning of our contacts.

Contact person with the group. Mohamed as becoming a leader or motivator of the group, with time he has become a person with whom we organized the meetings. He is a passionate young man (future student of Physics) and locally involved in other cultural practices and reached local part-time job as homework assistant.

Comment. This is one of two groups of adolescents with whom we have had the prolonged relation and the easiest contact. For two and a half years we have known these adolescent boys and girls, they have followed different pathways: some have started university or college education (some have left Lyon for that purpose), some have been looking simultaneously for part-time jobs, etc. We have lost the contact with many of them, while we have kept the contact with the two most motivated members who informed us about changes in the membership status, in activities, and their personal life situations. Also, our data analysis has been discussed with them for the approval and much clarification.

Members of the group:

- Number of members: three boys and four girls
- Changed members' structure: many changes over time in members structure (some left; three others joined the group);
- Members age: 17 years all;
- Origin: majority of Maghreb (North Africa) (one born outside France) and one of West Indies origin;
- Education: all in high school of various specializations (scientific, art, health and social science).

Main cultural practices. Despite members' long time involvement in social centre's activities (from their childhood), the main practice of the group is writing articles on various topics of their interests and mainly youth oriented.

Parallel collective cultural practices. Parallel collective practices of the group are those organized by the social centre and as complementary to the main activity: travelling to Spain within youth Erasmus project; one-year improvisation theatre workshops; three days radio workshop. Parallelly, boys have participated in local slam rap writing workshops in the local multimedia library (writing and discussion sessions on Saturdays, excluding holidays). Individually, some of them have been practicing sports in the local sports clubs (martial arts or basketball).

Time, place and organization of activities:

- **Regular collective activities (currently):** collective writing session once per week (social centre's room); collective improvisational theatre workshops with another youth microculture once per week (social centre room);
- **Temporary collective activities**:
  - A week in Grenada (Spain): interviewing people, meeting the host of the social centre, discovering local Spanish culture, etc.; a two day stay in Ardèche canyon (group's holiday) etc.;
  - A creation of youth website with coordinators and local journalist (in social centre);
  - Three-day radio broadcasting workshops: two days training with local radio journalists and one day covering urban culture event (social centre of other suburban municipality in Lyon agglomeration) through interviews with local artists; etc.

Duration of the microculture. The group has existed within the social centre for four years already when we met them for the first time.

Part of a broader structure. The group belonged to the social centre and has already participated in its various activities organized for and with young population.

Leading local institution and its intermediary role. In the case of this microculture the main local institution supporting their collective practice is the social centre. It is important for the group for various reasons. This is the only local institution supporting in totality content development, writing skills, financing and the organization of main and parallel activities of the microculture. Also, this institution provides a permanent place for microcultures writing session and enable them access to various cultural institutions (in and near the neighbourhood) or other socio-educational institutions of the kind. Finally, for the purpose of their project coordinators from the social centres have helped in reaching a professional journalist to shape their work.

Main local place(s) for the practice. Their writing sessions and improvisation theatre workshops have been organized in the main, multipurpose room of the social centre.

Leading values: individual and collective creativity; sharing and solidarity; passion and tenacity.

Shared knowledge and experiences:

- **Knowledge:** skills in writing short articles; personal interests in and prior knowledge on certain topics (e.g. culture and art, discrimination and equality, local events, etc.) guided content of the articles;
- **Experience:** participation in the youth Erasmus project; radio coverage of urban culture event;

Microculture's goal(s):

- Individual: a written expression of individual experiences and/or knowledge on the topics of their interest;
- Group: use their common passion for writing and journalism to have a leisure activity that would help them (suburban youth) to be active and express them on various youth-related topics;
- Local youth: transmit the passion to others that may continue their project once they get older

Microculture's outcomes:

- *For members (creativity-related)*: written articles and recently created groups' website; individual development of self-confidence and self-expression;

Appendix 6: Solidarity-oriented youth microcultures

Microculture 4: Female solidarity group (remote neighbourhood)

Period. The group was met in the middle of our fieldwork. The development of contact with members needed less time than with some other groups from the remote neighbourhoods outside the social centre. Deeper trust has not been developed due to the lack of time for the fieldwork.

Intermediary person/institution. Youth coordinators from the social centre have enabled us to meet this group as well as to establish first contacts with the members.

Contact person with the group. For group meetings during activities, those were the youth coordinators who informed us, while for the meetings with the group outside these events we have been in contact with two girls – Nour and Wafa – who appeared to be the more communicative and ready to organize the meetings with us.

Comment. There has been a need to meet the girls several times before the first interviews in order to informally discuss on adolescents' activities in the neighbourhood. At the beginning adolescent girls have been easy-going but a bit shy and first discussions were rather easy. As in many other cases (except for the older adolescents) during official interviews the atmosphere was less spontaneous. Very quickly girls have lost interest in the research and to gather all members together were very difficult starting from the second interview.

