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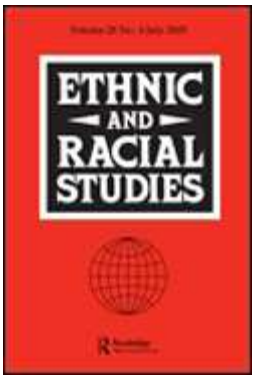

Stigma, Space and Boundaries in De-industrial Burnley

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Stigmatization, Space and Boundaries in De-industrial Burnley

Abstract

For Loic Wacquant (2007; 2008), de-industrialization and the rise of post-Fordism, the weakening of the welfare state, and intensified economic polarization, mark the development of a new age of 'advanced marginality'. He argues that we have witnessed the intensification of 'territorial stigmatization', as specific neighbourhoods within cities face both heightened material and symbolic degradation. Drawing on qualitative interviews with white residents in Burnley, particularly those that openly supported the far-right British National Party (BNP), Wacquant's notion of 'territorial stigmatization' will be explored. The article examines the ways in which such forms of stigma manifested themselves within Burnley focusing upon the negative representations that were associated with areas identified as 'Asian' and 'scruffy white'. The article concludes that these forms of stigmatization were a means through which specific areas were cast as 'undeserving' recipients of resources.

Keywords: *Space, stigma, racism, class, whiteness, BNP*

Introduction

For Loic Wacquant (2007; 2008), the urban processes of de-industrialization and the rise of post-Fordism, the weakening of the welfare state, and intensified economic polarization, mark the development of a new age of 'advanced marginality'. Drawing on the case studies of Chicago's Black Belt and the 'Red Belt' of Paris, Wacquant argues that this phenomenon is characterized by, 'a dualization of the social and physical structure of the metropolis that has consigned large sections of

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the unskilled labour force to economic redundancy and social marginality' (2008 p.24). For him, this new form of marginality has three distinguishing features: firstly, rising unemployment and instability leads to 'deproletarianisation and the diffusion of labour precariousness'; secondly, increasing numbers of people experience 'relegation to decaying neighbourhoods', as public and private resources 'diminish' and competition for scarce resources increases; thirdly, residence in 'a degraded and degrading neighbourhood' is accompanied by 'heightened stigmatization' (2008 p.25). It is the feature of 'territorial stigmatization' (Wacquant 2007; 2008) that this article focuses on. Wacquant views this form of stigma as the 'blemish of place' (2007 p.67) which becomes assigned to the 'neighbourhoods of exile' that house the contemporary 'urban outcasts' (2008 p.169). Residents of such areas are faced not only with the material but also the symbolic degradation that, 'is now everywhere attached to living in locales widely labelled as 'no-go areas', fearsome redoubts rife with crime, lawlessness and moral degeneracy where only the rejects of society could bear to dwell' (2008 p.29). Drawing on qualitative interviews with white residents in Burnley, particularly those that openly supported the far-right British National Party (BNP), conducted as part of an ESRC-funded study, Wacquant's notion of 'territorial stigmatization' will be explored. Three issues in particular are focused upon; Wacquant recognises that while these forms of contemporary stigma share commonalities and exist as a feature of all 'First World' metropolises, they differ both within and between national contexts, influenced by patterns of governance, racial formation, demography and urban geography. The article considers how such stigmatization was expressed in Burnley and what that suggests about the form such processes assume in the British context. Secondly, Wacquant primarily conceives of 'territorial stigmatization' as impacting upon areas constituted

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by 'racially' or 'ethnoracially'-defined 'others'. It is argued that in Burnley, areas primarily populated by 'scruffy whites' were also subject to such forms of denigration. Finally, the consequences and significance of forms of 'territorial stigmatization' will be considered within the context of 'advanced marginality' (Wacquant 2008). It will be claimed that this form of stigmatization informs notions of entitlement with regards to the allocation of resources. It operates upon a 'culturalist' sensibility (Alexander 2004) which sees social inequality and marginalisation as a manifestation of cultural difference and dysfunction rather than an outcome of social, economic, and political processes.

Stigmatization and socio-spatial polarization

Wacquant (2008) suggests that since the 1980s, we have witnessed the intensification of economic inequalities. This has largely resulted from changes in the dominant system of production and the reluctance of the state to address the new forms of socio-economic polarisation these shifts have produced. For Wacquant, these new forms of inequality and polarisation are both reflected within and reproduced through increasingly distinct spatial formations, that exist within an emergent age of 'advanced marginality'. He defines 'advanced marginality as a, 'novel regime of sociospatial relegation and exclusionary closure' (2008, p.2), Wacquant argues that these formations are subjected to forms of stigmatization-perpetuated by journalists, residents, and politicians. Such forms of spatial stigmatization have been recognised by a range of other academics (Skeggs, 2004; Bottero, 2005; Watt, 2006; Sampson, 2009). In Skeggs' own research, for instance, she observed how, 'local areas were continually used as shorthand to name those

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whose presence was seen to be potentially threatening' (2004 p.112). For Wacquant, this stigma acts to repel investment, works to justify increased 'structural violence' from above such as institutional withdrawal, intensified surveillance and policing, as well as demoralizing and disuniting residents, further limiting prospects for social mobility. Wacquant states that this form of stigma falls most heavily upon areas that exhibit a combination of racial or ethnic difference and class inequality, whose residents have suffered most acutely from new forms of 'post-Fordist poverty' (Wacquant, 2008 p.237). This emphasis on how distinctions are made and boundaries drawn through space is important as it recognises space as both constituted by and constitutive of social relations and patterns of differentiation and group formation (Massey 1994; Bottero 2005; Clayton 2009) Such a perspective enables us to see how, 'the spatial, itself a product of competing discourses, practices and power relations, has the capacity to constitute, constrain and mediate social distinctions including race' (Clayton, 2009 p.483).

