Understanding youth transition as 'Becoming': Identity, time and futurity

Nancy Worth

School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, UK

Abstract

Drawing on recent work in psychology, philosophy, and youth geographies, this article responds to calls for theoretical rigour in children's geographies by developing the concept of becoming for youth transitions research. Becoming has been used by psychologist Gordon Allport (1955) in his work on the proces-sual nature of personal identity, while Elizabeth Grosz (1999) has used the concept of becoming to explore conceptions of time as a lived experience, focusing on the dynamics of time as duration. This article uses the unifying concept of futurity to tie together the works of Allport and Grosz, exploring how the concept of becoming can be used to consider the inherent complexities of contemporary youth transi-tions. To demonstrate the value of working with these reconceptualizations, examples of becoming will be explored through research with visually impaired young people. This research productively uses nar-rative and a life mapping technique to capture the messiness of becoming, seeing transition through the scale of a life and important life events.

1. Introduction

Youth transition has been a new area of interest for geographers interested in children, young people and the lifecourse (Butcher and Wilton, 2008; Hopkins, 2006; Hörschelmann and Schäfer, 2007; Horton and Kraftl, 2006a; Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008; McDo-well, 2002; Valentine, 2003). While this work is diverse and excit-ing, the temporal aspects of youth transition have yet to be developed fully. Instead this literature seems subliminally stuck within a linear or even static understanding of time that focuses on the past. The lack of attention to temporality in much youth geographies work is ironic, as the subfield is rooted in the life-course, a concept that is inherently about experiences of time. Acknowledging the strong empirical work in children's and youth geographies, Horton and Kraftl (2005, p.133) have called for a sub-field that not only engages with theory, but one that 'will be at the forefront of combinative or even new ways of thinking (about) the world' (see also Beale, 2006). This article works toward this goal, invigorating theoretical geographic work on youth transitions through the concept of becoming, focusing on personal under-standings of time and the future.

My conceptualization of becoming is a blend of two modes of thinking: one that starts at the personal, at questions of identity as becoming, and another that thinks more broadly at the entire process of youth transition as a process of becoming, rather than a discrete life stage. I use Gordon Allport's work on the psychology of personality and Elizabeth Grosz's work on the

openness of time to futurity to construct becoming theoretically; demonstrating experiences of becoming using a case study with visually impaired (VI) young people. For Allport (1955), becoming concerns an indi-vidual's evolving sense of self, with his work striking a balance be-tween internal psychoanalytic perspectives and external behaviouralist understandings of the self. More recently, Elizabeth Grosz (1999, 2005) uses the concept of becoming to explore con-ceptions of time as a lived experience, focusing on the dynamics of time as duration. Her work on time and futurity has implications on the scale of transitions, seeing the process itself as open, multi-ple and in flux—offering a way of thinking about time that goes be-yond the chronological. In developing the concept of becoming as an important new direction for youth transition research, I suggest that transition theory must focus on the future, rather than the past. This is a subtle yet vital shift in orientation for explaining modern transitions in industrialized societies, and for understand-ing the complex transition experiences of young people.

This article is part of a larger project exploring transitions to adulthood with visually impaired young people. The research is interested in how young people with visual impairments narrate experiences of transition, specifically focusing on how identities in transition are performed across time and space. It is important to emphasize that this research is geographically and culturally lo-cated in the West, leading to specific kinds of transition experi-ences, as well as meanings of 'transition' more generally (Langevang, 2007). Visually impaired young people were chosen as a group to work with as their experiences do not match up with traditional transition theory that supposes a clear linear path to the achievement of adulthood, focusing on the move from education to employment (Pollock, 2002; Wyn and Dwyer, 2000). This differ-

[1051]

ence is in part due to the lived experience of disability, as we live in an ableist society that constructs disabled young people as vulner-able and in need of care rather than autonomously negotiating adulthood (Baron et al., 1999; Coles, 1997). Alternatively, and per-haps more fundamentally, VI young people are also just a particu-lar group of young people who are living different kinds of transitions. Like all young people, the visually impaired young peo-ple involved in the research prize their independence, and yet most are highly reliant financially and emotionally on families and care-givers. Young people are also staying in education longer, actively delaying entrance to the labour market. Moreover, young people recount how friends, leisure activities and a sense of autonomy are vitally important to them, and how these interests are misun-derstood by parents and teachers (Ball et al., 2000). For the young people involved in this research, being VI was simply one aspect of their identity as a young person, and their experiences have a wider resonance within the diverse category of 'young people'.

Many researchers have discussed how transitions have chan-ged—how they no longer follow a traditional linear path—but much of this research on youth transitions does not really provide an alternative to the linear model that is fundamentally different (te Riele, 2004; Valentine and Skelton, 2007). Instead research of-ten provides supporting case studies that suggest how transitions are now radically different, without taking the opportunity to add to transition theory. As research in this field flourishes, it is not enough to say that transitions are no longer neat and linear, or to briefly mention their complexity—rather than dismissing the idea of transitions as no longer relevant, a new theoretical op-tion is needed to help explain the dynamic process of growing up, including personal motivations, the fluid experience of time, and perceived constraints to future success.

This article unpacks the multiple meanings of becoming, inter-rogating a term that has been used widely yet uncritically in the transitions literature—it seems to 'fit' the new kind of transitions present in late modernity, but why the term fits needs further explanation (Billari, 2004; Catan, 2004; Csikszentmihalyi and Sche-ider, 2001; Evans and Heinz, 1994; Hendey and Pascall, 2002; Hill-man and Marks, 2002; Pollock, 2008). Building from the casual use of the word both by researchers and research participants, the con-cept of becoming adds to youth transitions theory by understand-ing transitions as continually open to the future, with a fluid understanding of both time and personal identity.

I begin by sketching out how transitions have been theorized so far, focusing on geography's contribution to this literature, as well as geographic work on temporalities that supports my use of becoming. I then explain how I tried to methodologically capture 'becoming', using narrative interviews and a life mapping tech-nique with VI young people. Throughout the remainder of the arti-cle I make my case for understanding youth transition as a process of becoming, using my readings of Allport and Grosz, as well as case study material from young people that highlights interactions between the spatial and the temporal. I conclude with some claims about the usefulness of becoming as a way of reinvigorating theo-ries of youth transition, while also validating 'transition' as a useful concept for research with young people.

2. Reviewing theories of youth transition

Traditional theories of youth transitions focus on youth as a dis-tinct transitional phase of life, between the more stable categories of childhood and adulthood. In psychology, the foundational work of Erikson (1950) and Inhelder and Piaget (1958) proposed theories of youth transition based on stages of development. Erikson devel-oped Freud's psychosexual phases of development with adoles-cence and young adulthood as two distinct stages in an eight

stage theory of the lifecourse; Piaget's developmental stages were anchored by the achievement of a stable adult identity, including the ability to think abstractly. Both Erikson and Piaget's theories have been criticized as simplistic, reducing 'the lifecourse [to] a series of stages, linear, cumulative, and non-reversible, with youth as the stage, which makes the transition from childhood to adult-hood. . .' (Baron et al., 1999, p. 484). Biological and developmental understandings of age and transition have been challenged across the field of youth studies, with Valentine (2003) advocating a shift to 'performative and processual identity' that understands the multiplicity and often circuitous nature of transitions to adulthood.