Members of the group:

- Number of members: around ten girls (of who we met seven);
- Changed members' structure: some changes in group membership;
- Members age: 15 and 16 years;
- Origin: majority of Maghreb and one of Senegal origin
- Education: all in high school of various specializations (health and social science, technical college, etc.)

Main cultural practices. Organized activities for the children of foreigners came to France (usually without financial resources and accommodation) placed in (homeless) shelter.

Parallel collective cultural practices. The first activity of the group was on the initiative of three members to participate in the artistic project of wall painting in the organisation of social centre in which originally boys from the neighbourhood participated. Also, along with children's games, adolescent girls have short excursions or several days stays at different destinations with the youth coordinators from the social centre and street educators.

Time, place and organization of activities:

All activities adolescent girls participated in have had a temporary character (occasional youth projects or activities), have been organized mainly in the neighbourhood or occasionally elsewhere exclusively with the social centre.

- **Temporary collective activities (at the beginning):** sessions of painting the wall in the public space of the neighbourhood in the organisation of social centre and an artist;
- **Temporary collective activities (currently):** several afternoons[222] of activities organized for the children of foreigners who only recently came to France (in the municipality close to theirs) accommodated in the shelter and sessions of preparation of these activities with youth coordinators and street educators (in the social centre); several one-day excursions (boys and girls groups from the neighbourhoods together) and long week-end stay at the seaside with coordinators and street educators.

Duration of the microculture. There have been almost two years the group has existed when we met the girls for the first time.

Part of a broader structure. The group were associated with the social centre and its temporary activities. However, adolescent girls do not participate with the regular activities in the social centre (weekly or during holidays).

Leading local institution and its intermediary role. The social centre is the main institution that supports (materially, financially, organizationally, etc.) members activities. The intermediary role of the social centre comprises a co-creation (or entire creation) of the content of the activities and financial and organisational support of short excursions/travels.

Main local place(s) for the practice. Neighbourhood public space; social centre's rooms; rooms of the shelter near the neighbourhood.

Leading values: sharing and solidarity (with the people in need); friendship; meaningful free time.

[222] We assisted to two, but there were others before our fieldwork.

Shared knowledge and experiences:

- **Knowledge:** has a *playful character*; comprises children's games co-creation and realization with youth coordinators;
- **Experiences:** are in relation to the time and space of practices – irregular or occasional practices (temporary character); mainly within the social space (the neighbourhood): participation in wall painting project (local, protected space) and organized activities for the children from the nearby homeless shelter (local, protected space); social and cultural practices outside the neighbourhood have been undertaken among friends and with youth coordinators (constant relation to protected space).

Microculture's goal(s):

- Individual: to have meaningful leisure activities (playful creativity);
- Group: to have fun together through collective cultural practice in the neighbourhood; to have various cultural and consumption experiences outside the neighbourhood;
- Local youth: be solidary and make others happy;

Microculture's outcomes. Youth microculture's collective practices enable adolescents' girls to have playful, experiential and temporary outcomes:

- *For members (creativity-related and consumption related)*: playful leisure activities; reached collective experiences outside the neighbourhood;
- *For others (solidarity-related)*: several temporary children's games.

Microculture 5: Youth empowerment and solidarity association (remote neighbourhood)

Period. The members of the group have been met differently, at different stages of the fieldwork (in the middle and by the end of the intensive fieldwork period). The contact and discussions have been developed easily. Deeper trust has not been developed due to the lack of time for the fieldwork.

Intermediary person/institution. First contact with the association was established via local social centre.

Contact person with the group. From the beginning the contact person was Fabrice, a Law student and locally active young man participating in other youth microculture in development. He was a vice-president of the association at the time and introduced us to other leading members.

Comment. This is the group of young people we first met in the middle of our fieldwork but started interviewing them later. It is the only youth microculture developed individually but supported later by local institutions for their activities. Also, it was difficult to gather all the members of the group at once since they have been occupied (studies, part-time jobs, other local projects, activities outside the neighbourhood, etc.).

Members of the group:

- Number of members: three leading young men (in total around thirty members);
- Changed members' structure: high fluctuation of membership (from ten volunteers in the summer to fifty in winter):
- Members age: 20-21 years (those we met during fieldwork but majority of other members are 18+);
- Origin: two of Maghreb and one Ivory coast (born there);
- Education: two are students on BA (law and business administration) and one has advanced technician's certificate in international trade; some study and have part-time jobs.

Main cultural practices. The most dominant activity is a collection of food from various storekeepers in Lyon and roam to share it to the homeless in the city.

Parallel collective cultural practices. Very young activity are "literary café" sessions where leading members (or other professionals) try to share information and knowledge on various cultural and social issues in front of youth from the neighbourhood (15 to 30 years) and make the culture (cinema, theatre, etc.) accessible to all by sharing their knowledge to others.

Parallelly, three young men are involved in various sports or other activities individually.