Wacquant (2007; 2008) focuses on two distinct spatial formations to illuminate his argument: the 'hyperghetto' within the historic 'Black Belt' of Chicago in the United States, and the 'banlieues' of the Parisian 'Red Belt'. He defines the former as, 'a novel, decentered, territorial and organizational configuration characterized by conjugated segregation of race and class' (2008 p.3). For Wacquant, the 'hyperghetto' is characterized not just by its acute levels of violence, insecurity, and institutional 'desertification', but also by the way it exists as a 'specifically racial formation' (2008 p.182). In contrast, he argues that the multiethnic make-up of the French 'banlieue' means that here stigma is not 'linked

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in a univocal manner to a phenotypical or cultural marker'. Instead, it is based primarily on residence rather than being 'jointly spatial-cum-racial' as in the US (2008 p.181). Such differences illustrate for Wacqaunt the variations in territorial stigmatization across different national contexts. These differences are rooted in different demographics, regimes of governance and patterns of racial and class formation. Wacquant's differentiation between the neighbourhoods of 'relegation' in France and the US, informs then a central aim of this article; to elucidate more clearly the forms of representation that the territorial stigmatization of marginalised neighbourhoods exhibits within the UK context. Drawing on interviews with white residents in Burnley, particularly British National Party (BNP) supporters who made strong forms of stigmatization, this article examines how territorial stigmatization manifests itself and the forms it assumes.

The article also attempts to address Wacquant's failure to adequately consider the stigmatization faced by residents of predominantly white areas of 'relegation'. For Wacquant, a key feature of stigmatized areas is the existence of significant minority populations or 'phenotypically marked populations' (2008 p.168) While he recognizes the differing constitution of stigmatized areas, he still conceives of such formations as being primarily populated by 'racial' or 'ethnoracial' others, as such areas come to be associated with 'poverty and ethnic origin or postcolonial immigrant status' (2008 p.238). For Hartigan, this reflects the tendency, prevalent within the US, to associate blackness with poverty and whiteness with affluence. However, Hartigan observes how the residence of poor whites in stigmatized areas of Detroit, also led to acute forms of distinction and distancing. For

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him, such processes are evident in the epithet of 'white trash' which, 'designates ruptures of conventions that maintain whiteness as an unmarked, normative identity' (1997b p.46). Hartigan argues that to 'paint ghettos in uniquely colored terms'- as Wacquant does- serves to, 'delimit our attention to the disconcerting complexity and nuance of how race continues to matter, not only in the country's ghettos but in the political debates and the research agendas of those charged with objectifying these troubling sites' (1997a p.340). As contemporary research on both sides of the Atlantic consistently shows, boundaries are drawn and negative attributes assigned not just to minority ethnic groups or spaces, but also to white groups and spaces seen to represent a threat- be it moral, cultural, physical, or social, evidenced in representations of 'white trash' and 'chavs' (Hartigan 1997a; 1997b; 2005; Newitz and Wray 1997; Haylett 2001; Nayak, 2006; Wray 2006; Webster 2008). In this sense, 'geographies of difference...are not just imagined in terms of race, but they also incorporate territorial and class dimensions' (Clayton 2009, p.490). This is particularly significant in the UK context where, unlike the US, notions of an urban 'underclass' often focus more heavily upon white bodies and spaces (Haylett 2001). It is argued here that areas deemed both 'white' and 'Asian' in their nature were subjected to forms of 'territorial stigmatization' by interviewees.

'Stigmatypes' (Wray 2006) such as 'chav' and 'white trash' alert us not just to the varied racial or ethnic constitution of the areas of 'advanced marginality', they also suggest that Wacquant may have taken his understanding of differentiation further, considering more fully the various representations of 'urban outcasts' and the sociospatial formations in which they reside. For instance, while Wacquant