In modern psychology, Arnett's theory of 'emerging adulthood' as a distinct stage of the lifecourse has had a profound effect on youth studies. He claims that 'having left the dependency of child-hood and adolescence, and having not yet entered the enduring responsibilities that are normative in adulthood, emerging adults. . .' are defined by a period of change and the exploration of possible futures, while eschewing long-term decisions (Arnett, 2000, p. 469). Although Arnett's theory has proven popular, emerg-ing adulthood has been critiqued by Bynner (2005), who questions Arnett's use of survey data that hides the unique experiences of groups more responsive to structural barriers. Moreover, Bynner contends that creating a new developmental stage may not be helpful for transitions research, as it standardizes an experience of great variability.

Beyond psychology, contemporary theories of youth transition highlight the fallacy of distinct stages of the lifecourse, by instead addressing new imperatives of a flexible labour market (multiple jobs instead of one career), diverse family dynamics (lower rates of marriage) and expansion in the education sector (more higher/ further education). One of the most powerful theories to arise in studies of youth transition is Beck's (1992) concept of individuali-zation. Beck theorizes contemporary transitions within a society of reflexive modernity, where young people construct their own iden-tities based on chosen affinities, rather than familial or class con-straints. Although recently supported by Woodman (2009), individualization has been critiqued by many as placing blame for failing to attain one's 'choice biography' on the individual, not paying enough attention to structural barriers that often preclude the opportunity to follow up desired choices (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Skelton, 2002). Giddens' (1991) version of the individualiza-tion thesis has also been taken up by researchers. Giddens con-tends that transitions in reflexive modernity are experienced through 'fateful moments' where a person's ontological security is threatened by having to make significant choices about the fu-ture. The Inventing Adulthoods project (Henderson et al., 2007; Thomson et al., 2002) makes use of 'critical moments', as a way of getting at key events of transition for young people (see also Shildrick and MacDonald, 2008). Other theories of transition that make use of 'turning points' take a lifecourse approach (Elder, 1998), or focus more widely on multiple generations during transi-tions (Ahier and Moore, 1999).

Perhaps the strongest theoretical influence on the study of con-temporary youth transitions is social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000). Recent research examining social capital and young people has made a vital theoretical contri-bution, recognizing that young people are not only recipients of capital from their parents, but also creators of capital through their own peer groups (Helve and Bynner, 2007). For research on transi-tion in particular, social capital has been used effectively to explore social exclusion, where disadvantaged young people's life choices are often limited by the economic, cultural and social resources available to them. Other research on transition uses social capital theory with other theories of agency and identity, balancing indi-vidual choice and structural constraints (Holland et al., 2007). Although social capital is a dominant theory in youth research, Bas-

[1052]

sani (2007) contends that the true value of the theory for youth studies is contentious, as the relationship between social capital and well-being is not necessarily always positive, and research has often examined the theory in fragments. As this brief sketch of youth transition theory illustrates, there is less surety of the stages within the transition to adulthood, even uncertainty that there are clear stages (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). The complexity and 'fluidity' of the (post) modern world means a shift away from clear lifecourse stages, with the idea of a stable adult identity also called into question (Bauman, 2007; Giddens, 1991; Lee, 2001).

2.1. Timings and spacings

Also missing from the sketch of the transitions literature pre-sented above is an overtly geographical perspective—exploring the issue of temporality in geography as well as the effect of life spaces on the transition process and a diversity of experiences based on class, gender, sexuality and ability. Geographers have written criti-cally about temporalities, and the relationship

of time to space (Dodgshon, 2008; Massey, 2005 for her use of Bergson; Thrift and May, 2001). Within the geographic literature on children and young people, Jones (2008, p. 210) examines the 'otherness' of childhood, through a discussion of the 'becomings of children and the becom-ings of adults'. He advocates witnessing children's affective worlds as a way of understanding their becomings (see also Philo, 2003). In Horton and Kraftl's (2006b) discussion of ongoingness, they argue that if Children's Geographies rightly critiques childhood as a pro-cess of 'growing up', then more should be said of childhood as 'going on'. Similar to the concept of becoming presented below, Horton and Kraftl advocate a more complex understanding of temporality that moves away from the linear and chronological. They argue that 'going on is fundamentally concerned with a Heideggerian "scroll-ing" of time as much as a post-structural scrumpling, folding and pleating of space-time' (2006b, p. 83). In the geographic youth tran-sitions literature, Skelton (2002) argues that some particular uses of becoming (see Allat, 1997) can be 'developmentalist', denying the agency of young people by invoking the fallacy of child as becoming, adult as being. I agree with Skelton's (2002, p. 105) understanding of 'youth' as an important 'time of knowing', where young people are actively 'living the present and making the most of the time they have', and I would argue that this insight aligns with the argument I make below.

Geographers have also commented on how space is integral to young people's experience of transition, with Hörschelmann and Schäfer (2005) examining performances of the global/local in ur-ban space in Germany, and the Telling Young Lives (2008) collection of essays exploring how global changes interact with young peo-ple's lived experiences. The spatiality of everyday life is also an important focus, with Valentine (2003, p. 48) arguing that geogra-phers' unique perspective can develop work done in sociology by 'explor[ing] the importance of different life spaces and the inter-connections between them (e.g. school and work, work and home)' while also exploring how young people 16–25 are both actors in space and constrained by it. The shift to a more inclusive focus on lifecourse via relationality and intersectionality has been advo-cated by Vanderbeck (2007) and Hopkins and Pain (2007), who suggest a lifecourse approach is helpful for getting past a narrow focus on one time of life. Exploring the lifecourse, rather than just youth or old age, is 'likely to provide rich seams of understand-ing. . .[through] oral history approaches which link and relate the experiences of individuals and broader processes over time and space' (Hopkins and Pain, 2007, p. 291). The discussion of becom-ing presented below engages with the timings and spacings of youth transition; this use of becoming emerged from research data that tries to think about how two core aspects of transition—per-sonal identity and time—are experienced in space.

3. Researching experiences of transition with narrative interviews and life maps

This article has evolved out of a qualitative longitudinal project with VI young people aged 16–25. Twenty-eight young people who self-defined as visually impaired contributed to the research, anon-ymously recruited through teachers, NGO contacts, local authori-ties, the Royal National Institute for the Blind, and personal networks. VI young people, and disabled young people in general, are stereotypically assumed to have atypical transitions to adult-hood, and the overall project was interested in challenging ableist expectations for disabled young people. Moreover, as contempo-rary experiences of transition for young people are all atypical compared to the traditional linear model, the experiences of VI young people resonate more generally with how young people in transition negotiate identity across time and space.