Time, place and organization of activities:

- **Regular collective activities:** collected food distribution to homeless usually once per month in the Lyon, near the main railway station;

- **Temporary collective activities**: "literary café" have been organized several times per year (5 to 6 in 2016/2017 and 3 to 4 in 2017/2018) (e.g. one of topics has been Malcolm X) in the social centre's room.

Duration of the microculture. The association is created on the basis of the previously created association by the young leading man - Mehdi. The association is created in 2015.

Part of a broader structure. The social centre has helped them in providing them with a place for their "literary cafés" sessions.

Leading local institution and its intermediary role. The social centre that has not much influence on their content but may help them develop local contacts.

Main local place(s) for the practice. The social centre has helped them in providing them with place for their "literary cafés" sessions.

Leading values: sharing and solidarity; social space involvement.

Shared knowledge and experiences:

- **Knowledge**: general culture based on their personal education and prior experience; organisational skills (collecting food, finding volunteers, sharing the food to the homeless and recognizing the food needed; presentations of cultural issues and debates);
- **Experiences**: frequent collection and sharing food to the homeless in the city; temporary collecting money for certain people in need; discussion on and presentation of various topics from culture to local young population; difficulties in motivating young population, especially younger adolescents, for "literary cafés";

Microculture's goal(s):

- Individual: be socially active in the neighbourhood;
- Group: to enable independent functioning of the association (avoid local authority's influence on their content in the exchange for financing of the activities);
- Local youth: to share general culture knowledge and various information to local youth; to motivate other youth (especially less educated or preteens) to become capable to act in the neighbourhood without waiting for urban policy interventions.

Microculture's outcomes:

- *For others (solidarity-related)*: great quantity of food shared to homeless in Lyon; several "literary cafés" organised with insufficient local young population present in the audience.

Abstract

Consumer research oriented on empowering consumer practices in marginalized spaces is rarely focused on those living in deprived neighbourhoods. The recent concept of spatial vulnerability introduces an approach to understand the practices of "vulnerable" consumers through the analysis of spaces of their creativity and alternative access to consumption. By conducting a multisite ethnography in two deprived neighbourhoods in Lyon agglomeration, our dissertation examines the meaning of microcultures of young consumers from these neighbourhoods in managing spatial vulnerability. Our data show that adolescents' collective coping strategies are both supported by and dependent on local socio-educational institutions. The institutional dependence has a double meaning – i.e. as an indicator of consumption inadequacy, and as a source of creative resistance to spatial vulnerability and of alternative consumption. From the theoretical perspective, we complete an understanding of consumer vulnerability and their coping strategies through the resource-control interplay by adding to it a collective level of consumers' resources and control of vulnerability. Through our study context we extend the concept of consumption inadequacy by introducing a persistent lack of access to cultural experiences, thus reflecting social deprivation and the potential way towards social and market exclusion. Our dissertation also provides a guidance for future research and offer recommendations for public policy interventions and cultural institutions actions.

Keywords: *critical spatial theory, spatial vulnerability, consumption inadequacy, coping strategies, youth microcultures, French deprived neighborhoods, ethnographic study*

Résumé

Les recherches en comportement du consommateur dans les espaces marginalisés s'intéressant à leurs pratiques d'émancipation se concentrent rarement sur ceux vivant dans les espaces urbains défavorisés. Le concept de la vulnérabilité spatiale, introduit récemment, ouvre la voie à une compréhension des pratiques des consommateurs « vulnérables » à travers l'analyse des espaces de créativité et d'accès alternatifs à la consommation. Dans ce travail de thèse, par la mise en place d'une ethnographie multisite dans deux quartiers défavorisés de la région lyonnaise, nous nous intéressons au sens des microcultures des jeunes consommateurs dans leur gestion de la vulnérabilité spatiale, nous montrant leurs stratégies collectives de *coping,* soutenues et dépendantes des structures sociales locales. Cette dépendance institutionnelle prend une double signification, qui est celle d'un indicateur de l'insuffisance de consommation, mais aussi celle d'une source de résistance créative à la vulnérabilité spatiale et d'une

consommation alternative encouragée dans les espaces d'émancipation. Sur le plan théorique nous complétons la compréhension de la vulnérabilité des consommateurs et leurs stratégies de *coping* en y ajoutant les ressources collectives des jeunes et leur contrôle de la vulnérabilité. À travers notre contexte d'étude nous complétons aussi le concept de l'insuffisance de consommation par le manque persistant d'accès aux expériences culturelles reflétant la déprivation sociale et le chemin potentiel vers l'exclusion sociale et du marché. Ce travail de thèse offre également quelques recommandations pour les politiques publiques ainsi que pour les institutions culturelles.

Mots clés: *théorie critique de l'espace, vulérabilité spatiale, insuffisance de consommation, stratégies de coping, microcultures juvéniles, quartiers défavorisés, étude ethnographique*