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recognises that stigmatized areas are broadly associated with danger, degradation and moral degeneracy, such notions coalesce around particular themes and focus upon specific bodies. In this sense, not all residents of stigmatized spaces are equally burdened by disparate forms of stigma. Wacquant himself notes how the residents of 'relegated' neighbourhoods, make internal distinctions which include, 'the diversion of public opprobrium onto scapegoats, such as notorious "problem families" and foreigners, or drug dealers and single mothers' (2008 p.183). However, such distinctions- made both internally and externally- place particular weight on specific 'others', and the form this process of 'othering' will take differs in each context. In France, for instance, Wacquant observes how the male 'youths' of the banlieues, both 'native and foreign', carry special symbolic weight 'as the chief source of disorder, delinquency and ambient insecurity in the city' (2008 p.188). These figures remind us that stigmatization rests upon specific representations that operate within 'multiple registers of difference simultaneously' (Hartigan 2005, p.21). This is something which Wacquant, at times appears to overlook, evident in his assertion that in the case of the French 'Red Belt', class is more significant than 'race' in its formation (2008 p.5). As Hartigan states, the task of the analyst is not to attempt to assert which of 'race', class, and gender is more 'fundamental' or assumes primacy, but instead to see these social divisions as, 'a series of interlocking codes by which patterns of inequality are maintained and reproduced' (2005 p.9). Furthermore, as Wacquant himself acknowledges, aspects of 'advanced marginality', including 'territorial stigmatization', manifest, 'differently in different countries and/or types of urban environment as a function of the social and political history of which the city and its divisions are the theatre and the product' (2008 pp.248-49). It is these

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different specifications and forms of representation that this article considers in more detail.

Wacquant is keen to stress that while 'territorial stigmatization' principally pertains to the labelling and denigration of specific areas, it does not simply have symbolic effects. He argues informs particular institutional practices which serve to, 'destabilise and further marginalise their occupants' (2008 p.240; see also Sampson 2009). For Wacquant, the development and designation of these areas is linked to the sway that notions of the 'underclass' hold within the political imagination. This construction- of which 'territorial stigmatization' is an integral part- serves to 'sever' such areas and those residing within them, 'from the broader socio-political structures of caste and class domination of which it is both an instrument and a product' (2008 p.89). Instead, the explanation for the existence of such areas is seen to reside primarily in the cultural dispositions of the inhabitants. Such ideas lead to increased disinvestment, depressed property values, and avoidance by outsiders. Wray, observes how 'symbolic boundaries', if they become widely-believed and established can lead to the solidification of 'social boundaries'. The latter are, 'embodied and materialised in our collective practices, our shared activities and our social institutions. Such practices, activities, and institutions give social boundaries extraordinary administrative power, authority, and legitimacy' (2006 p.14). The final part of this article considers then the significance of these negative forms of stigma. It is argued that the symbolic boundaries identified by interviewees had social effects as they were the basis upon which claims to entitlement were evaluated. Interviewees drew upon these stigmatizations as a means of asserting a cultural,

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moral and social distance that is highly spatialized through the invocation of 'geographies of roughness' and 'respectability' (Watt 2006).

'Territorial Stigmatization' in Burnley

Burnley is a former textile-town, located in East Lancashire in the United Kingdom, approximately 30 miles north of Manchester. During the 1880s, the town prospered as one of the largest cotton producers in the world, however, by the 1930s the industry was in decline. This is reflective of broader shifts in manufacturing in the UK, and Burnley has suffered an additional downturn in local manufacturing in the last decade. Between 1999 and 2008 alone, the town lost 5,700 jobs in this sector, representing a decline of 48.3 per cent. In the same time period, 3,400 jobs were lost in total; a 9.4 per cent decline in the number of jobs in Burnley (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.33). Annual Population Survey statistics estimate that in 2008, just 67 per cent of the working-age population in Burnley were in employment. This compares to a rate of 70.7 per cent in 2004 (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.19). The lack of employment opportunities has contributed to the population decline that Burnley has consistently been experiencing since 1991. The town had an estimated population of 88,200 in 2008 compared to 90,600 in 1994 (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.3). Between 2001 and 2008, Burnley lost 2.46 per cent of its population, compared to an increase of 2.42 per cent across Lancashire (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.12). A significant consequence of this population decline, as well as the poor quality of much of the town's housing stock, has been a weakening demand for housing. In 2004, 23.1 per cent of the town's housing stock was deemed unfit for dwelling (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.16), while in 2008, 6.6 per cent of

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houses were vacant (Burnley Borough Council, 2010, p.56). In 2008 Burnley had the lowest average house price in England and Wales (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.58).

The outcome of these interrelated transformations is that levels of deprivation within Burnley have increased in relation to the rest of the country. In 2007, Burnley was ranked as the 21st most deprived of 354 local authority areas in England compared to 46th in 2000. Additionally, 42 per cent of the town's Super Output Areas (SOAs) were within England's most deprived 20 per cent, compared to 35 per cent in 2004 (Burnley Borough Council, 2008, p.12)). This illustrates Wacquant's (2008) assertion that 'advanced marginality' does not refer to a point in time that has been arrived at, but rather an ongoing process that is intensifying. While Burnley as a whole exhibits significant levels of socio-economic deprivation- such as lower than average life expectancy and educational attainment, and higher than average rates of crime, incapacity, and unemployment- within the town itself there is wide differentiation. Indeed, Webster suggests that one of the most marked features of Oldham, Bradford, and Burnley is the, 'juxtaposition and transparency of deprivation and affluence between often-contiguous neighbourhoods within relatively small bounded areas' (2003 p.104). This reflects the uneven and complex effects of de-industrialization and economic restructuring, both between and within places. For instance, in the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward, in 2007 all four of the Super Output Areas (SOAs) ranked within the 10 per cent most deprived in the country (Burnley Borough Council 2008, p.12). Furthermore, within this ward the unemployment rate in 2007 was 9.4 per cent compared to just 0.7 percent in the