The research was conducted across the North of England, working with a socially diverse group of VI young people at specialist and mainstream schools, at university, at college, at work and at home.[1] The research used an integrated suite of accessible, participant-cen-tred qualitative methods, beginning with narrative interviews and the creation of an accompanying life map in Braille or large print. This article uses data from the first stage of data collection, with further stages over the course of a year making use of diaries and a feedback report to capture how participants' views have changed over time, and their thoughts about the research's preliminary results.

The use of narratives in social research has evolved from the technical approach of textual analysis in the humanities and the factual life history and ethnographic traditions in sociology. The fo-cus is on interpretation, emphasizing the significance of events to an individual rather than the facts of the events themselves. More-over, narratives are in constant flux, engaging with temporality, as life is 'envisage[d] as something both lived and understood forward and backward in a ''spiral movement'' of constant interpretation and reinterpretation' (Lawler, 2002, p. 251). Rather than a collec-tion of facts that are representative of a person's life, Somers (1994, p. 614) contends that narratives are part of the social con-struction of identity—that 'people construct identities (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories' (see also Leyshon, 2008; Valentine, 2000; Vanderbeck and Morse Dunkley, 2003). The shift from understanding narratives as a representation of life to an integral aspect of how we make sense of the world refigures narra-tive as a source of personal identity formation and a way of relating to others. According to Bruner, in narrative 'we set forth a view of what we call our Self and its doings, reflections, thoughts, and place in the world' (Bruner, 2001, p. 25). For Bruner, the Self is made visible through the 'turning points' that a narrator relates, similar to Giddens' concept of 'fateful moments'. Turning points highlight the differences between the narrator and their earlier self while bringing them closer together. Using narrative to collect turning points of transition has been useful to building the concept of becoming, as it is inherently processual, partial, and personal. Moreover, telling stories about one's life experiences immediately invokes the participant's sense of time, as they use narrative to construct their past, present and future.

A life mapping tool was designed to accompany the narrative interview, where participants were asked to map self-defined 'fate-ful moments' of transition. The design of the method was inspired by participatory diagramming techniques (Kesby et al., 2005), and

[1] Participants were equally distributed across social categories of gender and class, less so with ethnicity, as five participants identified with a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) group. I was also interested in a range of ages between 16 and 25 and current occupations (including school, higher/further education, full time/part time work, job-seeking, etc.) and different experiences of visual impairment.

[1053]

the use of visual methods with young people (Higgins et al., 2007; Hopkins, 2006). Life maps were created on oversize sheets of pa-per, with markers for the large print users and tactile labels for the Braille users (Sheppard and Aldrich, 2000). The large paper was both to give space for creatively interpreting the idea of youth transition, and so partially sighted young people could write

in a comfortable size. The tactile version of the map began with a set of Braille content labels that were constantly updated, and paper was used to add anything a participant wanted included on their map. These paper labels were later created in Braille to increase the sophistication of the map for the next user. Participants were encouraged to take control of the method, to record important experiences, places, and people in their transition to adulthood, whatever they were. Rather than assume that VI young people would not be suitable for a visual method, the life map was piloted with both partially sighted and blind young people to ensure they found the process easy to use and a good fit with the interview.

The life maps increased the level of detail of the interviews, as participants could contextualize new stories based on ones recorded earlier on the map, allowing them to get right into their story at a higher level of complexity. Life maps were also a convenient way of giving participants a break after talking about difficult or painful experiences. In a sense the life map was a third focus in the room, breaking up the back and forth nature of an interview. Some issues that were too difficult to talk about, like a period in care before start-ing high school, were mapped rather than talked about. Most rele-vant for this article, the life maps created a visual representation of how participants thought about time during transition.

The main concern with the life mapping technique was that the tactile version required a central lifeline to orient blind partici-pants, and partially sighted participants in the pilot stage were not comfortable starting from a blank page. So for reasons of acces-sibility, continuity, and the wishes of participants, the life maps be-gan with a central lifeline. Although I was initially concerned the lifeline would suggest that time is both linear and sequential, young people made use of it in diverse ways. During the creation of the maps a conventional understanding of time was often sub-verted, as young people used the line when it was helpful, and were also capable of ignoring it when a linear representation of time was unsuitable. Moreover, the maps were not created sequen-tially (although they can be read that way). Instead the maps were created thematically, with participants adding bits of information all over the map, constantly revising and working with what they had created in the past.

At the end of the narrative interview/life mapping process par-ticipants were asked for their thoughts about both techniques, and to reflect on the stories they told about transition. Several partici-pants told me that the life maps showed them a new perspective about their lives, visually showing their lives (especially their self-defined achievements) in a cohesive way they had not consid-ered before. After the explicit narrative portion of the interview, I concluded our meeting by asking young people to think about the temporalities of transition, a difficult question made more accessible through the resources of the just completed narrative section and life map. Participants were able to refer to both, and briefly offer their readings of how they have and/or expect to expe-rience the timings and spacings of transition.

4. Understanding transitions as 'becoming' using Allport and Grosz

4.1. Becoming and personal identity: the work of Gordon Allport

Personal identity as a process of becoming forms the first of two complementary ways of thinking about youth transition. Social

psychologist Gordon Allport understands becoming as an individ-ual's evolving sense of self. He says personal identity: 'is less a fin-ished product than a transitive process. While identity has some stable features, it is at the same time continually undergoing change. It is this course of change, of becoming, of individuation that is now our special concern' (Allport, 1955, p. 19). Although All-port's claims align well with post-structuralist understandings of identity construction, at the time he was writing his ideas about personality were unique, and often overlooked in favour of the more dominant Freudian or Skinnerian models of self and identity. For Allport, beyond shifts in personal identity reflecting earlier and later experiences, becoming is also a process that engages with the social world—in a sense there are two kinds of becoming, the indi-vidual and the social, which young people must constantly recon-cile—dealing with pressures of social conformity, while striking out one's own place as an individual. In current work on transitions, there is a critique that there is too much of a focus on agency— the widespread use of Beck's concept of individualization, for example (Lehmann, 2004; Skelton, 2002). Many offer the critique that structural elements, including the social and financial re-sources available to young people, have long been a strong indica-tor of successful transition (Thomson and Holland, 2002; Willis, 1977). Allport (1955, p. 33) too has a strong focus on the choices of the individual, but nevertheless recognizes the importance of early affiliative needs (feelings of support, love and security), that leave one 'free to become'.

Allport provides a picture of selfhood that he considers a 'rea-soned eclecticism', as it draws on behaviourism, psychoanalysis and cognitive perspectives among others. Three aspects of his model for the self become particularly relevant during youth tran-sition. First, self-extension (or what Allport calls ego extension) is simply the extension of what the self considers mine: 'as we grow older we identify with groups, neighbourhood and nation as well as with possessions, clothes, home. They become important to us. . .' (1955, p. 45). Furthermore, for Allport, 'a mark of maturity seems to be the range and extent of one's feeling self-involvement in abstract ideals' (1955, p. 45).

Second, self-image refers to first, how one regards one's own abilities and place in society, and also to one's aspirations for one-self. This is a key aspect to transition as becoming, as a young per-son's idealized self-image, is 'the imaginative aspect of the [self], and whether accurate or distorted, attainable or unattainable,' it charts most movement toward the future (Allport, 1955, p. 47). A strong analytical focus on the impact of one's self-image on the process of becoming is perhaps where my reading of Allport makes the strongest contribution to transition theory. One of the key find-ings of this research is that for some young people their visual impairment is something they just manage and get on with, while for others it is positioned as a major disruption to their life (Tuttle and Tuttle, 2004). For example, Maritsa starts her narrative with the following: "at the age of 13 I had an accident—a car accident and I became disabled after that. [For] 6 years after that I was at home doing nothing . . . really just wasting my time for 6 years and getting very depressed and doing nothing really". In contrast Jessica is often frustrated by her parents' well meaning yet ableist perseveration on her VI: "I told them that I was me, and not blind—I wanted my parents to just not even mention anything to do with my visual impairment, because it doesn't mean anything to me, cause this is just who I am". In both cases this is a dynamic form of narrative rationalizing, where the stories participants tell me re-late to, and strengthen, their self-image (see also Butler, 1998).

Third, propriate striving is Allport's term for motivation—the goal of becoming the proprietor of one's own life (Boeree, 1998). Specifically, Allport (1955, p. 12) is concerned with the ability to plan

into the future, uniting goals and values with real-world suc-cess—'To understand what a person is, it is necessary always to re-

[1054]

fer to what he [sic] may be in the future, for every state of the per-son is pointed in the direction of future possibilities'. A focus on the future is a key area of interest for this research, as it helps address some of the issues with other theories of transition that do not en-gage with the scale of the personal. As although two people may share a similar life situation, one may achieve their carefully planned future goals, while another may struggle, not being able to picture where their future may lead.

4.2. Becoming and personal identity: key moments of transition for VI young people

Allport's understanding of becoming relates to youth transition in three ways, as discussed above. The first, self-extension, involves the widening of social and personal interests, the process of devel-oping greater exterior connections with the world. This process was often described as a 'fateful moment' of transition by my re-search participants—where they began to see the world, and their place in it, differently. Self-extension is particularly evident in Mi-chael's[2] story, where he describes a difficult transition to life at col-lege in a new city, and how his social world grew beyond his hometown of Leeds:

> After college on a Friday at half past four, I'd get on the train to back to [Leeds]. I had a Saturday job at [Superdrug] in [Leeds] (laughs), just because I wanted to stay in contact with my friends. And as, as the year gradually wore on I wasn't doing so well in my exams. [. . .] I wasn't committed to my work as much and just generally being a bit rubbish. So at, when I was seventeen, I kind of decided to, 'Right, okay. Start doing your best, [cause] you've only got another year here before you move to university, so you might as well make the most of it.' So from seventeen to eighteen, [laughs] I'd, I'd got a bit of uh, I don't want to say um, Archi-medes moment, but I was a bit of well just, 'Right, that's it.' You know? I started to make some friends and go out and not be dependent on being in [Leeds]. And it just, just that experience those two years, when at the time weren't partic-ularly enjoyable, have completely shaped my personality like beyond, beyond any other event or series, sequence of events. (Michael, 23)

While Michael's story is an explicit example of self-extension based on a wider connection to place, self-extension was present in many of my research narratives, where participants talked about their role in musical groups, playing Goalball (a sport for VI people), hold-ing season tickets for their favourite football club and volunteering with the Duke of Edinburgh awards program (see Fig. 1).

Exploring the concept of self-image with my participants has been probably the most successful part of the research narratives, with participants presenting both imagined future selves, and their understanding of themselves based on personal history. For Dani-elle, her understanding of her own abilities during her transition to adulthood and the effect that her blindness has had on her life are readily explained through her close relationship with her par-ents, and the affiliative space of home:

> When I was first born really, my Mum and Dad, sort of sat down and said, you know, right, we've

got a new baby who is blind, we can either wrap her up in cotton wool or we can teach her everything we possibly can and give her all the best chances we can. And luckily that's what they

decided to do. So that's been one of the best things they've ever done, because right from an early age, they've been always teaching me, you know, if I sort of fell over or some-thing, it'd be 'Oh dear, Never mind', you know, 'Up you get', not 'Oh my God, She's fallen over!' you know. So I think all little things like that, they've helped to give me the confi-dence and, you know, make me who I am sort of thing. (Danielle, 16)

Danielle's understanding of her blindness as only a partial and unre-markable aspect of who she is strongly ingrained in her self-image, and her placement of herself within the caring milieu of her home life as a child. Danielle currently lives away from home, at specialist school, and she denies my suggestion that she is 'on her own', in-stead linking the affiliative space of home with that of specialist school, connecting spaces of care and support with the expectation that she will return to live with her parents during university. Returning to Allport's (1955, p. 33) idea that meeting affiliative needs leaves one 'free to become', where young people meet their affiliative needs evolves over youth, with Mooney et al. (2007) sug-gesting that networks of close relationships change from parents, to close friends and romantic partners, shifting the setting of affiliative needs from the home outwards.

Propriate striving, the third aspect of Allport's work relevant to youth transition, is the most challenging to discuss with young people, as its focus on motivations and the future can be stressful for some. For young people, future goals and the motivation and drive behind them are often shaped by parents, guidance counsel-lors and teachers. Some of my participants felt that those in authority actively discouraged their plans, relying on ableist understandings of what they were capable of. This was Ed's expe-rience, who eventually had to ignore the advice of his parents and school counsellor to pursue his ideal career:

I looked into childcare then and education and I was advised by the members of staff, by my parents, by guidance, um sort of maybe a more, office administrative-based course is prob-ably better as a career given that childcare uh child worker might find certain difficulties with my disability. So I, I took their advice [. . .], I did everything, it was fine, qualified, took on my work and ended up getting a job in the accounts department for about three months. And I absolutely hated my job. [. . .] So I, I resigned and [. . .] applied for childcare again and wouldn't allow myself to be deterred this time, so I applied again and I had nine months cause I resigned in January and we start in September, so for those nine months I did volunteer work – local schools, kids clubs, and stuff like that as experience. Cause again I'm not the type of person who can sit around and do nothing – it bugs me. [. . .] So I went into childcare, I went and uh I've been there for two years. I'm the oldest one in my course cause every-one else is like seventeen. (Ed, 21)

Ed's story and life map show an internalizing locus of control about his future career, as he eventually becomes the 'proprietor of his own life' and makes his own future plans (see Fig. 2). For Ed, and others that I spoke to, it was important to prove people wrong about one's abilities, choosing to see future career paths in terms of per-sonal challenges rather than recognize imposing structural barriers. As a whole, Allport's work on personal identity and becoming ties into the other half of my argument through its overall focus on the future. Allport (1955, p. 76) claims, 'How wrong we have been in viewing the process of growth as a reaction to past and present stimuli, neglecting the dynamics of futurity: of orientation, inten-tion and valuation'. A focus on the future is the essence of becoming as a concept for youth transitions research, using Allport's work to focus on the scale of personal identity, while using Grosz's work to examine the fluid and forward-looking nature of transitions themselves.