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more affluent outer-ward of Cliviger with Worsthorne (Burnley Borough Council 2008 p.7) (see Figure 1). Similarly, in Trinity in 2008, 35.4 per cent of the population were in receipt of some form of out of work benefits, compared to 10.3 per cent in Cliviger with Worsthorne (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.29). Indeed, it was specific areas of the town, usually exhibiting the highest levels of socio-economic deprivation that interviewees identified as particularly degraded and degenerate. However, before discussing such views in more detail it is necessary to provide a brief discussion of the methodological approach that generated the data for analysis.

(Insert Figure 1 here)

Between June 2004 and March 2005, in-depth interviews were conducted with 34 white residents of Burnley aged between 18 and 76, as part of an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)-funded study examining the political breakthrough of the British National Party (BNP) in the town. In 2002, the BNP secured its first elected representatives in the UK since 1993 as the party received 9,984 votes. The following summer, with eight local councillors, the party briefly became the main opposition grouping following the 2003 local elections. At the beginning of 2011, the BNP still has two local councillors. Additionally, during the summer of 2001, whites, 'Asians', and the police clashed as a series of disturbances swept through the former textile-towns of Bradford, Oldham, and Burnley. These events have served to ensure that Burnley has been nationally identified as a key

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location for debates around segregation, racism, political extremism, and social cohesion. In 2002, an article in the *Observer* labelled the town, 'the unofficial racist capital of Britain' (Harris and Wazir 2002). Following the 2004 local elections, 2,000 questionnaires were sent to addresses in the wards that had consistently registered the highest levels of BNP support over the previous two years. This elicited a response rate of just over 12 per cent. Anyone interested in participating was then asked to provide contact details, and these respondents, as well as those subsequently reached through snowball sampling, were interviewed. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees and fully transcribed by the author, and then coded thematically using a word-processing programme. The sample included sixteen BNP supporters, sixteen non-BNP supporters, and two ex-BNP electoral candidates. The high number of BNP voters in the sample reflected a purposive strategy to engage with as many party supporters as possible. Nineteen men and fifteen women were interviewed. In keeping with the areas of BNP support at the time, those interviewed were drawn more heavily from the relatively more affluent, more homogeneously white wards of the town. However, the sample included individuals from the majority of the areas in the town, and displayed a degree of class heterogeneity while favouring those from the lower-middle and upper-working classes located in the outer-wards of Burnley. The following discussion focuses, primarily on the views of BNP voters, but also non-BNP supporters, examining how negative assertions about specific areas were constructed and articulated. BNP voters, in particular, offer an interesting insight into processes of stigmatization. While BNP supporters more frequently engaged in stigmatizing what were perceived to be 'Asian' and also 'scruffy white' areas (Rhodes, 2011), such views were not exclusive to BNP voters. However, it is true that in comparison

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to the rest of the sample as a whole, they engaged in more overt and intense forms of negative attribution towards areas that were seen to be the location for distinct sets of 'troubling' behaviours. The material included therefore is not a representative account of the views held by white residents across Burnley; rather, it focuses especially upon those- primarily BNP supporters- that most clearly expressed sentiments of 'territorial stigmatization', considering how such views manifested and the nature that they assumed.

Difference, Degradation, and Danger: The 'Asian' area

One of the most visible aspects of the social landscape in Burnley is the high levels of segregation that exist along lines of ethnicity. While the 'Asian'/'Asian British'[1] population of Burnley comprises just 8.2 per cent of the total population according to estimates made in 2005 by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (Burnley Borough Council, 2008 p.4), the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward has a majority-'Asian' population, with 63.9 per cent of residents belonging to black and minority ethnic groups according to the 2001 census. Just two of the town's other fifteen wards- Bank Hall and Queensgate- have 'Asian' populations exceeding 5 per cent, and both areas neighbour Daneshouse and Stoneyholme (see Figure 1). Through this spatial concentration a situation has emerged in which areas have become codified according to 'race' (Burnley Task Force Report 2001; Webster 2003; Simpson et al 2007; Phillips 2008; Clayton 2009). This tendency has been identified particularly

[1] The 'Asian'/'Asian British' population of Burnley is primarily of Pakistani (5.6 per cent), Bangladeshi (1.6 per cent), and Indian (0.7 per cent) heritage. The term 'Asian' is hereafter used in the way that it was by interviewees in Burnley, who regularly used the terms 'Asian', 'Pakistani', and 'Muslim' interchangeably.