[page 1055]

Fig. 1. Michael's life map.

Fig. 2. Ed's life map.

4.3. Becoming, time and futurity: the work of Elizabeth Grosz

The other half of this analysis applies Grosz's understanding of time as a form of becoming to youth transitions, exploring the dynamics of futurity in VI young people's lifeworlds. In the intro-duction to the edited work, Becomings: Exploration in Time, Memory and Futures, Grosz (1999, p. 2) contends that time is a highly und-ertheorized concept, and sets out the need to 'question the onto-logical, epistemic and political status of time' using the writings of Bergson and Deleuze, Nietzsche and Darwin. Grosz's first inter-vention is to critique the idea that time is a neutral medium where life is framed—instead time takes an active part in the framing of all life events. Second, it is important to see time as more than lin-ear chronology—time can be difference, time can be past, present and future at once. This use of this more open form of temporality in Grosz's work is echoed in other feminist writings that try to understand 'the way in which an individual is anchored in a pres-ent that is made meaningful by past experiences and by the per-son's anticipated future' (Davies, 1996, p. 581). Third, Grosz's most powerful argument is that we must think of time as open to futurity—random, open-ended and always becoming. To geogra-phers, this call for a more critical understanding of time will be familiar, as similar calls were once made to overcome the idea of space as an apolitical surface, or a neutral container of experience. As a whole, Grosz's (1998, p. 47) work has reinforced the idea that besides a focus on the future, time during transitions 'is a mode of stretching, protraction, which provides the very conditions of becoming, however faltering they may be'.

Grosz's work on time and futurity has particular resonance for research on contemporary youth transitions. Futurity is a difficult concept—and there are anxieties in an unpredictable, open future. Yet, according to Grosz (1998, p. 1), 'unless we develop concepts of time and duration which welcome and privilege the future, which openly accept the rich virtualities and divergent

resonances of the present, we will remain closed to understanding the complex pro-cesses of becoming that engender and constitute both life and mat-ter'. Duration is a key term from Bergson that Grosz uses to expand common understandings of time. Duration can be understood as time that takes account of how our past 'is always moving on'— being constantly re-experienced and reconsidered—as we experi-ence the newness of the present. With duration there is a sense of mobility, a 'sense of continually becoming, with each new pres-ent adding to the past in us' (Bergson 1920 in Dodgshon, 2008, p. 7). Other key concepts in Grosz's work include, the 'actual' (what could also be called the 'real'), and the 'virtual' (the 'possible'). If time is seen as duration— encompassing the present and a contin-uing past, yet open to the future—then what is real and what is possible can exist at the same time, separated only by the process of realization, where some possibilities are made real and some are not. This opens up transitions to the idea of many possible becom-ings all at once.

4.4. Time and the future in the transition narratives of VI young people

The young people involved in the research had different under-standings of the future, as well as how successful they felt they were at choosing from the different possible realities they feel are open to them. It is important to highlight that the same future choices are not available to all young people, nor are young people

[1056]

necessarily aware of all their possible futures—instead future choices are often a product of what society sees as appropriate (Butler, 1990). Despite these qualifications, contemporary transi-tions involve 'a series of processes of radical excentering and self-exceeding. This is what becoming is of necessity—a movement of differentiation, divergence and self-surpassing. . .' (Grosz, 1999, p. 28). Ellie represents one of the most future-oriented in my re-search, with a strong sense of her capabilities and an explicit plan for the future:

> I'd want to sort of, definitely be starting my PhD at twenty-five, cause it's a three-year course and so that'd mean I'd be like twenty-eight by the time I finish. It's a bit, ahhhhh! [. . .The plan] is concrete in terms of I want to do—the jobs that I want to do as, as quickly as possible and that to me seems like a real, a realistic target. Four years seems like a realistic target to get there. Because I might get accepted the first or second year I tried, but if I give myself four, then I'm not going to be disappointed. (Ellie, 23)

Unlike many participants who experimented with a linear under-standing of time on the life map, Ellie is comfortable working with an understanding of clock time, plotting events only into the near future (see Fig. 3). So although Ellie is confident about her plan for the future, it focuses on what is imminent, and is an example of trying to stretch current confidence into the future—what Nilsen (1999) terms 'an orientation to the extended present'. In contrast to Ellie, several of my participants had no sense of the future—and would not or could not talk about future plans. Macar consciously avoids thinking about the future, and was not interested in plotting ages past 25 with the life mapping tool (see Fig. 4). His lack of adjustment back to his hometown after 5 years away at an adored specialist college was painful, and Macar is now unable or unwilling to think more than a

few days into the future:

> Nancy – So in five years, what are you going to be doing? Macar – I don't, I don't know. I don't think about, I don't even think about the future to be honest with you.
> N – Really?
> M – Um I just kind of (pause, sigh) I just kind of think, I just kind of take each day as it comes.
> . . .
> M – Well yeah. It's alright—it's all well and good having plans, though.
> N – Mm?
> M – You know, it's actions.
> N – So you're not one to believe in plans then?
> M – No. Uh I've been let down so many times then that, you know. Don't believe in anything really. And I would advise

Fig. 4. Macar's life map.

> other visually impaired and blind people that are listening to this and you're doing the same thing. Just don't believe in anything until it happens. Because I've been let down so many times you just get—social workers say one thing. Schools say other thing. You know, colleges say one thing. Your parents say another. You know, don't listen to anyone 'til it actually happens (sigh). (Macar, 20)

Besides the Braille labels about school, Macar added 'Partner', 'Training', 'Job 1' 'Marriage' and 'Children' below age 20 as aspects of life that were important, but were missing for him. His map re-flects his loneliness, and how stuck he currently feels. Although there appears to be a great contrast between Ellie and Macar's will-ingness to plan for the future, both in a sense want to mitigate the uncertainty and virtualities of the future by conceiving it as a kind of extended present. In Ellie's case the future stretches into the next few years, while Macar only feels comfortable planning the next day. Therefore, while young people hoped and dreamed of many possible becomings, they created future plans based on the actual-ities of the present. The ability or willingness to look toward the fu-ture links back to Allport's idea of one's 'affiliative needs'—VI young people with strong support networks, like Ellie, are confident recon-ceptualizing their present into the future, discussing plans based on a strong sense of their own agency. For others this is much more dif-ficult, where a lack of support in critical areas of life reduces plans for the future to wishes or dreams, if the future can be imagined at all.

Second, besides a focus on the future, Grosz's work provides the language to discuss experiences of different kinds of temporality. One of the most remarkable aspects of time during transition for my VI participants is that many feel that they have 'lost time' by missing out on 'typical' adolescent experiences. This lost time is rarely directly related to the bodily experience of having a visual impairment (i.e. recovering from an accident where sight was lost). Instead, for most of my participants VI had more social effects,

Fig. 3. Ellie's life map.

[1057]

especially the regulated environment of specialist boarding schools:

> When I finished uni suddenly I felt like I could be more of a child than I was when I was going up because at school I didn't really get the chance to go drinking and stuff, cause it didn't really, wouldn't really get encouraged to do it. And I didn't really go out with friends to town much because everything was down in campus and you do things with house parents and carers and you couldn't actually just go with your mates. At the end of uni I kind of started to get more friends because I met them through the course and we just ended up graduating together. And then I moved in with some of them so then after uni I felt like I could just go out . . . and I could do what I wanted. (Jessica, 23)

For Jessica, adulthood was on hold during her teenage years as the specialist college she attended was a highly regulated space, where any 'social outing' off campus would be planned, risk assessed and supervised by a carer. This lack of spontaneity and autonomy is something that Jessica now relishes in living on her own, taking the time to do 'childish things' with her friends whenever she wants.

In contrast, Marie felt like she 'lost time' at home in Jamaica, where her home life was difficult as her parents had low expecta-tions of her abilities. It was only when she left home at 19 for the second time to attend specialist school did she get to experience adolescence on her own terms:

> I mean I'd say when I were a teenager I was, you know, I wasn't I suppose a teenager in the sense that everybody else was—a quote unquote normal teenager, doing normal teen-age things. And experimenting with different things, I wasn't like that. So I'm catch, playing catch up now in my twenties (laughs). (Marie, 22)

Working within the constraints of my Braille labels, Marie used the tactile life map to record spaces of freedom and independence. The map anchored a long narrative of leaving home in Jamaica to attend a specialist school for the blind in the United States, returning home briefly and finding no place for herself as a blind women, and then emigrating to the UK for further specialist education. Marie insisted on adding 'Coming to UK', as everything she has done since, includ-ing choosing a partner, getting married and moving into a flat with her husband has been against the wishes of her parents, (who tried to forcible bring her 'home'). Marie describes her transition to adult-hood as her creation of a new home in the UK, and the freedom to 'catch up' with teenage fun she missed out on (see Fig. 5).

While Marie's move to specialist college gave her the space and freedom to 'play catch up', Ann had a similar experience after end-ing a relationship that was toxic for her self-image as a visually im-

Fig. 5. Marie's life map.

paired person. For Ann, a social reaction to her VI was a verbally abusive partner, who belittled her about her sight throughout their relationship. She reports that the freedom and newfound confidence that resulted from ending that relationship allowed her to catch up on missed experiences—exploring what it means to be independent years after her sighted peers. Ann considers her transition to adulthood to be starting at 25, despite having performed adult responsibilities, including child-care, from the age of 16 (Sol-berg, 1997). Responding to a question about where she wants to be in 5 years time, Ann says:

> Ann – In five years time, I'd still feel like I'm in my twenties because I've not done anything between them years. [. . .] Nancy – So you think in five years you should be doing something that people do in their twenties?
> A – Yeah because I'm getting the time now from when like sixteen to twenty-five, that I feel like I'm getting time to do what I want to do. That I should've done that I never got to do.

> N – If you were to take a guess where you're going to be in five years?
> A – I feel, well I feel like I've started running it, you know, my life. (writing) 'Getting a chance to do things that I started on in my early twenties', yeah. That's a good answer. Time moved back.
> N – Yeah.
> A – Went back in the pack. But that's what you feel like. It would. It's like now I'm just starting to do things, what a teenager should of done, like an eighteen year old. Like try-ing new, new experiences and everything. (Ann, 25)

Ann makes use of the life map to show three different kinds of tem-porality, which I read as clock time, 'embodied time' (see Davies, 1996), and aspirations/futurity. Briefly, Ann writes about events she directly ties to clock time directly on the line, marking their ex-act occurrence with a hash—for example, when she was 12 her Dad left her family, and she cites her vision as the reason. This painful turning-point moment exists powerfully for Ann, as life was very different afterwards. Moving away from the lifeline, Ann writes about her family and her emotional life across the bottom of the map—areas of her life where clock time is inadequate. Some have called this kind of time 'embodied time', where time is 'enmeshed in social relations' (Davies, 1996, p. 583). This more social and pro-cessual time for Ann includes her two children, and how she felt during her time at school. Finally, Ann places her hopes separate from events that connect to clock time, or embodied time. They are above the line, and are written tentatively—using language like 'possibly' and 'hopefully'. Ann cannot really see how a job fits into her future, although she would like to be working part time. Ann's sense of insecurity about the future is clear, as she is only comfort-able extending her map 6 years into the future. This was true for many of my participants, with most maps ending with 'old' or 'age 30', with little future detail. After creating her map I asked Ann to consider what adulthood means, and whether it is an idea that can be mapped. For Ann 'adulthood' is a recent achievement, tied directly to her new sense of autonomy after leaving a bad rela-tionship. She writes about age 25 in all three spaces of her map— marking it on the line as 'adult age', add the context below, and powerfully adding in the section of her hopes: '25 years, life begins for me' (see Fig. 6).

Each of my participants has a unique understanding of how time is experienced in their own life—from time moving fast or slow, a planned or unimaginable future, and time lost and time regained. Posing questions about conceptions of time is difficult, as the concept of steady, linear time is so dominant. Yet once partic-ipants are encouraged to talk about their personal experiences of

Fig. 6. Ann's life map.

time during transition, each life event can be further explored through reflections on its particular time–space.

5. Moving forward

Transition remains a valuable concept, even as we embrace the idea of a lifecourse without developmental stages or endpoints, as the concept of transition is inherently about change, giving us the ''ability to take growing up seriously as a source of questions and possibilities'' (Lee, 2001, p. 103). In considering the possibilities and multiplicities of transition, 'becoming' reinvigorates the term. To be clear, this article is not advocating the binary of youth as becoming and adult as being (Qvortrup, 1991), rather that embrac-ing the concept of becoming during youth can be a first step in con-sidering the 'multiple becomings' we encounter throughout the lifecourse. Moreover, by focusing on flexibility and futurity, the concept of becoming reflects that young people (and parents and policymakers) do feel there is a transition taking place, that impor-tant life choices are being made as young people look ahead to adulthood and anticipate the future (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2007; Uprichard, 2008).