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within the smaller, de-industrialized towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. This has resulted from historic patterns of settlement, experiences of racism, housing discrimination, wage disparity, and socio-economic deprivation that have adversely impacted upon minority ethnic communities, concentrating them in the poorest areas (Webster 2003; Simpson et al 2007; Phillips 2008) Webster argues that as a consequence, in these locations there exist, 'perceptions of ethnic difference that are less amorphous, more visible, striking and contrasting than are found in larger more multicultural cities' (2003 p.102). This 'racialisation of space' (Phillips 2008) was present in the accounts of all of the white residents, not only BNP supporters. The Stoneyholme and Daneshouse ward was seen as the 'Asian' part of Burnley. One male BNP voter in his sixties stated that locally the area was referred to as the 'Khyber Pass', which is a mountain passage that links Pakistan and Afghanistan. The notion of 'Asian areas' also led to the construction of an asserted racialized 'ownership' of space, particularly apparent in the accounts of BNP voters. As one BNP voter, a female living on a suburban estate in one of the most affluent wards of town commented on the building of a recreation centre in Daneshouse and Stoneyholme, 'There's a new gym opened...all fantastic *from the outside from what we can see*, well to me it's all very elegant, its cost a lot of money but *it's for Asians*' (emphasis added).

It was the distinctive 'ethnoracial' demography of the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward on which the 'territorial stigmatization' of this area was based. In keeping with the key features of this form of stigma as identified by Wacquant, the area was seen as a site of social and cultural degeneracy, and the residents its agents.

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BNP voters, but also a number of the other white residents interviewed, saw the area as the site of 'benefit-scroungers' and criminals, especially 'drug dealers'. As a female BNP voter in her twenties, living in a privately-owned property in an almost exclusively white, deprived ward stated,

> Have a look through the *Burnley Express* there's always somebody been stabbed...there's Asian men raping young girls, addicts given one last chance by the courts and it's a Paki, most of them are Asian or they're drug addicts.

Statistically, the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward does exhibit disproportionately high rates of crime. However, as observed it also has the highest rates of unemployment and socio-economic deprivation in the town, and similarly deprived, predominantly white wards in Burnley, such as Trinity, are also characterized by high levels of crime (Burnley Borough Council 2010, p.86). However, it is clear that the association of the 'Asian' community with crime carried particular symbolic weight. This reflects how, 'A *blemish of* place is thus superimposed on the already existing stigmata traditionally associated with poverty and ethnic origin or postcolonial immigrant status' (Wacquant, 2007 p.67). An outcome of this was that Daneshouse and Stoneyholme came to be identified as a 'no-go area' for whites, a view widely, but by no means exclusively held by the interviewees. This was despite the fact that according to the 2001 census approximately one-third (34.3 per cent) of residents in the ward were white. One female BNP voter in her fifties living in an affluent suburb and working in a managerial position stated that Daneshouse and Stoneyholme was becoming a 'no-go area', describing the area as 'intimidating' and

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'unsafe'. The following Labour supporter, in his thirties illustrates this point through his assertion that,

> I think its [Burnley] getting as well to no-go areas. I used to go out collecting money and I used to go into these areas and I would stick out an absolute mile, you go in and you would be the only one [white person] and it is intimidating...I wouldn't dream of walking around there at night now, you just wouldn't dream it.

This association between the residents of the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward and crime was not the only way in which the area came to be negatively stigmatized; its perceived physical degradation was viewed as being linked to the 'cultural' practices of the 'Asian' residents. For instance, one BNP voter, a self-employed male in his forties living in an affluent area of Burnley related an incident when he was working in Daneshouse and Stoneyholme,

> I was working with one of the builders that was there, one of my friends got clouted with a nappy that came out of the back window. Now in Pakistan they might throw nappies out of the windows and clean up later on but in England you don't do that, it's disgusting.

Another BNP voter, a male in his fifties living in a detached property on an affluent suburban estate bemoaned what he saw as the material degradation of Daneshouse and Stoneyholme; 'I will accuse Asians of not looking after their property...it's the old ghetto situation...more Asians come in and they get in that area and they don't look after the property, so very quickly it becomes slums'. Even where residents

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disavowed this association between 'race' and behaviour, negative stigmatizations were still often assigned due to the classed nature of the ward. The following quote from a Labour voter, a university-educated professional in her twenties living in one of the more affluent areas of Burnley, demonstrates this; 'I wouldn't move to Stoneyholme or Duke Bar…just because they're full of scrubbers and I don't mean black or white, I just mean they're full of scruffy people with scruffy ideas, dole dossers'. The quotes outlined in this paragraph demonstrate the role that notions of the visceral and 'disgust' play in the assertion of moral boundaries (Sayer 2005)

It was also the identification of Daneshouse and Stoneyholme as a 'Muslim' area that informed the negative symbolism it carried. BNP voters in particular viewed traditional forms of Muslim dress, the persistence of 'foreign' languages, and the presence of mosques as evidence of the 'Asian' community's inherent difference and reluctance to integrate into mainstream society and accept the dominant cultural values of the nation. One BNP voter, a male, former semi-skilled worker in his early-60s, stated that he felt that the 'Asian' community was 'drip fed by the mosque', and that 'They want their own culture. They don't want to mix with us'. This sense of difference- alternately presented as a sign of perceived immutable difference or as indicative of an asserted refusal to integrate- was expressed most clearly in the account of a female, public-sector worker, who voted for the Liberal Democrats and lived in a privately-owned semi-detached property in a more affluent area. In attempting to explain the good relations she enjoyed with an 'Asian' 'Muslim' colleague at work, she stated how, 'she's not like an Asian, she's like we are'. Here, individual 'exceptions' were often drawn upon by the interviewees; however, this