By focusing on futurity as an analytical construct, this research brings needed a focus on time to geographic youth transition re-search (inspired by work in Sociology: Anderson et al., 2005; Bran-nen and Nilsen, 2007; Nilsen, 1999). For my research with VI young people, developing the concept of becoming was a logical exten-sion of our work together as it incorporates the difference that dis-ability makes to experiences of transition. More importantly, 'becoming', with its focus on the fluidity of personal identity and orientation toward the future has space to include many kinds of difference, not just being VI. Methodologically, the narratives and life maps created by my research participants are a way of telling the story of becoming an adult—in a way that allows young people to incorporate their past, present and future in ways that make sense to them. The selected life maps and narrative excerpts in-cluded here focus on particular moments or time–spaces of transi-tion that VI young people define as significant. Getting at ideas of self-extension, self-image, and propriate striving has been facili-tated by the narrative process, as young people seemed comfort-

able storying the key moments of their lives. These narratives of becoming are products both of the individuals who took part in the research, and of the expectations and constraints of their life-worlds. Picking apart the multiple meanings within the narratives has been the goal at the end of each research interview, where par-ticipants had the opportunity to contextualize and reflect on their own stories, locating themselves in both time and space.

Becoming is a useful way to think beyond the dominance of lin-earity—seeing youth transition as a constantly evolving experience, embracing its changeability and instability (Braidotti, 2002). It is vital for theories of youth transition to incorporate a multiplicity of futures, and ways of understandings the self, and the concept of becoming is one way of engaging with that complexity. The cen-tral tenet of becoming is its focus on change and the future, work-ing against the regulative nature of endpoints, complicating notions of adulthood as well (Lee, 2001). Although futurity and its latent uncertainties have been challenging for young people to think about, some sense of the future has guided most of their narratives. Even those who found it difficult to make long-term plans discussed their lives in a more immediate sense of a future blended with the present. My use of the work of Allport and Grosz, exploring becoming through social psychology and philosophy, is just one possible way of theorizing the experience of youth transi-tion. Developing the concept of becoming broadens the subfield of youth geographies in its inclusion of thinkers beyond the disciplin-ary bounds of geography, while retaining a critical focus on the importance on young people's situated experiences.

References

Ahier, J., Moore, R., 1999. Post-16 education, semi-dependent youth and the privatisation of inter-age transfers: re-theorising youth transition. British Journal of Sociology of Education 20 (4), 515–530.

[1059]

Allat, P., 1997. Conceptualising youth: transitions, risk and the public and the private. In: Bynner, J., Chisholm, L., Furlong, A. (Eds.), Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Allport, G., 1955. Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Anderson, M., Bechhofer, F., McCrone, D., Jamieson, L., Li, Y.J., Stewart, R., 2005. Timespans and plans among young adults. Sociology – The Journal of the British Sociological Association 39 (1), 139–155.

Arnett, J., 2000. Emerging adulthood: a theory of development from the late teens through the 20s. American Psychologist 55 (5), 469–480.

Ball, S.J., Maguire, M., Macrae, S., 2000. Choice, Pathways and Transitions Post-16: New Youth, New Economies in the Global City. Routledge, London.

Baron, S., Riddell, S., Wilson, A., 1999. The secret of eternal youth: identity, risk and learning

difficulties. British Journal of Sociology of Education 20 (4), 483–499.

Bassani, C., 2007. Five dimensions of social capital theory as they pertain to youth studies. Journal of Youth Studies 10 (1), 17–34.

Bauman, Z., 2007. Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Beale, N., 2006. The practicalities of theory: engagement, relevance and application. Children's Geographies 4 (2), 219–224.

Beck, U., 1992. Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. Sage, London.

Billari, F.C., 2004. Becoming an adult in Europe: a macro(/micro)-demographic perspective. Demographic Research Special Collection 3, 15–44.

Boeree, C.G., 1998. Gordon Allport. <http://webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/allport.html>. Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Greenwood Press, New York. Braidotti, R., 2002. Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming. Polity, Cambridge.

Brannen, J., Nilsen, A., 2007. Young people, time horizons and planning: A response to Anderson et al. Sociology – The Journal of the British Sociological Association 41 (1), 153–160.

Bruner, J., 2001. Self-making and world-making. In: Brockmeier, J., Carbaugh, D. (Eds.), Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture. John Benjamins B.V., Amsterdam, pp. 25–37.

Butcher, S., Wilton, R., 2008. Stuck in transition? Exploring the space of employment training for youth with intellectual disability. Geoforum 39 (2), 1079–1092.

Butler, J., 1990. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. Routledge, New York.

Butler, R., 1998. Rehabilitating the images of disabled youths. In: Skelton, T., Valentine, G. (Eds.), Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures. Routledge, London, pp. 83–100.

Bynner, J., 2005. Rethinking the youth phase of the life-course: the case for emerging adulthood? Journal of Youth Studies 8 (4), 367–384.

Catan, L., 2004. Becoming adult: Changing Youth Transitions in the 21st Century. Trust for the Study of Adolescence, Brighton.

Coleman, J., 1990. Foundations of Social Theory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Coles, B., 1997. Vulnerable youth and processes of social exclusion: a theoretical framework, a review of recent research and suggestions for a future research agenda. In: Bynner, J., Chisholm, L., Furlong, A. (Eds.), Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., Scheider, B., 2001. Becoming Adult: How Teenagers Prepare for the World of Work Basic Books, New York.

Davies, K., 1996. Capturing women's lives: a discussion of time and methodological issues. Women's Studies International Forum 19 (6), 579–588.

Dodgshon, R.A., 2008. Geography's place in time. Geografiksa Annaler Series B – Human Geography 90 (1), 1–15.

Elder, G.H., 1998. The lifecourse and human development. In: Lerner, R.M. (Ed.), Handbook of Child Psychology Volume 1: Theoretical Models of Human Development. W.W. Norton, New York.

Erikson, E., 1950. Childhood and Society. W.W. Norton & Co., New York.

Evans, K., Heinz, W.R., 1994. Becoming Adults in England and Germany. Anglo-German Foundation, London.

Furlong, A., Cartmel, F., 1997. Young People and Social Change: Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity. Open University Press, Buckingham, UK.

Giddens, A., 1991. Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Polity

Press, Cambridge.

Grosz, E., 1998. Thinking the new: of futures yet unthought. Symploke 6 (1), 38–55. Grosz, E., 1999. Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory and Futures. Cornell
   University Press, Ithaca.

Grosz, E., 2005. Bergson, Deleuze and the becoming of unbecoming. Parallax 11 (2), 4–13.

Helve, H., Bynner, J., 2007. Youth and Social Capital. Tufnell Press, London. Henderson, S., Holland, J., McGrellis, S., Sharpe, S., Thomson, R., 2007. Inventing
   Adulthoods: A Biographical Approach to Youth Transitions. Sage, London. Hendey, N., Pascall, G., 2002. Disability and Transition to Adulthood: Achieving
   Independent Living. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Higgins, J., Nairn, K., Sligo, J., 2007. Alternative ways of expressing and reading identity. Unpublished Paper. Lincoln University, Canterbury NZ, pp. 1–29.

Hillman, K.J., Marks, G.N., 2002. Becoming an adult: leaving home, relationships and home ownership among Australian youth. Australian Council for Educational Research, Camberwell VIC.