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did not necessarily serve to destabilise the broader assumptions about 'Asian' communities. This justifies Wacquant's insistence on the importance of considering national variation in the forms and targets of territorial stigmatization. The representations of a number of the white residents interviewed reflected more widespread national anxiety about the 'problem' of Muslim communities and their perceived 'lack' of integration in the wake of the 2001 riots, 9/11, and the London Bombings of 2005 (Webster 2003; Alexander 2004; McGhee 2008; Phillips 2008). The notion of the 'Asian' area was the spatial formation through which concerns over 'self-segregation', crime, degradation, cultural difference, and anxieties around terrorism and insecurity coalesced. As argued above, 'territorial stigmatization' involves the identification not just of specific areas, but also specific figures associated with such locales, that are deemed to be particularly problematic. Here, the figure of the young 'Asian' 'Muslim' male held particular symbolic value, being seen associated with crime and violence. A female BNP voter in her fifties, living in an affluent area stated how, 'I've been stared at in a very intimidating way by particularly young Asians who I think are very violent, they're always fighting and I think its [Daneshouse and Stoneyholme] just not safe'. Such views relate closely to broader media and political discourses about the perceived increasing problem of rising 'Asian' criminality, particularly amongst young males. These ideas gained increased currency in the wake of the 2001 riots and have become more frequent features of contemporary public discourse (Webster 2003; Alexander 2004).

Degradation and Dysfunction: 'Scruffy white' areas

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It is not only areas primarily populated by 'ethnoracial' groups that are subjected to forms of 'territorial stigmatization'. Deprived white areas are also identified as spaces of degradation and dysfunction (Hartigan 1997a; 1997b; Haylett 2001; Webster 2008; Clayton 2009). As well as Daneshouse and Stoneyholme, poor white areas such as the Stoops social housing estate, Burnley Wood, and Accrington Road were also deemed 'problem' areas, viewed as the residences of 'scruffy whites'. For example, in explaining the deterioration of his former neighbourhood, one BNP voter, a self-employed tradesman in his early-40s made the following observation;

> We had to get out because the area were going down…we just got out in time before the house prices really dropped…[it] used to be a nice area…but that's not the Asians because there's not a lot of them down there, a lot of it's the *scruffy whites* who've moved in (emphasis added).

These 'scruffy whites' were often equated with minority ethnic groups, and were charged with criminality, drug and alcohol addiction, single-parenthood, benefit scrounging, and anti-social behaviour. Nayak observes how these traits coalesce in the construction of the 'chav', which bears close resemblance to the 'scruffy whites' identified in Burnley, symbolizing, 'fear of crime, economic displacement and loss of class respectability' (2006 p.824). One female BNP voter, living on a mixed tenure housing estate commented that, 'they did all Stoops up, but I mean that's white, it's not Asian, they just run it down. It didn't make any difference'. A retired financial sector worker in his seventies, who voted for the BNP and lived in one of the most affluent areas of Burnley made a similar comparison; 'its [Stoneyholme and Daneshouse] an enclave which is almost 100 per cent Asian, and then of course

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you've got Burnley Wood which is almost 100 per cent white, low quality because of the drug addicts who live there'. Similarly, a male BNP voter employed in a managerial position stated that while Stoneyholme had 'known' issues with drugs, Burnley Wood was also identified as a 'problem' area as, 'you've got the worse end of the white population living there'. Even those from more deprived areas- although less frequently or forcefully- still distinguished themselves from other poor whites. An unemployed male living on incapacity benefits in social housing who voted for the BNP, distanced himself and his neighbours from the residents of Stoops, whom he labelled, 'bagheads', 'thieves', and 'pillocks'.

In the same way as the 'Asian ghettos', 'white estates' were also seen to be sites of various dysfunctional behaviours; promiscuity, drug and alcohol abuse, crime and anti-social behaviour were identified as the cultural practices through which 'scruffy whites' areas were identified. Interestingly, while across the sample of white residents issues relating to unemployment, absentee landlords, lack of opportunity, low wages, were mentioned, notions of cultural dysfunction remained preeminent. As mentioned, in the constructions of the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme area, the figure of the young, male 'Asian Muslim' carried particularly negative symbolic value. Young, 'scruffy white' males were also identified as particularly problematic prone to violence, benefit-scrounging, and identified with drug and alcohol problems. 'Scruffy white' single-mothers were also often portrayed as a problem, something which was not the case in relation to Daneshouse and Stoneyholme. For one BNP voter, a self-employed, upwardly mobile male in his 40s, the 'single-parent lasses with prams' represented the problems of laziness and

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welfare dependency that he identified as a key problem in low-wage economies such as Burnley. Similarly, for a male BNP voter in his early-thirties working in the low-paid call-centre industry and struggling to maintain what he saw as a 'respectable' law abiding, house-proud lifestyle in a privately-owned property in one of the most deprived wards in Burnley, single-mothers were a particularly powerful symbol of the moral and cultural degeneracy seen to exist in 'scruffy white' areas. While he felt that areas such as Burnley Wood and Stoops had suffered from what he saw as a lack of investment and the perceived favouritism exhibited by the council towards 'Asian' areas, he saw the residents of poor white areas as contributing to their own marginalisation;

> Some people like young girls they've got a mindset where I feel that they've seen their mum, they know they can go down to the dole office and get benefits and if they become pregnant they jump the housing queue on the council register they can have 2,3,4,5 kids and get paid £350 a week off the state, and that's their mentality.

Interestingly, similarly to the 'Asian' areas, the Stoops estate- the scene of riots in the summer of 1992- was identified by a number of non-BNP voters as a 'no-go area'. As one manual worker, a Labour supporter who resided in a deprived, multi-ethnic area commented; 'Stoops…you don't walk down there, you don't go up there unless you know somebody up there, you know the area and they've seen your face around a bit, but no I wouldn't go up there, that's another place [like Stoneyholme] that I wouldn't go'. In the same way that 'Asian' ghettoes were deemed to be problematic areas, so too were white 'estates'. A powerful way in

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which notions of 'white trash', 'white underclass', and 'chavs' have been constructed within political, media, and popular discourses is through the association between these groups, council housing ,and 'problem estates' (Haylett 2001; Skeggs 2004; Nayak 2006; Watt 2006; Webster 2008). This was reflected in the majority of the accounts of the white residents interviewed. Watt argues that a consequence of the large-scale privatization of council housing during the 1980s is that,

> Council housing has become a residual 'tenure of last resort' catering for the economically deprived and socially marginalised…This kind of stigmatising "underclass" discourse that conflates council housing with moral decline and criminality, dominates mass media and policy representations of council estates (Watt 2006, p.779).

Indeed, Watt (2006) points out that housing tenure and residence have become one of the principle bases upon which social distinctions, particularly between the 'rough' and the 'respectable' are drawn. Skeggs too observes how notions of space have become a way in which expressions of class difference are most commonly articulated. She points out how within notions of social exclusion, particular emphasis is placed on 'geographical and spatial discourses'. Skeggs argues that, 'The highlighting, identifying and naming of "sink estates" as the "worst housing estates" provides evidence of an actual physical difference between the respectable and the unrespectable, the deserving and undeserving' (2004 p.89). Despite this however, it was clear that for many BNP voters in particular, symbolically 'white estates' were less threatening than 'Asian' ghettoes. This perhaps in part reflects the way in which poor whites are often located somewhere 'between' black minority ethnic groups and 'respectable' whites (Webster 2008), as well as how they were not

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viewed as a threat to nation and locality in the same way that 'Asian' communities were.

The stigma associated with poorer white areas within Burnley appears then to endorse Wacquant's argument that, as in the case of the French *banlieue*, 'class' becomes more significant than 'race' as the basis for the stigmatization of these poor white areas. However, in reality is the interaction between whiteness and deprivation on which this form of representation rests and derives its potency. For Wray, the 'stigmatype' 'white trash', reflects this interaction as it, 'brings together into a single ontological category that which must be kept apart in order to establish a meaningful and stable symbolic order' (2006 p.3). For Haylett, the attention placed on 'abject' whites does not simply relate to the existence of deprivation but rather to the way in which they this category represents 'an ugly contradiction: abject and white' (2001 p.352). This is demonstrated through the following quote from a male BNP voter, in his sixties who had spent most of his life working in semi-skilled manual occupations. He retold a story of a local family exposed in the media for fraudulently claiming benefits. What gave this incident its significance for the interviewee, what most infuriated him was how such behaviour could have been committed by white people; 'they were laundering money doing drugs, and drawing all sorts of social and that you know. I mean I'm appalled, they're white people'. The symbolic power of 'scruffy whites' then is the way that they, 'are seen to embody an unsettling mix of whiteness, 'working classness', and poverty' (Haylett 2001, p.353).

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Stigmatization and its effects

it has been argued then that for those white residents that engaged most strongly in forms of 'territorial stigmatization', both 'Asian' and 'scruffy white' areas were subjected to negative forms of representation. Although sharing similar 'symbolic registers' (Haylett 2001, p.361), they, were stigmatized in differing ways and within these constructions particular figures such as the young, 'Asian' male, and the young white single-mother were assigned especially negative attributions. Similarly, ethnic markers such as religion, dress, and language played a much more significant role in the representations of perceived 'Asian' difference. However, what both forms of 'territorial stigmatization' share is how marginalisation was seen by the interviewees as resulting from the cultural characteristics of the residents of these areas, rather than as a result of forms of inequality and stratified social relations. Wacquant (2007; 2008) views 'territorial stigmatization' as a central feature of discourses that seek to assert the existence of an identifiable, socially and culturally discrete, 'underclass'. For him, this deflects attention away from social, economic and political processes driving 'advanced marginality' in favour of a simplistic discourse that locates inequalities as resulting from dis-embedded cultural choices. As a result, 'the thematic of the "underclass" has hidden the political roots of the institutional implosion and material collapse of the ghetto, and it has contributed to accentuating the stigmatization and political isolation of its residents' (2008 p.89). The explanatory power granted to such discourses was reflected in the accounts of the interviewees. For instance, a male BNP voter, a self-employed tradesman in his early-forties living in a privately-owned property in one of the most affluent areas of Burnley equated the degradation of the Stoops estate and Daneshouse and