Holland, J., Reynolds, T., Weller, S., 2007. Transitions, networks and communities: the significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people. Journal of Youth Studies 10 (1), 97–116.

Hopkins, P.E., 2006. Youth transitions and going to university: the perceptions of students attending a geography summer school access programme. Area 38 (3), 240–247.

Hopkins, P.E., Pain, R., 2007. Geographies of age: thinking relationally. Area 39 (3), 287–294.

Hörschelmann, K., Schäfer, N., 2005. Performing the global through the local— globalisation and individualisation in the spatial practices of young East Germans Children's Geographies 3 (2), 219–242.

Hörschelmann, K., Schäfer, N., 2007. 'Berlin is not a foreign country, stupid!'— growing up 'global' in Eastern Germany. Environment and Planning A 39 (8), 1855–1872.

Horton, J., Kraftl, P., 2005. For more-than-usefulness: six overlapping points about Children's Geographies. Children's Geographies 3 (2), 131–143.

Horton, J., Kraftl, P., 2006a. Not just growing up, but going on: materials, spacings, bodies, situations. Children's Geographies 4 (3), 259–276.

Horton, J., Kraftl, P., 2006b. What else? Some more ways of thinking and doing 'Children's Geographies'. Children's Geographies 4, 69–95.

Inhelder, B., Piaget, J., 1958. The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence. Basic Books, New York.

Jeffrey, C., Dyson, J., 2008. Telling Young Lives: Portraits of Global Youth. Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Jones, O., 2008. 'True geography [ ] quickly forgotten, giving away to an adult-imagined universe'. Approaching the otherness of childhood. Children's Geographies 6 (2), 195–212.

Kesby, M., Kindon, S., Pain, R., 2005. 'Participatory' approaches and diagramming techniques. In: Flowerdew, R., Martin, D. (Eds.), Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project. Prentice Hall, Harlow.

Langevang, T., 2007. Movements in time and space: using multiple methods in research with young people in Accra, Ghana. Children's Geographies 5 (3), 267– 282.

Lawler, S., 2002. Narrative in social research. In: May, T. (Ed.), Qualitative Research in Action. Sage, London, pp. 242–258.

Lee, N., 2001. Childhood and Society: Growing Up in an Age of Uncertainty. Open University Press, Maidenhead.

Lehmann, W., 2004. 'For some reason, I get a little scared': structure, agency, and risk in school-

work transitions. Journal of Youth Studies 7 (4), 379–396.

Leyshon, M., 2008. The betweeness of being a rural youth: inclusive and exclusive lifestyles. Social and Cultural Geography 9 (1), 1–26.

Massey, D., 2005. For Space. Sage, London.

McDowell, L., 2002. Transitions to work: masculine identities, youth inequality and labour market. Gender, Place and Culture 9, 39–59.

Mooney, K.S., Laursen, B., Adams, R.E., 2007. Social support and positive development: looking on the bright side of adolescent close relationships. In: Silbereisen, R.K., Lerner, R.M. (Eds.), Approaches to Positive Youth Development. Sage, Los Angeles, pp. 189–204.

Nilsen, A., 1999. Where is the future? Time and space as categories in analyses of young people's images of the future. Innovation 12 (2), 175–194.

Philo, C., 2003. 'To go back up the side hill': memories, imaginations and reveries of childhood. Children's Geographies 1 (1), 7–24.

Pollock, G., 2002. Contingent identities: updating the transitional discourse. Young 10 (1), 59–72.

Pollock, G., 2008. Youth transitions: debates over the social context of becoming an adult. Sociology Compass 2 (2), 467–484.

Putnam, 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. Simon & Schuster, New York.

Qvortrup, J., 1991. Childhood as a Special Phenomenon: An Introduction to a Series of National Reports. European Centre, Vienna.

Sheppard, L., Aldrich, F.K., 2000. Tactile graphics: a beginner's guide to graphics for visually impaired children. Primary Science Review 65, 29–30. Available <http://www.lifesci.sussex.ac.uk/reginald-phillips/beginnersPaper.htm>.

Shildrick, T., MacDonald, R., 2007. Biographies of exclusion: poor work and poor transitions. International Journal of Lifelong Education 26 (5), 589– 604.

Shildrick, T., MacDonald, R., 2008. Bereavement: A 'Critical' or 'Fateful' Moment in Marginalised Youth Transitions. Boston, MA.

Skelton, T., 2002. Research on youth transitions: some critical interventions. In: Cieslik, M., Pollock, G. (Eds.), Young People in Risk Society: The Restructuring of Youth Identities and Transitions in Late Modernity. Ashgate, Aldershot, UK, pp. 100–116.

Solberg, A., 1997. Negotiating childhood: changing constructions of age for Norwegian children. In: James, A., Prout, A. (Eds.), Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood. Routledge Falmer, London, pp. 126–144.

Somers, M., 1994. The narrative constitution of identity: a relational and network approach. Theory and Society 23 (5), 605–649.

te Riele, K., 2004. Youth transition in Australia: challenging assumptions of linearity and choice. Journal of Youth Studies 7 (3), 243–257.

Thomson, R., Bell, R., Holland, J., Henderson, S., McGrellis, S., Sharpe, S., 2002. Critical moments: choice, change and opportunity in young people's narratives of transition. Sociology 36 (2), 335–354.

Thomson, R., Holland, J., 2002. Imagined adulthood: resources, plans and contradictions. Gender and Education 14 (4), 337–350.

Thrift, N., May, J., 2001. Timespace: Geographies of Temporality. Routledge, London.

Tuttle, D.W., Tuttle, N.R., 2004. Self-Esteem and Adjusting With Blindness: The Process of Responding to Life's Demands. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, IL.

Uprichard, E., 2008. Children as 'being and becomings': children, childhood and temporality. Children and Society 22 (4), 303–313.

Valentine, G., 2000. Exploring children and young people's narratives of identity. Geoforum 31 (2), 257–267.

Valentine, G., 2003. Boundary crossings: transitions from childhood to adulthood. Children's Geographies 1 (1), 37–52.

Valentine, G., Skelton, T., 2007. Re-defining 'norms': D/deaf young people's transitions to independence. The Sociological Review 55 (1), 104–123.

Vanderbeck, R.M., 2007. Intergenerational geographies: age relations, segregation and re-engagements. Geography Compass 1 (2), 200–221.

Vanderbeck, R.M., Morse Dunkley, C., 2003. Young people's narratives of rural– urban difference. Children's Geographies 1 (2), 241–259.

Willis, P.E., 1977. Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Saxon House, Westmead (Hants).

Woodman, D., 2009. The mysterious case of the pervasive choice biography: Ulrich Beck, structure/agency, and the middling state of theory in the sociology of youth. Journal of Youth Studies 12 (3), 243–256.

Wyn, J., Dwyer, P., 2000. New patterns of youth transition in education. International Social Science Journal 52 (164), 147–159.