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Stoneyholme. For him, targeting resources at such places was counterproductive as, 'The problem is the way people are allowed to behave in those areas...and if you don't stop them behaving the way they always have, no matter how much money you throw at it, they will still end up in disrepair'. Symbolically, this became an important way through which individuals distanced themselves from such cultural practices, as deprivation was explained through perceived cultural difference. It was noticeable that those white residents who engaged less strongly, or resisted such forms of stigmatization were less likely to cast deprived areas as 'undeserving'.

As Wacquant argues, 'territorial stigmatization' does not only have symbolic effects, it also plays an active role in decisions over investment, resource allocation, and service provision. Sampson (2009) too observes how negative perceptions of an area and its perceived 'disorder', serve to further marginalise and stigmatize such locations heightening deprivation. However, extending the arguments of both Sampson and Wacquant, it has been argued that this process applies to areas that are racialized and classed as 'scruffy white' as well as those that are home to racial and ethnic 'others'. The tendency to see deprivation largely in terms of cultural difference and deficiency- prevalent amongst BNP voters in particular- lead many of the interviewees to dismiss the idea that resources should be allocated on the basis of 'need'; rather, they should be based on an earned, hierarchically-structured notion of 'entitlement', derived primarily through paid employment, the maintenance of property, and adherence to established social and cultural norms associated with 'respectability' (Rhodes 2011). One BNP voter, a self-employed tradesman living in an affluent area of Burnley bemoaned how, 'all these grants goes on these poor areas

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and it's the sort of folk who aren't working who are in them'. As Wacquant observes, at a time when rising unemployment and wage insecurity has increased through the process of de-industrialization, the retrenchment of state provision has served to intensify competition for resources. Consequentially, the bases of 'entitlement', such as secure and well-paid employment, are becoming more and more difficult to attain, especially for those residing in areas that have suffered most acutely through the uneven distribution of socio-economic deprivation. In places such as Burnley, with disproportionately low-levels of education, higher rates of unemployment, and depressed house prices, this contest for resources and 'respectability'- as well as the forms of stigmatization that inform such ideas- become particularly pertinent. This contestation also has an inherently spatial dynamic., as, 'declining housing markets... trap residents in area-based ethnic and class immobility in ways that concentrate and heighten imagined geographies of fear, ethnic conflict and resentment' (Webster 2003 p.96). Similarly, the levels and variance of socio-economic polarisation within a limited local geography, serve to intensify processes of stigmatization and distancing in a context where depressed wages and house prices contribute to a strong sense of social insecurity.

'Territorial stigmatization' serves not only to marginalise the claims of specific areas, it also provides a means through which those that don't reside in such locations assert their own social, cultural, moral distance, encoded in the contrast between stigmatized areas and their own 'enclaves of respectability' (Watt 2006, p.794). In her study of Chicago's Beltway district, Kefalas observed how white residents, 'inscribe their class-based moral values into their physical surroundings as

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they fortify moral and symbolic boundaries against the social forces that threaten their way of life' (2003 p.5). Similarly, for the interviewees, neighbourhood was a means through which notions of 'respectability' and entitlement were articulated. Claims were made on the basis, not of clearly identifiable, large collectivities, but instead for 'people like us'- those inhabiting a similar symbolic, and also, social space (Bottero 2005). In contrast, deprivation was widely seen as resulting from the perceived possession of distinct sets of cultural values amongst poor communities. This was evident in the quote of a female Labour voter, a homeowner employed in a professional occupation. She stated how, 'the cultures in deprived areas aren't cultures and morals that I live by, I don't mean cultures as in 'Asian' versus something, I mean general living culture'. It is through this form of identification that symbolic and social boundaries elide, as forms of negative stigmatization not only represent inequality in a particular way but also play a part in its reproduction. This is especially significant in the current social, economic and political climate. Ongoing processes of de-industrialization, rising unemployment, as well as the increasing retrenchment of public resources and services that have resulted from the UK collation government's Comprehensive Spending Review in October 2010, are likely to accentuate these forms of stigmatization and distancing. Indeed, such decisions, as Wacquant suggests, both rely upon 'territorial stigmatization' as a means of public justification, while simultaneously serving to reproduce the social inequalities that lead to their entrenchment.

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QUEENSGATE
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DANESHOUSE WITH STONEYHOLME
LANEHEAD
GANNOW
BANKHALL
ROSEGROVE WITH LOWERHOUSE
TRINITY
BRUNSHAW
ROSEHILL WITH BURNLEY WOOD
HAPTON WITH PARK
COAL CLOUGH WITH DEERPLAY
CLIVIGER WITH WORSTHORNE

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